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*This book belonged to the
late Hugh Edward Egerton,
Beit Professor of Colonial
History in the University of
Oxford from 1905 to 1920*

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Per. 2227 e. 571

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1792.



LONDON:

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1799.



P R E F A C E.

THE latest events have at all times appeared the most important. Present scenes seem more crowded than such as are past : and there are few periods, not imagined by the existing generation to be at least as worthy of a place in history as any that have preceded them. With a full recollection of this partiality, we hesitate not to affirm, that the years 1791 and 1792 are of singular, and even of unprecedented interest and importance in the history of the world : no antecedent period, of equal duration, has presented so great a number of extraordinary revolutions : the intercourses of mankind were more extended, and the means of their communication more generally diffused, as well as eagerly employed among all ranks of society, in all civilized nations. The changes that were produced by the prevail-

ing opinions, and an artful address to those opinions, partook of the quickness of thought from whence they sprung. Though many and various, and involving the most serious consequences, they were yet less remarkable for their number and magnitude, than for the extreme rapidity of their succession.

By means of the press, the grand forum on which all public affairs were agitated, a principle of restless discontent and endless commotion had been introduced into the most populous and central, the most refined, ardent, and inflammable nation in Europe ; and whose fashions, manners, and opinions most of the other nations were prone to follow. Metaphysicians, geometers, and astronomers, applied the compasses of abstraction to human passions, propensities, and habits: the minds of men were alienated from kings, and became enamoured of political philosophy. The old government of France was completely subverted ; religion and morality were equally despised ; dominion was gradually transferred, from well meaning men, perhaps, to bad—from bad to worse ; and the maxim of the noble philosopher, statesman, and historian of Rome was inverted †.

† *Ita imperium semper ad optimum quæque a minus bono transfertur.*

A bloody

P R E F A C E.

v

A bloody anarchy was erected on the ruins of social subordination. The ruling party, armed at once with enthusiasm, and a command of the finance and whole property of the nation, trampled on the rights of their fellow-citizens, and held the law of nations and foreign treaties in derision. In the pretended pursuit of liberty, they violated all regard to humanity. The laws were without force; innocence without protection; obscurity and indigence, or a participation in crimes, the only safety. The destructive infection of this attempt to reduce what is called the modern philosophy into practice, spread rapidly abroad before the effects of the fatal experiment were known at home: and it would be difficult to determine whether the progress of the evil was more forwarded by the ill-judged exertions of individuals, whether political writers, statesmen, or sovereign princes, to oppose it,—or, by the impunity with which it had been suffered, in its commencement, to prevail in France, and to extend to every country in Europe.

While the atrocities of democracy pled the cause of monarchical and even absolute governments, the insatiate ambition, and unprincipled policy of monarchs, not more shamefully than foolishly displayed in the partition of Poland, apologized for the excesses of democracy. On the whole, it appeared that the European nations, however ad-

vanced in speculative knowledge, had made but very little progress in practical and political wisdom.

Since the events of this period are manifold and surprising beyond all example, it may perhaps be expected by some of our readers, that we, like certain other journalists, should increase our volumes to a size, bearing a kind of proportion to the variety and extent of the busy scenes of the years that form their respective subjects : but this would be absurd, unless it should be thought proper wholly to call off attention from former scenes ; or possible to enlarge the faculties of men, and extend the period of human life.

Science does not consist in the enumeration of facts, but in their classification. There are no facts of any kind, either instructive or interesting, otherwise than as they are connected with principles and views ; with theories, whether true or only hypothetical. When events cease to surprise by novelty, they become instructive by their want of it. In proportion as transactions and operations of the same kind, springing from similar causes, and producing similar effects, are so multiplied as to become common, it is not necessary to detail facts ; but sufficient to mention general results and principles of action. It is thus that knowledge of every kind is advanced : the gradual and leisurely deductions

ductions of one age, or generation, being taken in the next, for things granted.—If it were otherwise, the boundaries of science could never be enlarged; and the republic of letters, like that of Rome, would sink under its own magnitude. If in writing the History of Europe for 1791 and 1792, we should attempt to describe every thing that passed, we should, in fact, describe nothing:—the complicated scene would be too various and vast for human comprehension. Among innumerable interesting events, the annalist must make a selection of such as are most interesting: and, in making this selection, he must of necessity be guided by his own genius and habitual way of thinking. Some things may appear most striking to one mind; and other things the most important to another: whence it is possible, and sometimes happens, that of the same times we may have histories widely differing from each other, both in matter and style, and yet both of them at once pleasing and instructive.

The general effect, or impression, that remains on the mind, after reviewing any series of events, which impels either the historian or epic poet to communicate his sentiments and emotions to others, serves as a band of union among the transactions and occurrences which he involves in the stream of his composition. On a review of the af-

fairs of Europe, from 1790 to 1793, we are chiefly impressed with the rapid progress of public opinion and public spirit, on the one hand ; and, on the other, with the efforts that were made by the old governments to resist them. Amidst the thick and entangled forest, this division opens some prospects. The revolutionary spirit may be traced from Paris to the provinces and foreign dependencies of France, to her armies, and to other nations ; and the reaction marked of its various effects on the people, and public councils of France, and other countries. Guided by these vistas, we have easy opportunities of taking occasional views of whatever is most remarkable in the different quarters of Europe, without losing sight of the main object.

In ordinary times, the great chain of events may often be traced to mean and pitiful intrigues : the investigation of which, however, cannot be very interesting to any others than such as have conceived a great attachment and curiosity of enquiring into every thing that relates to particular characters. The Revolution, which we contemplate with mingled astonishment and terror, originated not in any private intrigue, nor with any individual character ; nor exclusively in Paris, nor France ; but in the wide circles of Europe, and of civilization *. Its seeds, diffused over the

* Many marked and vigorous characters arose out of the revolution, but cannot be said to have created it.

earth, and long dormant or concealed, collecting force with the progress of Time, Commerce, and Knowledge, burst at length into a flame in the capital of the French monarchy. Fostered in that exuberant soil, fanned by ambitious and discontented men of every rank, and spreading with velocity through all the channels of the state, it could neither be smothered nor extinguished. Neither the lapse of fourteen ages, nor the veneration which the French had always nourished for their princes, could protect the person of Louis XVI. The barriers which Richelieu and Louis XIV. had opposed to popular violence and innovation, were too feeble to prevent the conflagration; and some of them contributed to its excitement. After laying the ancient laws, constitution, and order of things in ruins, it still continues to blaze, and to devour every thing with which it comes in contact, with unabated violence. The anxious and terrified attention of mankind is directed towards it, wherever it spreads. The old and the new world are both of them menaced by its progress.

Instead, therefore, of looking to individual agents, or their measures, we consider the revolution itself as the beacon by whose awful coruscations we are to lead our readers through the history of the eventful year 1792. A retrospect of the events which have already been detailed in this
Work,

Work, will aid us in our undertaking. They assumed an alarming appearance in 1791; and as Great Britain became a principal party in the war as early as February 1793, the impartial history of the preceding year, 1792, is peculiarly interesting as well as important. A contest then commenced; which has already extended its bloody and convulsive struggles to the opposite sides of the globe; which still subsists in all its force, and which has threatened, in their turn, the subversion of every state and every religion. It is by examining its commencement, and the springs that gave it activity, that its progress can be best estimated, and the period of its duration most probably ascertained.

Instead of fatiguing our reader with a detail of the incidents that occasioned the publication of the present volume, before that for 1791, we shall only say, that this last is now in the press, and that it will be published in the course of a few months.

For the late appearance of these volumes it will, we hope, be deemed some compensation by our intelligent readers, that we have availed ourselves of those lights which have been thrown on our subject by the progress of time: which has also presented opportunities of enquiring and obtaining new information, from the most authentic sources, respecting the original springs of the great drama of Europe.

EXPLANATION OF NEW TERMS.

AS new terms are, from time to time, introduced with new ideas and new objects, living languages are subject to constant change; and successive barbarisms, derived from temporary and local circumstances, render them in some measure unintelligible to all, besides those to whom such circumstances are familiar. It is impossible for a foreigner, by any knowledge or analogy of language, to know what we mean in this country by Whig, Tory, the Minister's Budget, and so on. None but a Frenchman, or one acquainted with France, can be supposed to know that a Swiss means a porter, or a Savoyard a chimney-sweep. Of late years, amidst other changes and novelties in France, a very considerable degree of innovation has taken place in the French language. Although, for our own parts, we studiously avoid the use of the new phraseology of our neighbours, as being equally offensive against purity, perspicuity, and dignity of style; yet, as this, in some instances, may find its way into the papers, to which we give a place in our record, or to which we may occasionally refer, we thought it not altogether unnecessary to give an explanation of the following words:—

THE NEW OR MODERN PHILOSOPHY. The doctrines of Rousseau, Voltaire, Hume, Diderot, and others, who, exceeding the zeal as well as boldness of their sceptical predecessors, have devoted, or continue to devote their lives to the seduction of mankind, into a mockery of the christian religion, and the adoption of
a system

a system of atheism and licentiousness. As the writers just mentioned outdid, in point of extravagance, the philosophers who had gone before them; so they themselves were, in their turn, outdone by Condorcet, Brissot, Sieyès, Mr. Paine, and a whole herd of other philosophers, who actually attempted to carry the dreams of metaphysicians, on political subjects, into practice.

The STATES-GENERAL of France assembled at Versailles, by the authority of the King, assumed the name and the powers of

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY; or, an Assembly for the purpose of forming a new constitution. This was also called the first National Assembly. A new constitution being formed, and accepted by the King and a great majority of the French nation, under the solemnity of an oath, the Constituent Assembly, in September 1791, gave way to

The LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY; which was also called the Second National Assembly. A convention of the nation being called after the massacres of August 1792, and the imprisonment of the King,

The NATIONAL CONVENTION met in September, 1792. This was also called the Third National Assembly.

The MOUNTAIN. The higher or most elevated seats in the hall of the Assembly; occupied by the violent revolutionists, or democrats.

The VALLEY. The lower seats; and these in the middle of the hall of the Assembly,—bearing some resemblance to the pit in a play-house. This part of the hall was occupied by a more moderate party: among whom there were many well-meaning men, distinguished more by probity than by talents. It was at one
time

time very commonly called *Les bas Cotés*. It is now commonly called *Le Ventre*.

COTÉ DROIT. The right side, or that on the right hand of the president: corresponding with our speaker in the House of Commons. It was here that those members who set their faces against democratical violence took their seats from the first sittings of the Constituent Assembly at Versailles. The most distinguished of that party were Mounier, Bergasse, and Lally Tollendall. These gentlemen quitted the Assembly, after the royal family were constrained to remove, on the 6th of October, 1789, to Paris; and were succeeded by Maury, Caffiaux, Malouet, and Montlosier.

After the election of the second, or Legislative Assembly, among the most strenuous supporters of the feeble constitutional powers of the King, we find the names of Dumas, Theodore la Meth, Rochegude, and Jaucourt.

COTÉ GAUCHE, the left side, or that on the left hand of the president; where the violent adversaries of monarchy were seated. Of this party Robespierre had been a very active and conspicuous leader in the Constituent Assembly. In the Legislative Assembly, among the most distinguished leaders of the Republican party, was Brissot. The chiefs of that party were for the most part destroyed by Robespierre, elected a member of the Third Assembly, or National Convention. It is worthy of remark, that, amidst all the various changes of power and parties, from the commencement of the revolution till the present time, a majority was always found on the left side of the house. The famous Abbé Sieyès was always to be found on that side, during the Constituent Assembly, even when he maintained an obstinate silence. Those who had been members of the Constituent, could not be elected members of the Legislative Assembly, which immediately followed it. But the violent promoters of revolutions, like the Abbé, preserved their
their

their popularity, and were re-elected, with Robespierre, members of the Convention for the trial of the King.

On the RIGHT and LEFT sides of the Assembly-House, there was a *jeu de mots* (a play on words) very commonly repeated before the reign of terror began, under Robespierre, in the polite and fashionable circles of Paris. *Le Coté droit est Gauche : mais le Coté Gauche n'est pas droit*,—the right side is the left (or wrong) but the left side is not the right.

JACOBINS. A number of gentlemen, from Brittany, joined chiefly by several journalists, and other men of letters, had formed themselves into a club for the discussion of political subjects ; and were called the Breton Club. Towards the end of 1789, they were distinguished by the appellation of Jacobins, from a convent of monks called Jacobins, where they held their meetings.

THE JACOBIN CLUB, established at Paris, and composed of the ringleaders of the revolution, excited the inhabitants of all the other towns in France to insurrection. They corresponded directly with about eleven hundred kindred, or, as they called them, Affiliated Clubs ; which eleven hundred clubs, had each their circle of affiliated clubs, in inferior towns and villages, with which they corresponded.

GIRONDISTS. The deputies of the departments of the Gironde ; that is, Bourdeaux and the country around it ; being the course of the Garron. Like the Constitutionalists, or Friends to Limited Monarchy, they wished to steer a kind of middle course between the two extremes ; and, like them too, after enjoying, under Louis XVI. all the authority of government, were crushed in the contest between the two opposite and violent parties.

FEUILLANTS. Another political club like that of the Jacobins ; but of which the members were men of moderation. They maintained for a time, an unavailing opposition to the Jacobins ;
by

by whom they were at length, in 1791, driven out of their hall by force, and finally dispersed. Such was the CLUB-LAW of the Jacobins.

CORDELIERS. Another club, composed of men even more violent than Jacobins; and, for the most part, of the lower classes of the people. They were not in opposition to the Jacobins, but maintained the same doctrines. Though their society was not so completely organized, and though they had not so extensive a correspondence, the club of the Cordeliers was kept up nearly as long as that of the Jacobins. At the head of the Cordeliers were a number of Journalists.

BRISSETINS. So called from the Journalist, and author of various works, Brissot; who held a distinguished place among the Girondists: from which circumstance the terms Girondist and Brissotine are sometimes confounded. Brissot, who had travelled in America, considered the form of government of the United States of that country as the best that had ever actually existed; and consequently as the best model for imitation. Hence the adherents of Brissot, and sometimes the Girondists, in general were called

FEDERALISTS, or friends to a federal union; such as that among the Swiss Cantons; the United Provinces of the Netherlands; and, above all, that among the United States of America.

MUNICIPALITÉ. An institution for regulating the police of cities, similar to our courts of a Mayor and Common-Council-men:

SECTIONS. These have been formed only in Paris. They correspond nearly to the former parochial divisions, and are necessary for the management of the police, and the national guards.

DEPARTMENTS. The general divisions of France.

DISTRICTS.

xvi **EXPLANATION OF NEW TERMS.**

DISTRICTS. Sub-divisions of departments.

COMMUNITIES or COMMUNES. Sub-divisions of districts.

PRIMARY ASSEMBLIES. Meetings of the communities for the purpose of choosing electors.

ELECTORS. Citizens chosen by the communities for representing their respective departments in the National Assembly.

SANS-CULOTTES. Literally without breeches. The lowest and most numerous class of the people; the mob; the rabble.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1792.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Human Affairs governed by permanent Principles. Characters of Nations here formed. Character of the French Nation. History of the Spirit of the French Nation for more than a Century past. Connection between the Institution of the French Academy and the late Revolution in France. The greatest Characters in the highest Stations, carried, along with others, on the Tide of public Opinion. Question concerning the real Views of the Authors of the French Revolution. Manifesto drawn up by Condorcet, and decreed by the National Assembly. The same extravagant Hopes of general Improvement and Happiness that were entertained in France, diffused throughout other Countries in Europe. Different Parties and Denominations of Men concur in a Desire to subvert the old, and establish a new Order of Affairs. The immediate Commencement of the Millennium expected. Miserable Disappointment. The Constitution from which so much had been expected, fraught with the Seeds of Dissolution and the most shocking Crimes and dreadful Calamities. In the Mists of these, the Levity and Impetuosity of the French Character still predominant. The first Fruits of the new Constitution adopted by the Legislative Assembly. The Revolution and Massacres of Avignon. The ambitious Policy of the French the same as that of the ancient Romans. Act against Emigration, and for punishing the Emigrants. This not sanctioned by the King. The King writes Letters to the Princes, pressing them to return within the Borders of France. The Royalists of France, after the Retreat of the Princes, divided into two Parties: the Queen's and that of the Princes. Circumstances that foment-

ed a preconceived Jealousy of the King. Plan of the Assembly for lessening the Power of the King, and establishing their own on its Ruins. The various Steps taken in the Prosecution of this Plan. Those taken by the Court for their Counter-action. Change of Ministry. Internal Contests and Diffentions. Declaration of War against the Emperor. The King refuses to sanction Decrees for a Camp near Paris, and against the Refractory Priests. A furious Multitude breaks into the Palace of the Tuilleries. Remonstrance against this Outrage by the General La Fayette. Decree announcing the Country to be in Danger.

ALTHOUGH in all well established governments, and particularly those of the monarchical kind, many important events may be traced to the intrigues of courts, and characters, and views of particular persons, yet there is a tide in the affairs of nations, as well as in those of individuals, operating with an uniformity which excludes the possibility of chance, and flowing from permanent principles. The constant change in the opinions, passions, and characters of nations, is not readily perceived in the monotony of peaceable times: but sooner or later it tends to some important crisis, and is found to be the grand engine that governs the world. It is this that exercises a sovereign influence on the great movements of the human drama: the rise, the convulsions, and the fall of empires.

The characters of nations are not formed entirely by moral, but partly by the physical causes of extraction, climate, soil, and other circumstances. The character given of the French nation by Roman historians, men of intelligence and penetration, and who had the best

opportunities of knowing it, belongs to them at this day*. They are restless, impatient, and desirous of change: they are the most universally, and the most sensibly and suddenly alive to the spirit and passion of the times, whatever that may be: religion, war, gallantry, colonization, and commerce; or refinement and the advancement of knowledge. Whatever they desire, they pursue with ardour, and in a body. Distinction and pre-eminence is always their aim, whether in gaiety and frivolity, or arts and arms. If the genius of the times be an ambition of conquest, and an attachment to warlike chiefs and hereditary sovereign princes, they convert their king almost literally into an idol†: if that of piety and devotion, they are the foremost in the crusade, and the most liberal in their donations to the church: and, as we see now, if that of liberty and equality, they violate all treaties, invade all property, level all ranks, and give the kiss of fraternization to negroes. In short, in every thing, good or bad, they must be foremost; with this adjunctive and unfortunate circumstance, that any thing

* Caesar tells us that the Gauls were fickle, given to innovation, and so turbulent and seditious, that factions existed not only in every principality and state, but almost in every house. Polybius, Tacitus, and other writers, give them the same character.

† The statue of Louis XIV was set up in the place de Victoire in Paris; and the French officers and others took off their hats and bowed to it as they passed.

good in which they engage, is frequently by excess converted into evil. It has been remarked by their best historians, that in almost every stage of their history, they have been subject to moral and political phrenzies*.

This lively nation, deprived of all share in the public councils for a space of near two hundred years, and bending under the yoke of an arbitrary government, abandoned themselves to frivolity and dissipation. Admirable exertions indeed, were still made in the arts of peace as well as war; but literary genius was for the most part prostituted to adulation, and the military spirit tainted by an unlimited devotion to kings. The greatest heroes blushed not to profess that the great object of their valour, was the glory of the grand monarch: and their greatest reward, his countenance and smiles. A new train of thinking introduced a new and corresponding passion: the descendants of the Franks and Gauls, the most devoted to the church, the ladies, and the king, running according to their manner from extreme to extreme, but still retaining their pretensions to be the first of all nations, exchanged their religion, their gallantry, and their loyalty, for the coldness of scepticism, the rudeness of democracy, and the boldness of liberty, perverted into extravagance of conception and design, and the utmost licentiousness of conduct.

It had become fashionable, in the

early and long reign of Louis XIV. to patronize the studies of both literature and science. It occurred to his great minister Cardinal Richelieu, as a measure of good policy, to divert the busy and ardent genius of his countrymen into that channel, from the affairs of state. Academies were instituted in France for the cultivation of the arts and sciences, nobly endowed with pecuniary funds, and farther encouraged by literary honours. Nothing, at first, could exceed the obsequious adulation of the academicians; who once had it in contemplation to hold out the reward of a golden medal to the best discourse or oration on the question, "By which of all his virtues his Majesty was distinguished the most?" But this obsequiousness, it seems, was not inconsistent with vanity†. The self-conceit of this body, as well as of most of those who assumed the character of philosophers, was nourished and heightened, and the number of philosophers daily encreased. Few could be statesmen, or hold the principal places under government; nor yet could very many rise to eminence by the pursuits of commerce: but all could be philosophers. Philosophy gratified vanity, consoled disappointment, and, as a vehicle of censure, gratified revenge. Philosophy became the tone, the passion of the nation: and a junto of philosophers, by managing this passion, which was directed with greater energy against all esta-

* See Wrexall's History of France, from the Accession of Henry III. to the Death of Louis XIV. preceded by a view of the state of Europe between the middle and the close of the sixteenth century. See, particularly, the preface to that valuable work.

† The discussion of this question was quashed by the King himself. See "The Eulogies, or Lives, of the French Academicians by D'Alembert."

4. ANNUAL REGISTER, 1792.

blished authority, human and divine, than to the investigation of truth and knowledge, supplanted the influence of the court, and took violent possession of the French monarchy. Thus did Louis XIV. blindly labour for the overthrow of his throne: and thus the French academy, both in its origin and consequences, shews how much the great affairs of the world are governed by public opinion. It was the taste and turn of the public for letters, and the example of establishments for their promotion, both imported into France from Italy, that suggested the idea of the French academy: and it was the general spirit to which that institution gave birth, that produced the change of government in 1789: the fruitful parent of other revolutions.

On a survey of the political history of modern times, certain distinguished names on the theatre, whether in the cabinet or field, are apt to engross almost the whole of our attention; while in reality, even those illustrious characters are only borne along the popular stream, which to vulgar apprehension they appear to agitate and direct. The habit of looking up to a Frederic, or a Catherine, was natural in their respective dominions, where the power of the sovereign had not yet been imperceptibly limited by the influence of civilization, or the diffusion of wealth; and where the extraordinary talents of the rulers connected obedience with admiration. But Catherine and Frederic were both of them warm and powerful patrons of all the arts and sciences; and the latter, with all his prudence and penetration, was yet so improvident as to introduce and cherish, together with the French language and literature, an atheistical philosophy into Berlin, from whence it has struck out its roots into all parts of his dominions. Of these changes we have not yet seen all or many of the consequences: but of this we may be certain, that the future historian, who in tracing the great chain of causes and effects, measures the passing events of the times, not by years, but centuries, will view the counsels and actions of those illustrious princes, not as governing, but as being themselves governed by the spirit of the age in which they lived. Still less will he consider the French revolution as flowing from the particular characters of Lewis XVI. and Mr. Necker. Even a sovereign such as Henry IV. aided by a minister such as Sully, could not have long prevented a convulsion in the French government; unless indeed it should have been found possible to protract this, or finally to render a dissolution and change of government more gentle and easy, by a gradual and prudent accommodation of established institutions to the varying opinions, manners, and circumstances of the nation and of mankind*.

Whether the designs of the first movers of the revolution were founded in the spirit of patriotism, humanity, and universal philanthropy, as they pretended; or, on the contrary, in selfish views, and the usual pride and arrogance of the French nation, has been made a question. There are not a few

* See on this subject, Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, ch. iv.

Writers, and among these some of great celebrity, who will not allow that there ever was any thing good or great in the real intentions of the French philosophers; but trace the revolution to an ambition entertained by those men, of self-aggrandisement, of extending the boundaries of France, and raising her to what they conceived to be her just consideration and pre-eminence in Europe. Which of these was the original and predominant passion, or how far they may have been mixed and blended in that great mass of people of various conditions and characters, who forwarded the revolution, it would be useless to enquire, and impossible to determine. Certain it is, that if a general passion for political changes had not prevailed in France, it would have been impossible for the most profound philosophers, or dexterous politicians, to have raised and turned it to their purpose: and it is equally certain, that professions of peace, and the most extensive philanthropy, were considered by those who had seized the government, as popular throughout the kingdom.

On the 29th of December 1791, a manifesto, in the name of the French nation, drawn up by Condorcet, decreed by the National Assembly, and approved of by the King, was addressed by all states and nations, and ordered to be delivered by the French ministers to all the courts of Europe. In this paper it was declared*, among many other particulars, "That the

French nation, proud of having regained the rights of nature, would never outrage them in other men. That she would present to the world the new spectacle of a nation, truly free, submissive to the laws of justice amid the storms of war; and, respecting everywhere, on every occasion towards all men, the rights which are the same to all. Peace (which imposture, intrigue, and treason have banished) will never cease to be the first of our wishes: France will take up arms, compelled to do so, for her safety and her internal peace; and she will be seen to lay them down with joy, the moment she is assured that there is nothing to fear for that liberty, for that equality, which is now the only element in which Frenchmen can live. She dreads not war, but she loves peace; she feels that she has need of it; and she is too conscious of her strength to fear making the avowal. When, in requiring other nations to respect her repose, she took an eternal engagement not to trouble others, she might have thought that she deserved to be listened to; and that this solemn declaration, the pledge of tranquillity, and the happiness of other nations, might have merited the affection of the princes who govern them: but such of those princes, as apprehend that France would endeavour to excite internal agitations in other countries, shall learn that the cruel right of reprisal, justified by usage, condemned by nature, will not make her resort to the means em-

* Agreeably to an article, in the French Constitution, under the head "of the connexion of the French nation with other nations," the French nation renounces the undertaking of any war with a view to make conquests; and will never employ its forces against the liberties of any people.

ployed against her own repose; that she will be just to those who have not been so to her; that she will everywhere pay as much respect to peace as to liberty; and that the men, who still presume to call themselves the masters of other men, will have nothing to dread from her but the influence of her example. — Resigned to the evils which the enemies of the human race united against her, may make her suffer, she will triumph over them by her patience and her courage: Victorious, she will seek neither indemnification nor vengeance. Such are the sentiments of a generous people, which their representatives do themselves honour in expressing. Such are the projects of the new political system which they have adopted; to repel force, to resist oppression, to forget all when they have nothing more to fear; and to treat adversaries, if vanquished, as brothers; if reconciled, as friends. These are the wishes of all the French; and this is the war which they declare against their enemies."

They passed from the glory of arms, and the pride of conquest, even to the patient, meek, and long-suffering disposition recommended in the gospel: but, even in this new career of moderation, they were still the first of nations. They had renounced conquest, distinction of rank, and the grandeur of courts and kings: but they gloried in the humility of equality, they triumphed in the triumph of philanthropy, and in setting an example, and taking the lead in a reformation of the world; a reformation that should redeem the

human race from many physical evils, and advance the improvement, not only of their intellectual powers, but their moral sentiments; and, on the whole, promote the felicity and the perfection of human nature.

It was not only in France that the most sanguine hopes were entertained from the revolution of 1789, thus systematized and improved by the constituent, and adopted by the legislative assembly, and from the political efforts of human reason in general. A spirit of political enthusiasm appeared in most countries of Europe; in Germany, Sweden, Britain, and Ireland, and even Spain and Italy. In Germany, and particularly in the Prussian dominions, a sect arose, though under different denominations*, who, ascribing the greater part of human calamities to bigotry, superstition, arbitrary power, and error, endeavoured to awaken their contemporaries to the most animated hopes from political improvement, a philosophical education, and in all things, a vigorous exercise of reason. They professed, at the same time, the warmest sentiments of humanity, and a spirit of universal philanthropy.

It was this school that formed the famous Anacharsis Clootz, who being elected a member of the legislative assembly, assumed the character of friend and orator of the human race; and inculcated in his speeches universal fraternization with all tribes and nations.

In England, the leading doctrines of the French revolution were maintained by several members of parliament, as well as by a consi-

* The Illumines, the disciples of Kant, and others.

parliament,

sterable number of writers; Paine, Barlow, Godwin, and others: all of whom, both pamphleteers and politicians, considered it as an era auspicious to mankind. The political doctrines of France and Germany, and the hopes conceived from the energy of human reason, were carried in England, by certain distempered spirits, to the length of extravagance and madness. In a seminary, established at Hackney for the education of young men for the dissenting church, certain of the professors, and others who were associated with them, as friends to that institution, maintained, that by a due exertion and direction of the human faculties, it was possible, and that a period would probably arrive when they would obtain a complete triumph over disease, and even death. For their own parts, although they did not positively predict their own immortality, they did not hesitate to express a lively hope that they should be able to prolong their own, greatly beyond the usual period of human life, and to live as long as they could wish. Among this number of happy mortals, was Godwin (already mentioned) author of a large work on political justice; in which there is, in reality, as little sense as in his doctrine of immortality; since it would be as impossible for his system of government, were it possible to make the experiment, to maintain itself, in opposition to the strongest passions and propensities of human nature, as it would be for any effort of human reason to set disease and death at defiance. Mr. Godwin, being bred among the dissenters, was naturally led to

a lively conviction and sense of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. This principle he has extended in its utmost latitude to politics. Though he had long been devoted to political studies, he tells us, he was not made aware of the desirableness of a government in the utmost degree simple, but by ideas suggested by the French revolution. To the same event, he adds, he owes the determination of mind which gave existence to his work. "He hopes that men may one day be governed by the purity of their own minds, and the moderation of their own desires, without all external coercion." There is no authority, according to him, "but that of reason; and no legislators, but philosophers and propagators of truth." He thinks it unjust to be influenced by any particular sensations, propensities, affections, and passions; and in all cases considers and calculates, not what may be good for an individual or any part of society, but what is due to the whole. "It cannot indeed (he admits) be definitively affirmed, whether it be known in such a state of society, who is the father of each individual child; but it may be affirmed, that such knowledge will be of no importance.—It is aristocracy, self-love, and family pride, that teach us to set a value upon it at present. I ought to prefer no human being to another, because that being is my father, my wife, or my son; but, because, for reasons which appeal equally to all understandings, that being is entitled to preference. One among the measures which will be successively dictated by the spirit of democracy,

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and that probably at no great distance, is the abolition of surnames*. In a word, it is in the spirit of Mr. Godwin's political system, to harden the heart against all the endearing charities of life; to teach men, and even women, according to his own phrase, "to rest on their own centre." He would reverse the actual order of nature, in the different circles of society, from a single family to the most extensive empire; and arrange all ideas of social attachment and duty, around the centre of a most complicated chaos of cold abstractions. This Book of Godwin, not the least curious among the fruits of French principles and revolution, seemed not unworthy of particular attention on the present occasion; as it shews to what consequences some of these principles might be pushed, by a process of reasoning, if the principles be granted, not easy to be refuted. Though the wrongheadedness and insanity of Mr. Godwin's publication must be admitted, he must be allowed to possess great subtlety of genius, as well as hardiness of thinking, and vigour of fancy.

In London, and in every great town in Britain, many idle, discontented, and self-conceited persons were to be seen, affecting the habit, character, and name of philosophers. It is very proper to mention, that their philosophy consisted not so much in an investigation of truth in general, or in a wise pursuit of the best ends, by the best means, as in a freedom from all manner of prejudice; particularly from all respect for established governments, and all reverence for religion. Yet a common cause

seemed to be made, and sympathy formed between those atheists and many religionists of different sects, from a common aversion to the established church, not to say government. They frequently assembled together in small parties, in close divan; from which all who were not notoriously dissatisfied with the present order of things, were carefully excluded. And it was very curious to observe, that men, who were generally accounted the most crabbed, morose, and unsociable in their manners towards their countrymen and neighbours, were the loudest advocates for universal philanthropy.

There were also men, and among these some of note, who, uniting a species of christianity with a spirit of philosophical inquiry, inferred from the present phenomena of the world, compared with the scriptural prophecies, that the time was fast approaching when there should be a new or regenerated earth; and considered what had passed in America, and was passing at the time in France and Poland, as the commencement, at least the sure and immediate forerunner of the millenium; when Satan should be bound for a thousand years, and human felicity promoted by the promotion of knowledge and righteousness.

Dr. Price, well known as a writer on both political and metaphysical studies, in a valetudinary sermon to his dissenting congregation at Hackney, one of the suburbs of London, in allusion to the revolutionary spirit of the times, and particularly to the French revolution, chose for his text the

* Godwin's Inquiry into Political Justice, vol. ii. p. 58a.

words of Simeon, when he had seen the infant Jesus: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation*." All these classes of men in the different kingdoms of Europe, and other parts of the world, wished well to the French revolution, and looked up to the wisdom and patriotism of the constituent assembly with the most pleasing expectations. Never did any assembly of men seem to act, on so extended a theatre, so conspicuous a part. They seemed to hold in their hand the destinies of the human race. The Genius of France having assumed the tone of a humane and grave philosopher, had taken human nature under his protection, and promised to raise them to dignity and happiness by a reformation, civil and religious. The new constitution was completed. Universal and eternal peace was proclaimed on the part of France; and if ever this should be interrupted, it would be only by unjust aggression. But soon did corrupt nature re-assume her reign! Soon did the Genius of France lay aside the habit and tone of the humane philosopher, and completely realize the fable of the cat metamorphosed into a fine lady.

The seeds of dissolution were sown in the constitution itself, in the means by which it had been obtained, in the character of the French nation, the depravity of their morals, and the violence of their passions. The new government, mistrustful, and bearing no good-will to the sovereign prince whom they had treated so ill, tho'

the most amiable of men; and jealous of the sovereign powers whose authority was indirectly attacked by the revolution, saw no security to themselves but in reducing still farther the royal power, already too much contracted by the recent constitution; and in the propagation of their political creed, and a general fraternization with neighbouring states and kingdoms. While emissaries were employed for this purpose abroad, attacks were successively made at home, on the prerogatives of the king, the privileges of the nobility and the clergy, and on all who possessed property. The great mass of the people, taught to consider themselves as fractions of the sovereign will, became impatient of controul, and imperious. Disappointed in their blind and extravagant expectations of some unknown and indefinite good from the new constitution, they became discontented, restless, unruly, and fit instruments of all manner of crimes in the hands of designing men, who aimed at farther and farther changes in government. While the greatest disorders prevailed in France, foreign armies, advancing to her frontiers, threatened the restoration of monarchy. But the French, while all was wild and inhuman uproar in their own country, displayed in their conduct to other nations, the highest degree of genius and courage. A striking assemblage was exhibited of virtues and crimes; of a general devotion to liberty, and an inhuman ferocity in the pursuit of it; of greatness and meanness of mind; of treachery and fidelity; of the most

* Luke, chap. 2. ver. 29, 30.

shocking ingratitude and generous attachment; of public exertion well directed, and private profligacy and every species of depravity and excess. There is an active fortitude, and there is a passive fortitude. The latent energy of the French character, which had either been benumbed or perverted for ages, shone forth in instances of the former on the frontier, and examples of the latter in the interior of the kingdom. The weaker sex, on manifold occasions displayed a constancy that shewed how independent the sublimest courage is of bodily strength. Though a general lethargy had fallen on the nobility, yet they were not on the whole disobedient to the calls of honour. In the church, the noblest patterns were exhibited of Christian submission and resignation; and many obtained the crown of martyrdom. But it was in the royal family that the most magnanimous and affecting constancy and goodness was displayed—a family, which in this extremity of fortune, appeared the first in dignity as in station.

From the minds, however, of all those who were the most active in the internal convulsions of France, all principle, all faith, all natural affection seemed for a time to be expelled; and all things were involved in distrust, fear, rapine, and frenzy. The convention which succeeded to the constituent assembly, was in general such as the lowest class of the people brought into play by the downward progression of power in times of civil commotion, by whom it was formed, directed, or intimidated. Or if they attempted to exert an authority of their own, it was suffi-

ent only to enforce the commission of crimes, not to restrain them. The most perfect tyranny was disguised under the name of revolutionary ardour. Anarchy, according to the nature of extremes, ran into despotism; and in the midst of this horrid tumult of contending views and passions, the levity and impetuosity of the French character were still predominant.

The concurring testimony of all the journals of the times will scarcely render it credible to posterity, that the very first act of the legislative assembly, after swearing to maintain, to the utmost of their power, the constitution of the kingdom, decreed by the constituent assembly, was to seize the small territory of Avignon (Oct. 1791) which had been ceded to the Pope, and the cession repeatedly ratified; and the Bishopric of Basle, which secured certain defiles that open a passage into Switzerland. A chosen band of assassins, under the command of one Jourdan, distinguished by the name of *Cut-throat*, which then was far from being considered as a term of reproach, was dispatched to that beautiful spot where the nature of the inhabitants was congenial with the mild benignity of the climate. They began the system of their operations by instituting a club, and gaining partizans among the people. After massacring the most peaceable and respectable inhabitants, they compelled the remainder to meet and vote their union with the kingdom of France. Those assassins were sent, under the name of commissaries, for settling certain differences which they pretended to have arisen amongst the inhabitants, and between Avignon and Carpentras. The assembly, by this management,

management, had the appearance of only acceding to the will of the majority of the inhabitants, when they afterwards declared that Avignon was an integrant part of the kingdom.

The revolution of Avignon, the first fruits of the new pacific system of France, formed a presage of farther encroachments, and unfolded the principle on which these were to be made; which were precisely the same with that on which the ancient Romans extended their conquests over the greatest part of the known world. Like the Romans, they began their operations with learning the state of parties, and fomenting divisions; by espousing the cause of one of the parties, and making it the tool of their ambition.

On the same plan they have proceeded, like the Romans, to make war on other nations, not as enemies, but friends and protectors; affecting to govern distant countries by influence and management, without seizing on them immediately and openly as possessions. In the spirit of the Roman policy, they avow open and eternal war against one rival, while they offer an insidious peace and amity to other nations. They have marked out their Carthage, the destruction of which they affirm to be necessary to the freedom of commerce, and the peace of the world. While they lull the nation into habits of peace, they themselves nourish in their own country a spirit of war, and this becomes the great road to distinction, and the ruling passion of the nation: nor is this road precluded to the very meanest of the citizens; to whom the highest dignities are opened, as they also were

to the plebeians of Rome in the course of their contests with the senate. Granting certain privileges to the states whom they subdue under the name of allies, they even induce them to fight their battles, and to become the vile instruments of rivetting the yoke of slavery on their own necks, and imposing it on their neighbours: and, finally, like the ancient Romans, they affect to raise their authority by lofty pretensions and names, by external magnificence and pomp, and carrying to their capital whatever is to be found most exquisite in art among the spoils of the conquered countries. Such is the system of ambition to which the revolution of the small state of Avignon formed a cruel, though proper prelude. The horrors committed at Avignon have been forgotten and lost in those that have since been committed all over France. But long did men shudder at the name of the glaciis under the walls of Avignon, filled up with the dead bodies of its slaughtered inhabitants.

The next object to which the new legislature of France turned their attention, was, the continued emigration of the nobles to join the army of French assembled beyond the frontiers, under the Prince of Condé.

October 14, 1791. It was decreed that emigrants, thus assembled, should be from that time considered as traitors against their country; and that from the first of January 1792, such as should be known to be assembled, should be punished with death: that all the French princes, and public functionaries, who should not return before the first of January, should

be adjudged guilty of the same crime; that such as should be convicted during their absence, should forfeit their estates and property during their own lives, but not to the prejudice of their children; that all such persons holding offices should be adjudged to have forfeited the same: that all such being officers in the army and navy, should be considered as deserters; and that Frenchmen, enlisting men to attack the frontiers, should be adjudged guilty of high treason. It could not be expected that the King should ratify a decree so severe against men who had been guilty of no other crime than that of faithfully adhering to the monarchy and the monarch. He withheld his sanction for the present, and did that which any other just and humane prince would have done in similar circumstances. Determined to support the constitution, to which he had sworn, he would not encourage or connive at preparations for war against it; but, concerned for the personal rights and safety of men whom he esteemed and loved, he resolved to attempt a reconciliation between the French government and the emigrants, by the mild method of admonition and persuasion. He had dispatched letters again and again, even before the violent decree of the assembly, to all the princes, earnestly entreating them to return; and used all his endeavours by a public proclamation, as well as by all the private influence he possessed, to recall the emigrants to the bosom of their country, and to retain those who were inclined to emigrate.

Dec. 14, 1791. The King, on the same day that he refused his sanction to the decree against the emigrants, had previously given it to another decree of the assembly, requiring the Count of Provence, his eldest brother, to return to the kingdom within the space of two months. The French princes, in answer to the King's repeated letters, persisted in their refusal to acknowledge the constitution accepted by his Majesty, and declared their views to be the re-establishment and respect of the Roman catholic religion and its ministers, and to restore to the King his liberty and legislative authority. The King would probably have approved heartily of the constitution, had a few modifications been made to satisfy his conscience as to religion, and his feelings with regard to his family and the nobles. But still, harsh as it was in these respects, there was not any reason to doubt of his sincerity in his earnest and repeated letters to the princes. His piety, the sacrifices he had often made to humanity, the gentleness and the timid hesitation and irresolution of his character, all conspire to preclude every idea of duplicity on the part of the King on this occasion. It is also to be observed, that whatever repugnance may have been felt by their Majesties to so great a retrenchment of the royal authority, it could not be, and in fact it is well enough known, that it was not their wish that the ancient monarchy should be restored by external force, under the direction and auspices of the princes*; whose victorious entrance and re-establishment in

* The Prince of Condé, the Count de Provence, and the Count d'Artois.

France must eclipse what remained of the splendor of the crown, throw a cloud of disgust and even contempt on their Majesties, as being incapable of maintaining a throne which they had restored, and put all places of power and trust in the hands of their party. From the commencement of the revolution the court of France was divided into different parties: that of the Count d'Artois, under the direction of Mr. de Calonne, who had been disgraced at the instigation of the Queen in 1788; and that of this princess, to which the other was in direct opposition. Though the imperial court, with equal dignity and humanity, have afforded an asylum worthy of the Princess Royal of France, a descendant of the house of Austria, no such retreat was offered to the prince: nor did they ever go to Vienna. When their Majesties attempted their escape to Montmedi, and were stopped at Varennes, neither the Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, nor Mr. de Calonne were in the secret: nor did they receive any intelligence before they read it in the newspapers. To suppose that there was a secret collusion and concert between their Majesties and the princes, appeared in reality to those who were acquainted with the court of France, and on whose authority we give these facts, not only improbable, but extravagant. Yet it must be owned that there were not wanting many circumstances which might naturally nourish suspicion in the breasts of such a people as the

French; of whom it is a notable characteristic that they are at once prone to suspicion and credulity: a paradox that will not appear altogether inexplicable to those who reflect on the extreme sensibility of their temper, and that a momentary belief attends the vivid conception of every object. His Majesty's letter to his officers, when he fled to Montmedi, evidently tended to throw all things into confusion†. When the King accepted the constitution of 1791, he should have done it firmly and frankly; and, at the same time, given positive orders to his brothers and the other emigrants to disarm: though they would have been involved in disastrous consequences by a refusal, he had still in reserve the power of pardon. The manner too in which he accepted the constitution, and the observations he made on it, were not calculated to inspire a belief and confidence in his sincerity.—“It appears to me,” said the King, “that the constitution does not possess that energy of execution and administration which are necessary to impress the movement and preserve the unity of so vast an empire.” This observation was just: but it was imprudent to make it. In this qualified acceptance, the republicans imagined that they saw hypocrisy,—and the constitutionalists, a King protesting against laws entrusted to his execution. It would be hard to censure with severity the conduct of the King at this crisis: he was sincere, but deficient in decision and vigour: he had penetration to discover the de-

† A measure not altogether dissimilar to that of James II. of England, who, before his flight into France, caused the great seal to be thrown into the river Thames.

fects of the constitution; but not to foresee the consequence of his strictures. There are some other circumstances naturally tending to produce a suspicion of the sincerity of the King, which it may be natural in this place to mention. It was a common thing for the emigrants to pass and repass publicly between Coblenz and the Thuilleries; and it became quite a matter of fashion for the young men when they had got into their chaises in the court of the palace, to call out to their postillions, "To Coblenz." It was very common for those about the persons of the King and Queen to speak with contempt and derision both of the new constitution and all those who were entrusted with the execution of it. The people could not easily be induced to believe that the master was cordial in a cause which the servants without restraint made an object of ridicule.

It was farther observed, that the King was more inclined to admit into his familiarity and confidence the zealous partizans of the ancient monarchy, tho' of obscure situations, than any of the constitutionalists; even of those who had risen to the most elevated situations in the military or other departments in the public service.

New circumstances of suspicion sprung up before the jaundiced eye of jealousy every day; and, in the midst of this general mistrust and disaffection, the predominant party in the assembly were encouraged to proceed in the execution of their design of lessening the power of the King, and exalting their own on its ruins.

The first step they took for the accomplishment of this end, was,

by all means to get rid of the usual marks of respect to his Majesty's person: in which intention they were encouraged by dissensions and even bickerings in the cabinet.

Feb. 6, 1792. Condorcet, appointed president, was ordered to write a letter to the King, in which he was directed to lay aside the title of *your Majesty*, and to observe the same formula usually adopted by the King in writing to the national assembly.

Condorcet wrote the letter according to the form prescribed: which, after being submitted to the assembly, was sent to the King by one of their ushers. This passed on the first day of their sittings.— On the second, it was decreed that when the King should come to the assembly, he should place himself in an arm-chair, on the left hand of the president, exactly alike and on the same level with that on which the president himself was seated. As nothing had been fixed by the constitution with respect to the King's and the president's chairs, and as the former assembly had never thought of refusing the most honourable place to his Majesty, this insolent pretension of the new deputies excited without doors a very general indignation. Whether it was still thought proper by the French nation that the King should be honoured; or that the usual odium was excited against upstart vanity and eminence; it was the general wish that the King on this occasion should firmly assert his dignity. The matter being discussed in the council, the King himself found means of eluding the intended humiliation in the constitution, which did not oblige him to open the sessions in person. The assembly perceiving the public voice to

be against them, repealed their odious decree; and the King then consented to go to the opening of the assembly. The external signs of good-will and respect are of great importance in society, as they not only tend to restrain the expressions, but in some measure the growth of discordant passions. Bertrand de Moleville, minister of the marine, declared his opinion in council, that the insult offered by the assembly ought not to be passed unnoticed: but the King was on all occasions averse to vigorous measures.

About this time the Jacobins, both in and out of the assembly, began to be very sparing in the application of the titles of King and Queen. Circumlocutions were used; such as "the executive power and his wife." By the mob they were commonly stiled, "Monsieur and Madame Veto."

Though the act of degradation was repealed, the example of insolence was set; and the viler sort of the populace resorting in crowds to the places under the walls of the Thuilleries, gave vent to their malignant passions, in revilings of the whole royal family, not to be repeated. The Queen was insulted in one of the walks. The ungenerous mob appeared continually under the windows of the King's apartments, loading him with insults and injuries; and no person of either sex, attached to the royal family, could visit the palace in safety †. On this account it was determined to shut up the garden of the Thuilleries;—but the assem-

bly decreed that tho' the garden belonged to his Majesty, the terrace on the side next to the assembly belonged to the nation. The mob, or, as they stiled themselves, the nation, were freely admitted to their own terrace. The royal residence was exposed to any outrage they might be induced to commit: and a dislike and distrust of the King, by this ridiculous distinction between a right of property in one part of the garden, and that of another, nourished in the breasts of the people.

March 17, 1792. The tide of the public spirit running strong against the court, three of the ministers, Duport, Cahier, and Farbe, resigned their offices; and Garnier, Roland, and Claviere, agreeably to the desire of the assembly, were appointed in their stead:—Garnier, minister of war; Roland, for the interior; and Claviere for contributions. Dumouriez was nominated to the department of foreign affairs, and de la Cotte, in the room of Bertrand de Moleville, to the marine.

De Lessart, to whom Dumouriez succeeded, had been accused on the first of March, of having deceived the nation; of having omitted to give information to the assembly of a concert formed among foreign powers, against the liberty and independence of France; of not having pressed the measures proper for the defence and safety of the nation; of having given to Prince Kaunitz details improper to be communicated, on the situation of the kingdom; of having meanly

† One of their methods of insult consisted in accusing the Queen of every abominable crime: another, in singing songs, in which the King was treated with ridicule, insolence, and even with menaces of violence.

sued for peace, and having refused to obey a decree of the assembly of the 22d of January, for a declaration to the Emperor, in the name of the King, "That he cannot any longer hold a political correspondence with any sovereign but in the name of the French nation, and according to the powers with which he was invested by its national assembly;—that the King should be invited to treat the Emperor, as head of the house of Austria, to live in peace with the French nation;—that the King should be invited to declare to the Emperor, that if he should not give a satisfactory answer to the above decree before the first of March, it should be held equivalent to a declaration of war." He was conducted under a strong guard to Orleans, to take his trial before the high court, appointed for the trial of the state criminals. Mr. de Lessart, it was alleged, was a leading member of what was called the Austrian Committee: a junto, it was pretended, whose business it was to correspond with the court of Vienna, for the purpose of facilitating the entrance of the Germans into France, and their march to Paris; but which existed only, as clearly appeared on a public trial, in the suspicious imaginations of the Jacobins: nor is it thought by many that its existence was seriously believed, even by the leaders of that party, though it was deemed good policy to spread this fable; which was done by methods in which great subtlety of contrivance was combined with extreme profligacy.

The King was allowed by the constitution, besides the national guards of honour, eighteen hundred men for a guard, or household-troops, to be paid from the civil

list, and wearing an uniform different from that of the national assembly.

The necessity of making great sacrifices to popularity, constrained the King to compose this body of officers and soldiers, taken half from the national guards and half from the line:—But instead of choosing that half which was to be taken from the national guards, out of the body of the national guards of Paris, among whom it was of great importance that he should be popular, and where the character of those chosen could be better known, his Majesty was prevailed on to allow a certain number to be named by each department of France. Those departments in which men of character presided, sent very good men; but others sent a set of worthless fellows; who, soon after their arrival at Paris, were received in the Jacobin clubs; where they were prompted to make daily accusations, ridiculous indeed, but well adapted to excite the animosity of the people against their comrades of the King's guards;—against whom a lively jealousy was excited among the whole of the national guards at Paris. Continual disputes took place between the two corps; which would certainly have occasioned bloodshed, had not the King ordained that they should do duty at the palace alternately; assuring them, at the same time, that the highest proof they could give him of their attachment, would be to live amicably together. The new guards did every thing in their power to cement all union: but it happened too often, that some of the national guards, more envious or irritable than the rest, complained, that the King and Queen

Queen spoke oftener, and with more complacency to the new guards than them.

This new guard became an object of suspicion and terror to the inhabitants of Paris, who considered them as aristocrats in disguise. The jealousies and squabbles between this body and the national guards, added to the fable of the Austrian Committee, encouraged the Assembly to persevere in throwing out and circulating suspicions against the intentions of the King and the civism of his guards. When vague rumours and accusations had thus worked up the minds of the populace to a state of anger and inquietude, the legislative assembly, under pretence of a plot that threatened its existence, with the safety of the country, declared itself permanent. By a decree of the assembly, the whole body of the life guards were dismissed, May 20, 1792; and their commander, the Duke de Brissac, sent to the prison at Orleans. The Duke was unalterably attached to his Majesty: and it was a double advantage to send this gentleman to a distance; and by confining him in prison to be tried at a future day, to keep up an appearance that some charges could actually be brought against him. The King was perfectly sensible that the motive of the decree for disbanding his guard was no other than to deprive him of the protection of men who would defend his life, at the hazard of their own. He was extremely agitated; and the morning after the decree passed, he sent for his ministers at an early hour, and communicated a letter to them, which he intended to send to the Assembly, announcing his refusal to sanction the de-

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creed: but they all refused to counter-sign his letter; which consequently could not be sent. His Majesty then proposed to go in person to the Assembly, and pronounce a discourse, in which he would give his reasons for not sanctioning the decree. But the ministers assured him that the ferment of the people was so violent, that the sanction could not be deferred without exposing the guards and every person in the palace to the greatest danger. The unhappy prince, without farther resistance, consented to sanction that fatal decree. Nor was the Assembly satisfied with disbanding the body-guards, and dispersing the Swiss regiments of guards among the troops of the line. As it was possible that the Parisian guards might be headed by a moderate man, a decree had been passed that the commandant of the guard should be renewed every two months; so that there might be no time for any commander to gain any dangerous ascendancy over the minds of the officers and soldiers. Accordingly (after La Fayette quitted the command of the Parisian guard for that of the army) six commandants were appointed to relieve each other at the periods just mentioned, instead of one.

The fund of the civil list was divided into twelve equal payments, and placed in the chest of Mr. de Septeuil, who was at once the King's valet de chambre and treasurer of the civil list. These payments were made in assignats, except the sum of seventy-five thousand livres, which the King desired he might have in specie. But towards the end of 1791, the commissioners of the national trea-

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fury informed Mr. de Septeuil, that on account of the extreme scarcity of money, they could no longer give the above sum to his Majesty in specie; and that it must in future be paid in assignats. The King was no longer able to pay in specie several expences foreign to his personal service, which he was in use to draw from his private purse:—and he was thus cut off from all means of exercising what was so pleasing to him, any act of gratitude, of kindness, or compassion. The scanty spring of any little influence that might have arisen from the exercise of the social and benevolent virtues, with such limited means, was thus almost totally dried up by the inhuman and unrelenting severity of the Jacobins, as they were called, or democratical party; which now ruled public affairs with despotic sway. The King was much affected at this ungenerous and cruel act, and mentioned it in the council.—A member of the council found means of procuring a sum of which his Majesty was in want. The King accepted it with a smile, saying, “It is not for myself that I want it, for my expences are paid in assignats; but it is for old servants whom I have always paid in money;—also for charitable uses, and to enable me occasionally to furnish the Queen and my sister with a few Louis, in exchange for their assignats.

Having thus given some account of the measures taken by the Assembly for overturning the throne, we shall here enumerate the principal of those that were pursued or advised by his ministers for their counteraction. The ministers of the King, or rather some of them, proposed measures for saving the royal fa-

mily and the constitution. Mr. de Moleville, minister of marine, had planned a scheme for obtaining a minute knowledge of the public disposition, by means of certain persons called Observers, who were chosen and employed for that purpose, in number thirty-five: some attended the tribunes of the Assembly, others the Jacobin club, and that of the Cordeliers; while others were ordered to mix in the various groups that attended the palace royal, the Thuilleries, the principal coffee-houses, and the carabets. Their business was to support by their applause all constitutional and royal motions, and to hiss, and even insult whoever should propose a measure contrary to the interest of the King and the constitution. Their custom was to give a daily report of whatever they saw or heard. The King by this means knew all that passed in Paris, and might have derived advantages from it, at least equal to the whole expences of the plan, which amounted to 8000 livres a month, had it not been for his aversion to those vigorous measures which the present emergency required; but that aversion was so great, that the information which he received, only served to alarm and torment him. It was not pursued *con amore*, and came to nothing:—nor was the result more fortunate of another establishment, more expensive, intended for the same purpose. A person of great subtlety, dexterity, and insinuation; always of the opinion of the person he conversed with, but, in reality, attached to no party, persuaded Mr. Montmorin, that from his intimacy with the popular characters of the revolution, it was in his power to be of essential

essential service to the King, especially by inspiring and keeping up a spirit of loyalty in the national guards of Paris, by associating himself with the officers and soldiers who had the greatest influence in their particular battalions. The expence of his scheme was 34,000 livres a month. The ministers, so far from hesitating to grant him the sum demanded, were convinced that they had made a very advantageous bargain; and, in order to remove any suspicion that might be occasioned by his expensive manner of living (for he invited about twenty persons every day to dinner) Mr. de Lessart, who had succeeded to Mr. de Montmorin, as minister of the home department, appointed him to a place of 16,000 livres a year: which, together with his own personal property, might be supposed to enable him to support the expence which his place required him to keep up. No advantage resulted from this measure, either by conciliating the national guards or the sects, who continued to be as ill disposed as ever. It may appear astonishing that the noisy patriot, Danton, through the means of this very agent, received more than a hundred thousand crowns at different times, under the ministry of M. de Montmorin, for proposing or supporting various motions in the Jacobin club. His usual method was to season these with violent declamations against the court and ministers, that he might not be suspected of being sold to them. The terms of Danton being judged extravagant, certain motions suggested by ministry were made and carried in the club on easier terms, by Dubois de Croance. The same agent, towards

the end of December, 1791, was commissioned by Mr. de Lessart to make proposals to the deputies Brissot, Vergniaud, and Gaudet. The Abbé Fauchet and other members of the Assembly, 1796, in consequence of these deputies, had agreed to give their voices and influence in the Assembly to the minister, for the sum of 6,000 livres a month each. Their price was thought too high: and as they would not abate in the least in their demand, the negotiation ended, and only produced the effect of irritating these five deputies against the minister. Attempts were also made to gain the galleries; and vast sums were expended in these, without effect. The persons entrusted with that business turned it to their own profit. Spies and agents were also hired, who should mix in all popular meetings; who should endeavour to manage the public spirit, and qualify the motions made in those assemblies in miniature, in such a manner as they might be the least injurious, if they could not be so modified as to be of benefit to the royal cause.

A prosecution was carried on before a court of justice against certain journalists who maintained the existence, and even charged several individuals with being members of the Austrian Committee, above mentioned. The futility of this story was clearly exposed: but the calumniators were screened from punishment by the interference of the Assembly, of which they were members; and the judge La Riviere, who had the fortitude to arrest, and would have had the justice to punish them, was sent to the prison of Orleans.

Different plans were concerted
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for the escape of the royal family from the Thuilleries; particularly one for their retreat to the castle of Gallion, in Normandy, near Rouen. The building was spacious, and the park very extensive: it was exactly at the distance prescribed by the constitution for the royal residence, being just twenty leagues from Paris; and presented in its moderate distance from the sea, the loyalty of the inhabitants of that part of Normandy, as well as of the commander of the troops, the Duke of Liancourt, and of the commissary of marine at Havre de Grace, a secure retreat, if necessary, from the pursuit of the Jacobins. The Duke of Liancourt, who had on former occasions given the strongest proofs of attachment to his Majesty's person, made a tender to the King, on the present occasion, of all his interest and fortune. The plan for escaping was as plausibly arranged as the place of retreat was well chosen: but the King, always averse to active measures, and more passive than ever since his arrestment at Varennes, refused to adopt it. The objection of the Queen, who was very far from being deficient in either decision or energy, deserves to be recorded; it opens a clear vista into the mind of her Majesty, from which it may be presumed, that of the King was not very dissonant on the subject of the new constitution; and indicates an unfortunate inveteracy against even the friends of limited monarchy.—Her Majesty, speaking of this plan that had been adopted by Mr. de Montmorin, and

supported by Mr. Bertrand, said, "They do not consider that they are throwing us into the hands of the constitutionalists." It is in truth to this unrelenting pride and rancour against correction of abuses and improvement in the constitution, on the part of the court, and its adherents, as well as to the ungovernable and base passions of the people, that the calamities of France are partly to be ascribed. It would appear that the hatred of the court towards the constitutionalists was even greater than that which it bore to the republican party. From the violence of the latter, it looked for a confusion that should involve in its consequences a restoration of the ancient monarchy: from the stability of the constitution it saw nothing but vexation, and royalty in fetters. There was a party about court, of whom the chief was the celebrated Abbe Maury, one of the greatest favourites at court, who were of opinion that the best way for restoring the power and dignity of the crown, was, to permit, and even to encourage and forward the eruption of those evils of which they were convinced must sooner or later arise from the constitution. In the Constituent Assembly, on the question for the abolition of tythes, the Abbe Maury, in opposition to Tallyrand Perigord, then bishop of Aulun and now minister of France for foreign affairs; and the Abbe Sieyes, now the French minister at the court of Berlin, voted for the abolition *! On the same principle, when a new mayor of Paris was to be elected in the room

* On that occasion the Abbe published a pamphlet with the following motto, "*Ils veulent être libres, et ils ne savent pas être justes!*" "They would be free, and yet they know not what it is to be just!"

of Bailly, the court bribed a majority of the electors of Paris to vote for Petion, in preference to La Fayette; in the hope that the violence of the former would eventually overthrow the new order of affairs, and bring back the old. It was suspected that there was a collusion between the friends of the *peuple** and Marat, who had been in the service of the Count d'Artois, and who was suspected of being still in that prince's interest. It was the constant business, as is well known, of Marat, to pour forth the bitterest invectives against Mirabeau, Lameth, La Fayette, and all whom he supposed to be of greatest credit with the people. Marat did not, like Robespierre, despise money; it was in truth necessary to his luxurious manner of living.

The only scheme of defence and counteraction approved by the King, was a fete in honour of the mayor of Desfontaines. The fete of Chateau Vieux, celebrated on the 19th of June, 1791, in honour of the soldiers who had revolted at that place, and had been condemned to the galleys, but released by the absurd populace as martyrs to liberty, and carried in triumph through the Champ de Mars, had all the success which the contrivers of it intended. It familiarized the people with ideas of revolt, and entirely extinguished the faint remains of respect they had still retained for the King and his authority. A plan for counteracting this impression, proposed by one Buob, an honest Alsatian, whose zealous endeavours for turning the popular tide in favour of royalty were eminently signalized in other instances, was highly approved by

his Majesty, and adopted. By the address of Buob, and means of his adherents, a fete in honour of the mayor, who had just been massacred in a popular insurrection, while discharging the duties of his office, and who was very generally regretted, was voted by the sections and municipality of Paris, in spite of all the manœuvres of the Jacobins to prevent it. For encouraging this, the sum of 10000 livres, contributed from the civil list, was prepared as the produce of an anonymous subscription. Nothing was omitted to render the celebration of the fete splendid and affecting; and numerous pamphlets were distributed, execrating the plots and crimes of the factions. But such resources produced only a momentary effect, and were but feeble barriers against the superior energy of the Jacobins, and the strong current of public prejudice.

The King was now in a deplorable situation. The nobility and clergy, the natural pillars of the royal authority, had emigrated, or continued to emigrate: he was deserted or forced to part with the servants in whom he could confide, and compelled to receive in their stead, Roland, Servan, Claviere, of the Jacobin club, and Dumouriez, who had no fixed principle but that of sailing with the tide, and making the most of circumstances for his own advantage. He was personally insulted, deprived of his guards, and reduced with his family literally to board-wages. The grand principles and pillars of the monarchy; the power of coining and collecting money, and that of directing the public spirit or tone of France, were overthrown by the assignats,

* "The worst!" so Abbe Maury's policy was called.

and the rudeness and fury of democracy. The monarchy had in fact been subverted in October, 1789: it could not be rebuilt with the small fragments that remained, conjoined with a mass of heterogeneous materials. The fabric attempted to be composed, ill-cemented and battered on every side, had begun to shake and totter; and events now happened which precipitate its fall and utter ruin.

The people of France, particularly the inhabitants of Paris and other cities and towns, subsisted chiefly on the employment they found from the great proprietors of estates, whose revenues were circulated for their benefit in various channels. By the emigrations, these channels were in a great measure dried up, and great numbers were reduced to idleness, poverty, and extreme want. Still, however, during the period in which the States General, and afterwards as they constituted themselves, the National Assembly, were employed in the formation of a new constitution, their spirits were kept up by the expectation of the great comfort and happiness that was to arise out of the new order of affairs to be arranged according to the will, and of course for the good of the sovereign people. The new order, however, had been actually established, and still satisfaction and happiness appeared to be at a greater distance than ever. In such circumstances, the minds of men who were under no restraints from religion or honour, and who had been flattered without difficulty into a conceit of their own importance, were ready instruments for the execution of any purpose, however criminal. In this state of affairs, the supreme power was vested in

the Jacobin club: — they swayed the people of Paris, and thus held in their hands the same engine of terror that had effected both the first and the late revolution. They still possessed the same arms by which they had pulled down the nobility,—the people, who had nothing to lose, and who were very ready to avenge on all persons of property the inequalities of fortune. Their system of government was simple and obvious; — namely, to overawe and over-rule the Legislative Assembly by the national guards, and the mob of Paris: nor did they seem to have any greater or more fixed object in the exercise of their power, than the subversion of all order, and the confusion of all property. But still, in the midst of all their popularity and violence, there was one thing that gave them uneasiness. They had found, from experience, that the proprietors who had not emigrated, and also the merchants, the master tradesmen, and manufacturers of all kinds who had not emigrated, were enemies to all new commotions. These, in the present order of things, had become the first class of society; and now desired nothing so much as to remain in quiet possession of their property, and of the consideration and influence in the state to which the new constitution had raised them. To cultivate peace and preservation of order, was held, according to the French acceptance of the word, an aristocrat; so that to be the democrats of 1789 (the same men who had pulled down their own superiors) were become the aristocrats of 1792, and laboured in their turn to preserve order against the attacks of their inferiors. It was hinted to the populace, that passive citizens had

had equal rights by nature, with those to whom the constitution had given the rights of voters or active citizens: and certainly it could not be contested that, if all men were born and remained free and equal, there was an absurdity in giving a full exercise of his rights to the person who paid sixty sols of taxes, and refused it to another because he paid only fifty-nine. After the declaration of rights, it was not to be expected that any considerable portion of the inhabitants of the country could be excluded from a full and free participation. If the nobility could not defend the ancient distinctions of the feudal system two years before, it was not to be supposed that the new aristocrats would be able to maintain the distinctions that had been made in their favour: shops and warehouses were not likely to be held more sacred than gentlemen's castles and feudal rights.

The national guards of Paris, so highly respected and proud of their military honours in the beginning of the revolution, began not only to be objects of jealousy, but to be regarded with less respect from the time when they permitted the mob, in June 1791, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. de la Fayette to stop the King in the way to St. Cloud.

A ragged coat was now become more honourable than the embroidered epaulet. The ragged emissaries of the Jacobins began to arm themselves with pikes, and to form pretensions which evidently tended to the destruction of their aristocratic superiors.

In the midst of these internal contests and distractions, war was declared by France against the Em-

peror and the King of Prussia, on account of a treaty said to have been formed at Pilnitz for the dismemberment of France, and the permission granted to the emigrants to enroll themselves in a military manner at Coblenz. Dumouriez, minister for foreign affairs, laid before the National Assembly, April 14, 1792, the correspondence that passed between the French and Austrian governments relative to the circumstances and measures that had excited apprehension and alarm on either side. The French King having repeatedly remonstrated against the hostile posture and appearances in Germany, to no purpose, transmitted to the King of Hungary a letter demanding an entire renunciation on the part of his Hungarian Majesty, of all coalition of armament against France; and declaring to him, that if he did not agree to this, he would regard him, from the present moment, as in a state of war. The renunciation demanded not being obtained, the King came to the Assembly, April 20th, 1792, and said, "I have come among you for an object of the highest importance in the present circumstances. My minister of foreign affairs will read to you the report which he made to me in council on our situation with respect to Germany." The report being read, the King, resuming his speech, said, "I come therefore to propose to you, formally to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary!" which was done accordingly with the usual formalities in every city throughout the kingdom. The King himself, apprehending many evils from the victories which he believed would be gained by the Prussians and Austrians,

ans, was averse to the war. It seemed necessary to his ministers, for the ostensible reasons set forth in the French manifesto; and probably for the secret reason, that without open hostilities they could not keep on foot so great a war-establishment as was necessary to be opposed to the menacing preparations of the German and other nations. The King on this occasion threw all the responsibility on his ministers, by making them sign each his opinion and reasons for going to war, in opposition to his own sentiments. These he sent by a Mr. Morris, a violent enemy to the new constitution, in vindication of himself, to the Emperor. This mode of justifying himself at the expense of men of great probity and honour, whom he himself had called to the administration (Mr. de Grave, whom all writers, as well as the more immediate witnesses of his conduct, assert to have been steadily attached to the person of the King and the dignity of the crown; Mr. de la Cotte, minister of the marine, and Mr. Duranton, minister of justice, both men of unfulfilled reputation; and finally Mr. Dumouriez himself, on whom at that time Louis lavished his favours and confidence); this mode of self-justification, it must be allowed, gave some colour of plausibility to accusations of insincerity; although those who were best acquainted with the King, even they who were victims to this timid policy, vindicate the memory of Louis from that imputation, and make every allowance for a character undecided, inactive, and humane to excess, acting in a situation new and difficult, almost beyond example.

The declaration of war was fol-

lowed by a decree, ordering the troops of the line at Paris to join the army on the frontier of France towards the Austrian Netherlands. These troops were suspected of incivism, that is to say, attachment to the royal cause. The Jacobinical party by this measure gained the double advantage of getting quit of opponents, and replacing them with an armed force of different dispositions, and by whom their own principles and power would not be endangered, but protected and advanced.

Though the constituted authorities had all of them been appointed by the domineering party, which now comprehended the Jacobin club, with the leading men of the assembly and the ministers, and rendered almost independent of the executive power, as well as of one another, yet the position in which they were placed, required, if it were only for self-defence, that they should maintain some degree of order and obedience to the laws: they therefore became suspected persons, or aristocrats, and no inconsiderable danger was to be apprehended from a general union of their efforts in the cause of government, arising from a general union of personal interests: for although Petion was mayor of Paris, and Manuel and Danton under him, yet the spirit of the common council was by no means such as to justify a dependence on the co-operation or passivity of even the municipality of Paris, much less on those of the other cities in the kingdom. Uncertain therefore how the municipality of Paris, and of course how the Parisian guards might act in any new conjuncture or commotion, they determined to have an army
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of their own at their command; and for this end, on pretence of an anxiety for the safety of the capital after the removal of the troops of the line, they agreed on the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men, to consist of volunteers from every part of the kingdom, and assembled under the walls of Paris. It was very well known that these volunteers would everywhere be chosen by the republican party, whose power was universally felt, and had impressed such a general terror as gave them a complete controul over every election. Servan, the minister at war, in connivance with the Girond party, Condorcet, Brissot, Vergniaud, and others, without any order from the King, and without communicating his intentions to his colleagues, proposed the measure of the encampment in a letter to the president of the National Assembly.

The Assembly, whose usurpations increased in proportion as the King's powers of resistance were weakened, not only passed this but another atrocious decree, conceived in the same spirit of jealousy and rancour, for the banishment of the priests, who refused to violate the oath they had taken to the heads of the church and the monarchy, and to take a new oath to the new constitution. The King shewed the utmost repugnance to sanction either of these decrees, notwithstanding the threatening intimations he daily received from his ministers Claviere, Servan, and Roland. Many squabbles took place between these men and the other ministers, who, though deeply tinctured with republican

ideas, yet seemed to be touched with the King's misfortunes, and always behaved to him with respect. They were shocked at the conduct of their colleagues, and determined to take the present opportunity to procure their dismissal. Dumouriez, with the approbation of Duranthon and La Coste, made a proposal of three new ministers to the King; which he accepted with the joy of a person who feels himself suddenly relieved from a load under which he is ready to sink.

The King, thus freed from these three ministers, persisted with the utmost firmness in refusing his sanction to those two decrees. The spirit that appeared in the capital on the dismissal of three violent ministers, did not at first give any ground for inquietude respecting the refusal of the royal sanction to the two atrocious decrees. But though a silence was maintained on the subject of the decree against the priests on the 26th of June, twenty deputies from the Faubourg St. Antoine *, appearing at the bar of the Assembly, boldly avowed themselves the authors of the meeting of the 20th of June, inveighed against the executive power, which, they said, would sacrifice the arms of France to the King of Hungary, if by doing so the reign of despotism could be restored. "It is always," said their orator, "from the foot of the throne that the stream of conspiracy spreads itself into every part of the body." About the same time petitions were sent to the Assembly from different sections of Paris, Laval, Lyons, and other places agitated by the Jacobin club, accusing the King of

* The St. Giles's of Paris.

perfidy,

perfidy, and the Queen of treachery.

It was now resolved by the disgraced ministers, the mayor of Paris, and other leading men among the Jacobins, since they could not have a camp of twenty thousand men, to have twenty thousand men without a camp. An immense multitude, collected from the different quarters of Paris, and armed with pikes, axes, swords, musquets, and artillery, marched in a body, June 20th, 1792, towards the Thuilleries, in order to force the King to sanction the two decrees; the one relating to the refractory priests, the other to the camp near Paris. A part of this body, armed as they were, marched in parade through the hall of the Assembly, which did not blush to applaud the lawless and unruly procession; from whence they repaired to the square of the Carrousel, in front of the palace, and demanded admittance for the purpose of presenting their petition to his Majesty. The gates of the Thuilleries were thrown open at four o'clock in the afternoon. The multitude entered violently into the palace and apartments of his Majesty; while six thousand of the national guards in arms, stood lookers on. Petition the mayor, the mob being expected, was absent on purpose; so that no orders could be given for opposing force to force. They presented the red bonnet of liberty to the King, which he cheerfully put on; and the Queen with the greatest condescension distributed among them ribbands and May-branches, the new test of patriotism. Many acts of rudeness and insolence were committed, and evident symptoms were manifested of an inten-

tion to assassinate the royal family. The King owed his life to his presence of mind and cool courage; the Queen, hers to the dignity of her manners and appearance; and the Princess Elizabeth, to the general respect due to her character, and the admiration inspired by the heroic manner in which she exposed her own life to save that of the Queen. Certain wretches insulted the Princess, mistaking her for her Majesty. "Do not undeceive them," said the Princess to her attendants, "it will prevent them from attacking the Queen." The firmness of his Majesty once more defeated the projects of the Jacobins. It is worthy of remark, that though this scene lasted from four to nine in the evening, and that upwards of 30,000 armed men were computed to have ranged freely over the palace; nothing was found missing, nor the most trifling article of furniture removed from its place. A political enthusiasm had for a time swallowed up every passion; not as afterwards, when all principle seemed to be laid aside, and nothing else to be pursued than the means of selfish and sensual gratification. The decrees were not sanctioned. The conduct of the King was generally applauded, and the leaders of the mob covered with disgrace. Hardly had the rabble gone out of the palace, when those even of the lowest class, who had not taken any part in the insurrection, expressed their indignation against those who had; and at the same time their admiration of the conduct, courage, and moderation of the King and royal family. A proclamation drawn up by Ferriar de Monciel, just appointed minister

nister of the home department *, produced a very good effect, not only in Paris, but in all the different departments, which sent addresses to the King, and also to the Assembly; demanding that the authors and abettors of the insurrection might be punished with the utmost severity. These it was not difficult to trace to the Jacobin club. It evidently appeared that Petion the mayor, and Manuel the procurator of the municipality of Paris, might easily have prevented or quelled the insurrection. The mayor arrived calmly in the evening, after the tumult was nearly over, in his carriage from Versailles, whither he had gone without any plausible or pretended reason, and, as was generally believed, for no other purpose than to be out of the way when his presence and authority might have been necessary for the preservation of order and the prevention of outrage. Both Petion and Manuel were suspended from the exercise of their offices by the department of Paris, of which the irreproachable Rochefaucault was president. This decision made a great noise in the capital. The majority of the citizens approved it; the royalists thought it too moderate; the Jacobins were enraged, and breathed vengeance.

The executive government now seemed to have gained courage, as well as a degree of solidity, from

the fortitude of the King, applauded by the general voice of the nation. In these circumstances La Fayette, at that time general of one of the three armies on the frontiers, who, on the 16th of June had addressed a letter to the Assembly, full of severe complaints against the Jacobin club, with whom he had become an object of calumny, left his army, without asking leave of absence, and unexpectedly appeared at the bar of the Assembly to complain, in the name of his army, and all good people in France, of the insult offered to the constitutional head of the nation. He avowed the letters he had sent. He intreated them to step forward and save the country from ruin, by dissolving the Jacobin club, and inflicting exemplary punishment on the instigators of the disgraceful outrages of the 20th instant. Various conjectures and comments were made on this step of the General, by those who were not willing to give him great credit for real patriotism, or real courage. Some said that he would not have ventured on this movement if he had not perceived, or imagined that he perceived, on the occasion of the 20th, the tide of popular opinion had begun to flow again toward monarchy. Others alleged that he bore a personal spite against Petion, of whom he was the unsuccessful competitor for the mayoralty of Paris. Certain it is, that

* In place of Dumouriez who had resigned, and was permitted to return to his post in the army. Dumouriez, with the approbation of his colleagues, Duranthon and La Coste, advised the King to dismiss the three ministers, Rolland, Claviere, and Servan, who had endeavoured to force his Majesty to sanction the two decrees: yet he resigned his office as minister, and abandoned the King for persisting in the very measure which he himself advised, when he found that it was only by making court to the Jacobins that he could expect either preferment or stability in office.

whatever

whatever were the secret motives of his conduct, he neither possessed, nor seems by aught that has appeared in his life, to have deserved such a reputation for decision, or even consistency and probity of character, and promptitude and intrepidity of action, as to inspire either his friends with confidence, or his enemies with terror. His declamations, and distant threats, served only to convince the Jacobins that it was in this manner, and not by the silent and reserved mode of combination and action, that he meant to give vent to his feelings. Though the discourse of the General was as strong as the circumstances required, he was heard with applause by the tribunes, and invited by the Assembly to the honours of the sitting. But scarcely had he taken his seat when his conduct was severely arraigned by Vergniaud, Gaudet, and others of the Girondists, in quitting his army without leave, and attempting to govern the Assembly by intimidation. In reality, he exposed himself fairly to such censures, by assuming the character of a deputy, not only from the army, but from all people of character and honour in the nation. "If," said Vergniaud, Fayette be the representative of all men of character and honour in the nation, whose representatives are we?"

During these declamations, which were also applauded by the audience in the galleries, the General remained silent and passive; and thus permitted all the effect of the bold step he had taken to be completely annihilated. He thought the best thing he could do was, to make his escape from Paris that very night, and to

join the army. He was not, however, wholly repulsed by the ill success of his appearance at the Assembly: he wrote a long letter to Mr. Lally Tollendal, in which he proposed a plan for opening a way to the King through his enemies, and to establish him in safety, either at Compeigne, or in the north part of France, surrounded by his constitutional guards, and by his faithful army. All this was to be done constitutionally. The King's distrust of Fayette was considerably abated; but he could never believe that he had it in his power to restore the monarchy. He therefore, through Mr. Lally, sent the following obliging, but negative, answer: "Let him know that I am sensible of his attachment, in proposing to incur so much danger; but it would be imprudent to put so many springs in motion at once. The best way he can serve me is, to continue to make himself a terror to the factions, by ably performing his duty as a General."

Mr. de la Fayette, having been advised by his friends at Paris of what was intended, commissaries to be sent to arrest him, immediately sent orders to the magistrates of Sedan to arrest the commissaries as soon as they should enter the town. He represented what had happened at Paris, as the temporary insurrection of a mob, which would soon be quelled; and by this means, prevailed on the magistrates to arrest and imprison them as impostors. But finding, however, no disposition in his army to adhere to him; but, on the contrary, that many of the officers, and almost all the soldiers, were determined to support the decrees of the assembly, he withdrew, with
a few

a few of his principal officers, in the night, into the territory of Liege, where he fell into the hands of an advanced post of the enemy, who were now on their march towards France. On his refusing to join the standard of the French princes, he was, with three of his companions, members like himself of the first assembly, sent as a prisoner to Namur.

The Jacobinical party contemned the feeble and imprudent step, taken by la Fayette; and all the papers devoted to their cause, now poured forth accusations and calumnies against the General, more abundantly than ever.

During the suspension of Petion from the office of mayor, he employed himself in writing a pamphlet, entitled, "General Rules of my Conduct towards the People." In this production, he declared that it had been his constant determination never to suffer any effusion of the blood of the people. No distinction was made between the peaceable and the seditious. Such a declaration was little less than to say, that turbulent and factious men might do any thing they pleased, provided they did it in a body. An infinite number of journalists and pamphleteers daily assailed the public ear, with a thousand crude notions on political subjects; and too many of them held the same doctrine. The press, with the auxiliary declamations of orators in coffee-houses, squares, and all public places, became the forum on which the great affairs of the nation were debated and decided. It was a singular and awful object of contemplation, to behold the refinements of me-

taphysics, armed with the fury of popular passion and the point of the bayonet, while the popular pamphleteers and orators, both stationary and itinerary, laboured with too much success to inflame the public mind against the court, and all ranks and classes of men connected with it or dependent upon it. The confederate armies of the Austrians and Prussians were in the field; and that of the Prussians, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, had penetrated into Champagne. In proportion, as he advanced towards Paris, the fears of men were heightened; and, with their fears, their suspicion, credulity, and vengeance. It was now almost universally believed in Paris, and the other great cities of France, that the King was in correspondence with the emigrant princes; and that the refusal of his sanction to the decrees, with many other circumstances which Jealousy reported and Fame magnified and increased, were clear proofs of a design to betray the country into the hands of the enemy. A decree was passed, declaring the country to be in danger. The national assembly then decreed two addresses; one to the army, the other to the French people. In the address to the latter, they spoke thus:—"Your constitution relies upon the principles of eternal justice: a league of kings is formed to destroy it. Their battalions advance, they are numerous, subjected to a rigorous discipline, and for a long time exercised in the arts of war. Do you not feel noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer that foreign horde shall spread, like a destructive torrent,

rent, over your harvests, desolate your houses by fire and murder; and, in one word, that they shall lead you in chains tainted with the blood of those you held most dear? You have taken the oath to live free, or die; the Assembly know you will adhere to it, and they will shew you the example; but it is not enough to brave death, it is necessary to conquer; and you may conquer if you abjure your hatreds, if you forget your political dissensions, if you rally to the common cause. Astonish your enemies by the majestic display of your strength, and of a great character of union, of respect for the laws, immoveable courage, and

speedy victory shall crown the altar of liberty with her palms."

The decree, announcing the country to be in danger, was followed by another, restoring Petion and Manuel to their important offices in the municipality of Paris. The assemblies of sections, municipalities, and departments, were rendered permanent; and it was declared that all the citizens, qualified to bear arms, should be in a state of permanent activity: a measure, by means of which, the whole order of things was soon completely subverted; and thus the interference of foreign powers, instead of sustaining the shaking monarchy, precipitated its fall.

CHAP. II.

Confederation against France of the Empires of Germany and Russia, and the Courts of Turin, Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal. The Combined Armies of Austria and Prussia, on the Frontiers of France, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. Manifesto of the Duke. Föderates, from all Parts of France, celebrate the Third Anniversary of the Revolution. The Whole of Paris overawed by a small Band of Marseillais. The Marseillais become a Rallying Post to the passive Citizens, who gain by Degrees an Ascendancy in Paris, and the other Towns in France. Motion for an Accusation against la Fayette rejected. The Rejection of this Motion irritates the Parisians. Petitions to the Assembly for the Deposition of the King. Proclamation of the King to the Nation. The Thuilleries attacked by an immense Multitude, armed with Pikes and Muskets, and furnished with Cannon. The Thuilleries reduced by the Assaultants. The Defenders of the Thuilleries, after a gallant Resistance, overpowered by Numbers, and the greater Part of them massacred. The King and Royal Family flee to the National Assembly. Measures that had been taken or advised, previously to this, for the Support of the Royal Authority. Conduct of the Assembly before, at, and after the Engagement of the Thuilleries. Generous Efforts of Individuals for saving the flying Swiss. The King suspended from the Royal Functions. The King and Royal Family detained in Prison as Hostages.

THE jealousy and apprehension of the court, and of all who favoured and sympathized with courts and kings, which at this time agitated and distracted France,

were inflamed into terror, rage, and hostile vengeance, by the intelligence that the empires of Germany and Russia, the courts of Turin, Naples, Rome, Spain, and Portugal,

Portugal, had formed a hostile confederation against France; and by the approach of the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of a great Prussian army, towards Paris*. His march was preceded by a manifesto, dated Coblenz, July 27, 1792; which he published in the character of commander in chief of the combined Austrian and Prussian armies, on the frontiers of France. It declared the objects of their Imperial and Prussian Majesties in making war on France; invited the sober part of the nation to return into the paths of reason and justice, order and peace; made all that exercised power in France responsible, on pain of death and confiscation of property, for whatever crimes they should suffer to take place; and which they should not have attempted, in a public manner, to prevent. Their Imperial and Prussian Majesties particularly declared, that if the least violence should be offered to, or outrage done their majesties the King and Queen, and the royal family; if they should not be immediately placed in safety, and set at liberty, they would inflict on those who should deserve it, the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction."

In an additional declaration, by his Most Serene Highness, in the name of their Imperial and Prussian

Majesties, the most certain, as well as severe punishment, was denounced against all those who should not oppose and stop any measures, or proceedings, that might be entered into, for carrying off the royal family from Paris. By what arguments the Duke of Brunswick, whose uncommon talents and sound judgment are universally acknowledged, could be persuaded to issue a manifesto, replete with such menaces, against a great kingdom, inhabited by so populous and courageous a nation, excited by a general enthusiasm to an extraordinary degree of exertion, it was not easy to conjecture; nor was the wonder lessened, but increased, when it was considered that the august family, to whom he carried relief and assistance, were at the mercy of the very people whom he so loudly threatened. This manifesto that had been drawn up, by an enthusiastic loyalist, under the eye of the princes, was afterwards modified according to certain communications from the King of France, transmitted by the hand of Mallet du Pan. This agent had it particularly in charge, to recommend to the foreign powers never to place the emigrants in the foremost ranks, but rather to employ them in garrison:—a recommendation which was attributed to those apprehensions which they supposed to have been suggested to the King, of the extravagant claims which might be preferred by the emi-

* The spirit of Paris, at this time, is strikingly illustrated by a motion in the Assembly, by Jean Debry, for raising a body of 1200 volunteers; whose business it should be to assassinate the generals and princes who commanded the armies which attacked France. This proposition was thought worthy of deliberation, and submitted to the consideration of the extraordinary committee. Debry was appointed by the National Convention, a member of the committee of constitution.

grants, if his Majesty should be reduced to the humiliation of owing the restoration of his authority to their services. This unfortunate manifesto did not produce fear, but a closer union, and a more determined purpose to ruin those in whose behalf it was issued.

The third anniversary of the revolution, furnished the leaders of the Jacobins with a pretext for inviting, for the safety of Paris, federates from all parts of France: amongst others, a number of abandoned wretches from Marseilles, who had been guilty of various crimes, and particularly active in the massacre at Avignon. Under the auspices of this rabble the federation was celebrated, and in a style and spirit entirely suitable to their genius. When the King appeared in the place assigned him in this festival, there was a profound silence; but no sooner had Petion entered the Champ de Mars, than the whole people repeated, "Long live Petion! No Austrian committees! No traiterous correspondence with Brunswick! Down with the departments and the veto!"

The Marseillois, under the command of General Westerman, a Prussian, were too late for the federation, but not for the purpose of both uproar and confusion, for which they had come, and for which they had in reality been called. Having entered Paris at the Barriere du Trone, they traversed the city till they came to the Thuilleries. In their way thither they made it their business to wait on Petion, who received them kindly, though it was his business to chase them out of the city, as had been done at Lyons, with

other places, and even at Melun, which is a very small town. They obliged every person whom they met in the streets to change their silken cockade for others made of worsted. On this occasion a very remarkable example was exhibited of the fluctuating nature of courage, and of the various circumstances by which it may be roused or dispelled, especially in great and undisciplined bodies. On the spot where the citizens of Paris, armed with sticks and stones, three years before, triumphed over a regular army, under the Prince de Lambete, did the small but resolute Marseillois triumph over the national guards of Paris, amounting to thirty-two thousand, and with the command of an hundred-and-twenty cannon. The Marseillois, after paying their homage to the Assembly, went to a tavern in the Elysian Fields, where near an hundred officers, of the Parisian guards, were also dining. A quarrel was raised; a contest ensued: the whole of the guards, directly in arms, paraded, and were in readiness for action; yet the Parisians, while their companions in arms remained passive spectators, were put to flight, with the loss of one killed, five wounded, and two taken prisoners. They next paid a visit to the Jacobins, where they received the fraternal embrace, and were admitted as members of the club; which, thus reinforced, became like the Assembly itself, both a deliberative and executive body.

The passive citizens, or those who paid no taxes, arranged themselves around the centre of the Marseillois and the Jacobins. The number of this formidable association was daily increased by the general

general apprehension and terror that prevailed, more and more, of the Prussian army; the suspicion that they were encouraged in their advances by a collusion with the court, and a very general conviction that there was no safety to the nation but in a second revolution. This republican combination, the Jacobin club, with its affiliations and adherents, by governing the great mass of the people who had neither property, nor good characters, nor good hopes, governed also the Assembly, of which almost all the leaders of the Jacobin club were also members.

The legislative Assembly had been divided into three parties:—the Moderate Men, or those who endeavoured to support the constitution; the Republicans, who were determined to pull it down; the Girondists*, friends to a fœderative republic, and who balanced and combined the different interests of the opposite parties, in such a manner as to promote their own views, concerning which various opinions were entertained †; and the party who called themselves Independents, though they might with greater propriety have been styled Indifferent, as they were neither much attached to the constitution, nor yet entertained any particular designs or views of farther revolution.

The members of the Jacobin club at that time associated not with any other of the Assembly than the republicans; or, as they were called, by one of those cant words that are coined in all great political commotions, the Mountain; and the Girondists, who were all of them members of the club in which the measures to be adopted by the Assembly were previously debated:—so that, in fact, the Jacobin club had become the legislative body for the whole of France. Liberty had been decreed, but men were not permitted either to speak or dress, but in the way that pleased the rulers of the Jacobins. Suspicion was as dangerous as conviction; denunciation was amongst the number of the patriotic duties of a citizen; it was become dangerous to be obnoxious to the rulers of the predominant party, but not so to be guilty; juries had been ordained, but justice had never had its free course. In political matters, and even in private causes between men of opposite factions, every thing was carried by party spirit: nor can the Jacobins in this be said to have been inconsistent with their professions of disregard to all long established authorities, human and divine. They had nothing to consult but their appetites and their

* Composed of the deputies from Bourdeaux and the course of the Garron; who happened to be men of very distinguished abilities, and who were joined in political sentiments and habits of intimacy with Brissot, Condorcet, Vergniaud, and other men of talents.

† It was very generally supposed that they wished to drive away the King, and on his abdication of the throne to declare the Dauphin his successor, and to take the tuition of the young prince and the government of the kingdom into their own hands, by the appointment of a regency. If this was the case, the Girondists may be considered as the Whigs of France; attached to Kingly government and regulated liberty, but more attached perhaps to their own ambitious interest than to either.

will: by physical force, to pursue the means of physical gratification. Though the Jacobins on the whole preponderated greatly, and swayed the Assembly, yet still there was room for avowed dissention, debate, and division in all questions; in the discussion and decision of which they were not under the influence of terror. On a motion for accusing Mr. de la Fayette, there appeared 244 for the question, and 406 against it. But when they were threatened with common and immediate danger, then, and then only, they were unanimous; of which they had soon occasion to give a very striking proof and example.

The people, irritated at the acquittal of Mr. de la Fayette, determined to have ample amends and satisfaction, by taking proper measures for securing unanimity on the important question for the deposition of the King (August 9, 1792) though this pious and pacific prince had done every thing in his power to dissuade the emigrants and foreign princes from making war against the new order of things, proclaimed their hostile preparation again and again, and called on the French nation to defend the liberty and independence of the country. In consequence of the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, he addressed a letter to the president of the National Assembly, August 3, 1792; in which he said that the Duke's declaration seemed to him to require a new declaration of his own sentiments. Never, he declared, should he be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation, or receiving the law from foreigners, or from a party:—it was to the nation he owed himself, and he was one and

the same with her. The usual motion that the King's letter should be printed and sent to the eighty-three departments, was negatived. Mr. Isnard asserted that the King's letter was only a heap of falsehoods, without being rebuked for the indecency of the expression. Thus the rulers of the Assembly, while they industriously misrepresented the whole conduct and designs of the King, intercepted the natural mode of communication between his Majesty and the nation, and deprived him of the best means of explaining and justifying himself. This perhaps was not one of the least severe among all the acts of tyranny and injustice with which they oppressed and overwhelmed their unhappy sovereign. On the same day (August 3, 1792) a deputation from the general council of the municipality of Paris, at the head of which was Petion, appeared at the bar, and demanded in the name of the forty-eight sections, that the King should be excluded from the throne; and that the management of affairs, during the inter-regnum, should be entrusted to responsible ministers, until the election of a new King in a national convention. Other deputations, with petitions to the same purpose, followed from particular sections; and a few days thereafter, August 7, 1792, several citizens were admitted to the bar of the Assembly, bearing a petition also to the same effect, and signed by many thousand persons in the Champ de Mars. This was a multitude of passive citizens, or those who had no votes by the first constitution in the elections of representatives: it was headed by the comedian Collot de Herbois.

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They were preceded by a pike, surmounted with a woollen bonnet; upon the middle of the pike was a label with the words "Deposition of the King." No answer was given, or resolution formed on the preceding petitions; but the petitioners from the Champ de Mars were informed that the Assembly would take their demand into consideration.

As affairs now assumed a very serious aspect, a council of state was held, and a proclamation was addressed by the King to the nation. The King, after animadverting on the mutual diffidence which a few factious and seditious men wished to excite between the nation and its sovereign, proceeded thus:—"Foreign armies menace you.—Frenchmen, it is for you to daunt them by your countenance, and especially by your union. They insult your independence;—renew with the King your oath to defend it. Frenchmen, can your King be responsible for the language which your enemies hold? Can it be in their power to break the bands, which subsist between you and him? and by manifestos, more dreadful perhaps than their arms, can they scatter division among us when they cannot inspire terror?"—Had sentiments and arguments so just been transmitted to the departments with the authority and approbation of the Assembly, they could scarcely have failed of making an impression favourable to his Majesty. From the moment they departed from the usual custom of ordering the royal communications to be published, and that too on the alleged ground of deceit and falsehood, his cause was prejudged in the minds of all who reposed any

confidence in the representatives of the nation; and he may be said indeed to have been in a great measure precluded from the liberty of the press.

On the 9th of August, the day appointed for the question of the deposition of the King, bodies of armed men surrounded the hall of the Assembly, and insulted, menaced, and assaulted the members who had voted in favour of La Fayette. As the confederates, and particularly the Marseillois, were known to be the great instigators of confusion and outrage, a motion was with the most perfect propriety made by Mr. Vaublanc for their removal from Paris: but this motion, though pressed warmly by him and others, was rejected. Many of the members going and coming to the hall of the Assembly were in danger of assassination. At midnight the tocsin sounded in every quarter; the cannon of alarm was fired; and at two o'clock the Assembly, under the present alarm, declared itself permanent.

An insurrection on this very day had been predicted for several weeks, and was universally expected. The open and undisguised preparation for this was announced by Mr. Rhaderer, procureur syndic for the department of Paris. Petition being summoned, declared at the bar of the Assembly that the people were very discontented and mutinously disposed; but although the firing of the cannon and the sounding of the bell of alarm had been both announced, the Mayor, who had the whole national guards at his command, and the cannon of alarm, as well as the tocsin in his power, spoke as if he could not find any means to prevent what he

pretended to fear. On the whole, although at this time a majority of the Assembly were on the side of peace and good government, it does not appear that any proper measures were taken for the prevention of insurrection, either by the Assembly or the Mayor of Paris.

The efforts made by the council of state for repelling the attack that was expected on the palace were sincere, and not destitute of either vigour or wisdom; yet they were unfortunately overborne by circumstances to which human prudence and foresight do not extend.

There were about fifteen hundred gentlemen, officers, and others of various ranks within the palace, attached to the King, and ready to die in his defence: a thousand Swiss in the barracks of the Carrousel, and about eight thousand national guards. Twelve pieces of cannon were placed around the palace, in the manner thought most advantageous for repelling an attack. Besides the troops above enumerated, there was a body of a thousand cavalry, all under arms, all attached to the King, and posted in various places, under different commanders: other bodies of national guards were stationed in the avenues near the palace royal, under arms, ready to march to the Thuilleries, in order to support the battalions that had gone before them. The attendants of the court and servants were distributed in the different halls, having first sworn to defend the King to the last drop of their blood; they were about four hundred strong, but their only arms were swords and pistols. The battalions of national guards on duty at the palace, were extremely

well disposed to the King: their commanders and officers entirely devoted to him. Those troops were reinforced by gentlemen and loyalists of every rank, whom the danger of the royal family drew in crowds to the palace. This united force would certainly have been able to have defended it until the arrival of three thousand Swiss from Courbevoys, about four miles from Paris, if they had received timely orders to set out. Even on the 10th, when they were sent for, if the King had remained in the palace till their arrival, which would have taken place soon after he went to the National Assembly, he might perhaps have repelled the attack of that fatal day.

Such was the force prepared for the defence of the palace on the 10th of August.

In opposition to this force, innumerable bands of men, armed with muskets, artillery, pikes, pitchforks, hatchets, and iron bars, filled all the adjacent streets and squares, and rent the air on all sides with their clamours. The battalion of the Marseillois, joined by the inhabitants of the Faubourg St. Antoine, marched towards the Thuilleries in the greatest order, with their cannon and matches lighted, inviting the people to follow them, and "assist," as they said, "in dislodging the tyrant, and proclaiming his despotism to the National Assembly." The national guards had formerly done duty by battalions; but by a late decree of the National Assembly they had been directed to do duty by detachments from all the various battalions. If the former method had been continued, Mandat, commander of the guards,

guards, might on any emergency have chosen those battalions which were well affected to the King, as some of them were * for this night's service.

By the new method of doing duty, many of the disaffected were introduced into the palace among others; and by the contagion of their principles, at so critical a time, when the minds of men were exalted to extraordinary susceptibility, seduced their comrades from their duty. Yet this contagion might perhaps have been counteracted by an opposite spirit of fidelity to the King and constitution, and even of military honour and pride, had not this spirit been discouraged and damped; and all the steps that had been taken for the defence of the palace been rendered ineffectual by a measure as flagitious, but as prompt and decisive as any thing recorded in history.

A new council-general of the municipality of Paris, elected at midnight in the midst of confusion and alarm, dissolved the old council, murdered the commander of the national guards, usurped the whole executive government, and instantly established their authority over the National Assembly and the whole of Paris. It is not to be supposed that this nefarious plan originated in an instantaneous resolution of the various sections of Paris: the whole had been arranged by a few conspirators, of whom Danton was believed to be one of the chief, and who possessed an absolute sway over the electors of the sections. The new deputies,

previously pointed out by the conspirators, found little difficulty in dismissing the old, who were surprized by so bold an attack; and many, very probably, at such a crisis, were not displeased with the usurpation. Of the old elected into the new council were Petion, Danton, and Manuel. This council, like all others, constituted authorities, was permanent, and in the present crisis was better attended than the others. The assemblies of the forty-eight sections had been declared permanent by law, but could not be said to be so in reality, most of the citizens, as national guards, being occupied at different posts in their respective quarters of the city. The King's ministers had applied to the National Assembly for a decree that would permit the national guards to rally themselves wherever danger might require it; but Petion, who seems to have conceived a personal rancour against the King and royal family, opposed this proposition, and refused to let the guards carry arms, without particular orders, beyond the precincts of their own sections or wards; while the rabble, superior to orders, were preparing to attack the palace.

The old council-general of the municipality of Paris were, on the whole, as already observed, disposed to support the King and the constitution; but the energy of a few acting in concert, prevailed, as usual, over superior numbers, not united in one design and plan of operation. A body of determined Jacobins, separating from the esta-

* Particularly those of the sections of petits Peres, and Filles St. Thomas, who were zealously attached to the King.

blished common council (August 10, 1792) between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, went, a few of them, to each of the forty-eight sections; and seizing the books and papers, suspended their deputies in the general council in the town-house, and named themselves, or some of their most zealous partizans, in their place. The new deputies hastening to the hall, assumed the government of Paris and the kingdom. The suspended deputies were ordered to return quietly to their respective homes, and say nothing.

The first use made by the usurpers of their new power, was to send for Mandat, the commander of the guards, stationed at the palace. The unfortunate Mandat hesitated between his duty to his Sovereign and obedience to the town-council. Being sent for a second time, he reluctantly obeyed. When he arrived at the town-house, he was interrogated with harshness, and accused of a design to slaughter the people during their intended march from the suburbs to the palace, treated like a criminal, and ordered to prison. On descending the stairs under a guard, his brains were blown out, and his body thrown into the river. The council then appointed Santerre, a brewer in the suburbs St. Antoine, commander of the national guards of Paris. Mandat, who was an honest man of plain sense, had made a very judicious movement in placing a part of the national guards on the Pontneuf, with some cannon, on purpose to cut off the communication between those who were assembling in the different suburbs of the opposite sides of the river. The new council-general

saw the detriment of this post to their design, and ordered the guard to be removed from the bridge. Thus, with a decision and prudence worthy of a better cause, while they disorganized and thook the body of guards at the Thuilleries; by opening a free communication between each side of the Seine, they rendered the power of the insurgents more compact and formidable.

Although an order was found in the pocket of the murdered Mandat, from the Mayor, in case of the palace being attacked, to oppose force to force, it was surmised at the time, and is now generally believed, from a consideration of circumstances, and of the character of Petion, that there was a secret understanding between him and the conspirators, and that nothing was done without his privacy and collusion. It was only in order to prevent the council-general and the departments of Paris, both of them authorities superior to his own, from penetrating his designs, at least, in order to cut them off from any pretext for superseding him in his authority, that he stationed some troops to defend the palace, and gave the written order to Mandat, just mentioned.

After all, it is impossible to penetrate into the real sentiments and views, and these probably fluctuating, that governed the mind of Petion; nor would this be of any importance. What is certain is, that, although the enemy of the King, and the friend and confidant of the Jacobins, he was in the palace till two or three o'clock of the morning of the 10th of August. He had been with the King to give an account of the state of Paris, but remained,

remained in the palace or on the terrace; which gave occasion to a report that he was kept there against his will. It was thought proper by the Assembly to send a message to the palace for the mayor; which was accordingly done, and he came directly to the bar. Soon after his going from the palace to the National Assembly, he was consigned to his own house under a guard, by the new council general of Paris, that he might not seem to have any part in transactions which he did not at least openly approve. But Mr. de Joly represented at the same time, that his Majesty, understanding that there were still great multitudes assembled in some of the suburbs, if not already on their way to the palace and to the hall of the Assembly, recommended it to the representatives of the nation to consider of some measures to prevent the people from taking such a step. On which a member observed, that there were laws existing against disorderly assemblies of the people, and that it was the business of the executive power to put them in execution. No other notice was taken of the King's message, although reports were continued of greater still, and more imminent dangers.

A part of the Marseillois, and others of the rabble who had joined them, arrived at the square of the Caroussel behind the palace between six and seven in the morning, and obtained admission into the court of the palace, by pretending to have come for the protection of the King. But they immediately manifested a very different intention, and began to pervert the spirit of the national guards, who had been there during the night.

When Mandat left the Thuilleries, and went to the town-house, he left no particular orders, as he designed to return immediately. The various detachments of national troops stationed round the palace and its different courts, in the absence of their commander, knew not how to act on the different emergencies that occurred, or whom to obey. Under extreme anxiety, impatience, and suspense, many of them in this agitation listened to the infectious voice of sedition.

About six o'clock in the morning, the King, who had not gone to bed the preceding night, descended into the courts of the palace to review the Swiss and national guards, who swore to defend him. The Queen and her children followed the King: the Swiss began the cry of *vive le Roi* as soon as he appeared, and the national guards repeated this, and at the same time *vive la nation*; but all the cannoniers cried *vive la nation*; which not being accompanied by the other, was a sign of disapprobation. From the courts the King went into the gardens, and received the troops there and on the terrace of the Thuilleries; and afterwards walked all the way to a post that had been taken at the Pont Tournant. On his return to the palace he saw a large body of national guards pouring out in disorder through the garden-gate opposite to the Pont Royal. Sorrow was visible in the countenances of many, who hesitated, and halting, were heard to say, "We swore this morning to defend the King; but in the moment of his greatest danger we are deserting him." Others, in the interests of the cannoniers and other conspirators already mentioned, introduced into the palace

among the guards, abused and threatened their reluctant fellow-soldiers, and dragged them along with them in their retreat, by force.

But about five hundred of the national guards remained at their post, with equal fidelity and courage. These were placed indiscriminately with the Swiss guards, within the palace, at the different stair-cases, and at all the entrances. The command of this united force, according to their several stations within the palace, was given by the King to Marshal de Mailly, the Duke de Chatelet, the Count de Puysegur, the Baron de Viomenil, the Count d'Hervilly, the Marquis de Pujet, and other faithful officers. These troops having spent the night without taking any refreshment, the King's household servants, and other attendants of the court, were eagerly employed in administering to those honourable men bread and wine, and encouraging them not to desert the royal family. The virtues of this family in this extremity of danger, were emphatically displayed in that anxious concern which animated every human being of every condition within the palace for their safety, and that generous indignation which overcame the suggestions of personal fear, and exalted and united the minds of all in a firm and resolute purpose to resist and repel the threatened violence, and to abandon their posts only with their last breath. This generous band within the palace, had many friends without; and the contagion of their virtue and bravery might very probably have encouraged some diversions in their favour in the department of Paris, had time been given for the advancement of the troops

at Courbevoÿe, and turned a tide that was impelled by the uncertain gale of a tumultuous and animal phrenzy, if the King had remained in the palace in the midst of his faithful adherents, and at the mercy, not of any one junto or set of men in Paris and the environs, but at the disposal of the whole. He proved, in this precipice of fortune, how much the fate of man is independent of extrinsic circumstance, and how intimately connected with that physical or constitutional complexion and character which is probably impressed on every individual, even before the period of birth, and the result of combinations and influences far beyond the limits of human research or comprehension. The King wanted not courage: he was not appalled at the approach of danger, but he was averse to all bustle and vigorous exertion, especially when likely to be attended with any degree of suffering or pain to any human creature. Giving way to solicitations perhaps perfidious, certainly unfortunate, he sought an asylum among those who were preparing for himself and his family a prison, chains, and death.

A little after seven o'clock, Mr. Rhœderer, solicitor for the municipality of Paris, with other officers of the department, entering the room where the King was, declared that the palace was surrounded by an irresistible number of armed men; that the national guards who had come early in the morning were corrupted, and more ready to assist than oppose the assailants; that the King, Queen, their children, and attendants, were on the point of being slaughtered, and that there was no other means of safety left but
imme-

immediately to put themselves under the protection of the National Assembly. When this measure had been proposed to the Queen before, she said that she would rather be nailed to the walls of the palace. But when it was urged that there was no other refuge for the King and the children, and that even this would be lost if not immediately taken, she heaved a profound sigh, and said, "it is the last sacrifice; let it be made." The same motive of tenderness for the Queen and children overcame at last the resolution of the King: "Let us go then, gentlemen," said he, "we have no longer any business here." As this was the last voluntary public act of the King, so it was the weakest, as well as most unfortunate. Mr. de Grave, minister at war (a man of great probity and honour, as well as of sound understanding) and others, had frequently, before this time, advised the King to mount on horseback and shew himself frequently, and throw himself thus upon the department of Paris *. Firm in resisting this and every advice and plan, he yielded to the advice of men, of whom the best that can be said, is, that he made court to all parties, and took care not to offend any openly; and delivered himself into the hands of that assembly, which, but a few days before, had applauded a petition for his suspension. Yet it is not to be doubted that, could he have imagined the full extent of their designs, the very motive that induced him to go

to the Assembly would have impelled him to undergo every danger, and either to have recovered, or gloriously to have lost a throne, in the midst of his faithful friends in the castle of the Thuilleries.

Various motions were made in the Assembly respecting the royal family in the present crisis; and, among others, one to invite the King to the Assembly as a place of greater safety than the palace. Before the debate to which this motion gave rise was concluded, it was announced that the King and royal family were on the way, coming from the palace to the Assembly. A number of the members spontaneously went out to receive the King; and soon thereafter, the Queen, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Elizabeth entered the hall of the Assembly. A grenadier walked before, with the Prince Royal in his arms, whom he placed on the table of the secretaries. Mr. Rhæderer, procureur of the department, who had come with the King, and had remained ever since at the bar, declared that a vast number of people being assembled in the Caroussel, and cannon being pointed against the palace, some of the populace had knocked with violence at the gate. On this Rhæderer, with two municipal officers, spoke to them. They said they had a petition, and must speak to the King. Mr. Rhæderer answered that the whole could not enter; but he offered to admit twenty of their number, who should be safely

* The directors of the department of Paris were attached to royalty and the constitution; but they were timid men, and easily borne down by the more vigorous character of the anarchists. If, however, they could have been animated and supported by the presence of the King, monarchy perhaps might have existed this day in France.

conducted to present their petition to the King. They retired to confer with their leaders on this proposal.

Mr. Rhæderer, after this, spoke to the national guard within the court, and told them, that although they were there for the purpose of preserving the peace, yet the law allowed them, in case of being attacked, to repel force by force, and that they seemed disposed to do their duty: but on his speaking the same language to the cannoniers, they, by way of answer, unloaded their pieces, and plainly shewed they would make no resistance whatever to the multitude. That having heard nothing of the commander in chief of the national guards, not knowing what his plan of defence was, and there having been no communication whatever between the department and the municipality since Mandat had left the palace to go to the town-house; hearing every moment of fresh multitudes advancing from the suburbs, and perceiving no means of protecting the King and royal family, he had proposed that they should leave the palace and seek an asylum in the Assembly. Mr. Rhæderer had scarcely ended his report, when an officer appeared at the bar, and declared that the gates of the palace were on the point of being forced. Mr. Lamarque moved that the Assembly should instantly order ten of their number to go and admonish the people against such excesses. "Let the commissaries throw themselves between the assailants and the defenders of the palace; and I desire to present myself to their first fire, if they should fire on each other." Mr. Gaudet proposed to

the Assembly that twelve of their number should go to the town-house, take the commander in chief out of arrest (which he was supposed to be under) and re-establish the communication between the department and the municipality. Both these motions were adopted; and the president having named the members for the first deputation, they hastened to the Caroussel to prevent the commencement of bloodshed. A very short time after they were gone, the firing of cannon was heard, with that of musquetry in the interval of the cannonade, and a great noise in the garden of the Thuilleries.

It is to be regretted that the King, on quitting the palace, did not direct those within it immediately to capitulate with the leaders of the insurrection, and throw the gates open to the people; which would have saved the lives of many gallant men: an omission to be wholly ascribed to the agitation of his mind at so dreadful a crisis. It has been observed, indeed not without plausibility, that such orders were virtually implied in the words of the King, on his resolving to go to the Assembly, already mentioned.

It is scarcely possible for an officer, even of high command, to give an account of all the vicissitudes, all the causes and circumstances that have led on any occasion to victory or defeat, even in a regular and pitched battle in an open country; much less is it in the power of any one accurately to describe all the movements of such numerous bodies on ground so greatly varied, and in circumstances so complicated and changing. But if it were, such a description could not possibly be
intelligible

intelligible to any others than those who are minutely acquainted with the topography of the Thuilleries.

About seven in the morning, the different columns of the insurgents, as above related, began their march to the Thuilleries. Near nine they penetrated into the Caroussel, and soon thereafter into the different courts of the palace. Their numbers were so great as to be altogether incalculable; and they had thirty pieces of cannon. A number of the Swiss came before them unarmed, offered to shake hands with them*, and entreated them to respect the residence of their sovereign. By these friendly remonstrances, which were ascribed to fear, their rage was heightened. One of their party, an officer of the national guards, at the head of about twelve men, advancing towards the palace, seized five of the Swiss on guard at their posts, and disarmed them. The savage crowd, rushing forward, beat out their brains with their clubs, and the heavy ends of their firelocks. The heads of the slaughtered Swiss, carried on poles along the terrace of the Feuillants, towards the adjacent hall of the Assembly, appeared to be the signal for a general attack on the palace; for at the same time there began a dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry, and the palace was in many places pierced with balls and bullets. The Swiss stationed in the garden, answered this act of hostility only by discharging their pieces in the air. But a heavy fire was given at the same instant from the windows of the palace. The court

was quickly cleared, and the cannon abandoned. A party of the conquerors advancing to the Porte Royale, through which the fugitives pressed in crowds, fired on those who lingered in the Caroussel, or had not been able, on account of the press, to make their escape. While one party was employed in clearing the courts of the palace, another proceeded towards the terrace of the Feuillants, near which they seized several pieces of cannon abandoned by the insurgents; who nevertheless fired from the terrace and killed about thirty of the defenders of the Thuilleries. During this engagement, the corps of gentlemen within the palace remained inactive for want of proper arms and ammunition; and the Parisian guards that had still remained there, from a disinclination to support the cause of the Swiss. The insurgents, in less than an hour after the first defeat, again assembled in the courts with a fresh supply of artillery. Having penetrated into the gardens, they were enabled to attack the palace on every side; and a great number made their way into the royal apartments, by the gallery of the Louvre†. The defenders of the Thuilleries, reduced in numbers, under a scarcity of ammunition, and disheartened by the flight of the royal family, began to flee before the invaders, who massacred every one they met in their way into the garden; where they were slaughtered by the national guards, who now, both horse and foot, took a decided part against the court, and for the populace. In

* This expression of good-will was afterwards represented as an act of treachery.

† Extending to the length of near a mile from the Louvre to the palace of the Thuilleries.

this extremity, the band of gentlemen already mentioned, resolved, if possible, to force a passage to the National Assembly. Rallying all the Swifs they could find, with a few of the national guards, they descended into the main court in a body, to the number of about 500, 300 of whom were Swifs. Having passed with considerable loss thro' the Porte Royal, and divided themselves into smaller bodies, they hurried along the gardens in different directions. Of those who took the nearest line to the hall of the Assembly, several fell by the fire of the insurgents from the terrace of the Feuillants, and even that of the national guards, who had been placed in the garden for the defence of the Thuilleries. Within the palace all was massacre, followed by a general plunder. The national guards, with the exception of a few who had joined the band of gentlemen, assisted in the pursuit and murder of the royalists.

Of the whole regiment of Swifs, near 1000 strong, not more than 180 survived, including those who had first accompanied the King, and afterwards, as will be presently related by Mr. d'Hervilly to the Assembly. According to the best accounts, there fell, besides the Swifs, five gentlemen, 100 domestics of the royal family, and twenty of the national guards, who had remained faithful to their duty. On the other, 3000 Parisians, and 3 or 400 federates.

As the Marseillois had been the foremost even among the federates in the attack, so they were found to be the most humane among the conquerors of the castle of the Thuilleries. While a considerable number of Swifs who escaped from

the palace by the Champ Elysees, were pursued through the streets, and dragged from the shops and houses to which they had fled for shelter, the Marseillois received about fifty or sixty, who had asked for quarter, into their protection. They were delivered to the national guards, and conducted by them to the town-house, where they waited in the square for orders from the municipality respecting the place of their confinement. The ferocious multitude, bursting through the ranks of the national guards, who were at no pains to repel or moderate their rage, murdered their helpless prisoners in cold blood. Another party of the Swifs, amounting to a considerable number, who had also been saved by the federates, were confined in the guard-house. A mob, however, gathering round the palace, demanded the heads of those unhappy soldiers. A general thirst of blood was excited, and raged like a contagious disease throughout Paris.

But this inhuman fury was contrasted with many compassionate and generous deeds. The Swifs who had come by the nearest way to the palace, were saved by certain citizens of Paris, and certain deputies of the Assembly. The deputy Lafource informed the Assembly of the danger of those poor Swifs. Gorsas stood fast at the door of the guard-room, haranguing the mob, and using all the means that humanity could dictate for preventing them from attacking the prisoners. The president La Croix opposed with firmness, some days thereafter, petitions for speedy sentence, by which was understood the execution of the prisoners at Orleans: and on one occasion he deprecated the popular

pular fury on his knees. The deputies, sent for the protection of the prisoners, joined by many citizens, conducted them to the Assembly. Their uniforms had been torn off and dispersed as trophies among the multitude. Each of the deputies and citizens held a man by the hand, in a white waistcoat, pale and dejected. Several individuals of the flying Swiss found harbour in the houses of particular citizens. That coolness and intrepidity will be long remembered, which Mr. d'Hervilly manifested at the awful moment when the cannon were firing on the palace, which was defended only by the detachment of the Swiss, with the few that remained faithful of the national guards, that had been left behind by the King when he went, escorted by a part of the Swiss regiment, and to whom he gave orders not to fire, to the National Assembly. The fire being continued, many of the deputies betrayed marks of consternation, and complained that orders had not been given to the Swiss not to fire; on which one of the ministers declared that an order to that effect had been given*. It was required on all sides, that this order should be renewed: but how was it possible to convey such an order to the palace in the midst of a fire from both the besieged and the besiegers! The King was greatly afflicted at this obstacle. Mr. d'Hervilly, though he had disapproved of his leaving the palace, convinced that he would be dethroned, and probably murdered, immediately offered to carry the order. The King, Queen, and Madame Elizabeth were greatly af-

fected at this proof of attachment; but anxious for his life, seized his arm, and pressing his hands affectionately between theirs, entreated him, with tears in their eyes, not to go. Mr. d'Hervilly, only animated the more by such distinguished marks of regard, renewed his demand with earnestness, and in a manner the most capable of inspiring confidence. The King wrote the order, and delivered it to Mr. d'Hervilly. Mr. de Vauzlemont, a young officer of artillery who had belonged to the King's guard, under the command of Mr. d'Hervilly, begged permission to attend his commanding officer, and to share his danger. Mr. d'Hervilly said, that his post was at the door of the King's lodge; but the gallant young man persisted in following Mr. d'Hervilly, and shewed himself worthy of being his companion. Through dangers and wounds which it seems scarcely credible that they should survive, they made their way to the castle of the Tuilleries, through the garden, notified the King's order to a party of the Swiss, whom he found in the court of the castle, and ordered them to follow him to the National Assembly. Mr. d'Hervilly had only sixty of those unhappy men in his suite when he returned to the Assembly.

This, also, is the proper place for recording the virtue of Mademoiselle Sombreuil, though the occasion on which it was displayed did not occur till some time after. M. Sombreuil, formerly governor of the invalids, for being suspected of secreting arms, was conducted to prison. His daughter was re-

* Such an order had been given to the party that accompanied the King; who probably understood that it would of course be communicated to the whole.

solved to share his misfortune: she accordingly applied to the gaoler for permission to enter the cell that confined her father! The gaoler replied that he dared not allow any person whatever to enter the prison without orders from a superior power. Resolute and persevering in her virtuous purpose, she waved all difficulties, and applied to M^r Santerre, who granted her request. On the wings of filial love she now flew to the prison, and bore to the heart of her aged parent the balm of pious affection and dutiful consolation; and thus beguiled the tedious hours of confinement. On September 3d, when the people had taken the reins of justice into their own hands, the prison where M. Sombreuil was confined, was visited. The twelve judges were sat, and the prisoners were tried. His turn was now come, and the gaoler appeared at the door. "I am ready," exclaimed Mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a tone of fortitude, "I am ready to die; but oh! spare my father!" The gaoler was moved with compassion; thrice he approached the door, and thrice withdrew. At length the moment came, and M. Sombreuil was demanded. He appeared, supported by his daughter; her hair dishevelled, and her countenance expressive of anguish, perturbation, and dismay. Disengaging herself from her father, she threw herself on her knees, and with uplifted hands, pleaded for him in an unconnected but affecting address to the judges; in which she offered her own life to ransom his. It was the note of pious sorrow, affecting and persuasive. The judges surveyed the old man and his daughter

alternately;—their souls were filled with admiration and pity. "Whatever M. Sombreuil may have been guilty of," said the judges, "he is an old man, and let him know that we are merciful! let him cry *vive la nation!* and retire." The virtuous Mademoiselle Sombreuil, with a piercing accent, repeated *vive la nation!* fell at her father's feet, and embraced his knees. The people were so much pleased with this moving scene, that they brought an old door, on which they placed M. Sombreuil and his daughter, and bore them through the crowd, amidst the acclamations of the multitude.

When the King first entered the Assembly, he placed himself at the side of the president, and said, "I am come hither to prevent a great crime:—I believe myself in safety in the midst of you, gentlemen." The president answered, "That he might rely on the Assembly who had sworn to die at their posts in supporting the rights of the nation, and of the constituted authorities." On which the Queen, while the cannon was firing upon the palace, and in the midst of ferocious petitions for dethroning the King, turning to Count D'Hervilly, who was standing behind her, said, "Well M. D'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?" "I wish with all my heart, Madam," answered he, "that your Majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence."—The same fond propensity to grasp at any subject of hope, however slight, was still more conspicuous in the conduct of the King. The day and the hour, the plan of the insurrection was fixed. The King was perfectly informed of this, yet still hoped that

that he should be able to prevent it. A negotiation had been set on foot with Brissot, and that as late as the 9th of August. An agent was authorised by the King to treat with that patriot, who demanded no less, for preventing the execution of the conspiracy, than 12,000,000 of livres in specie or bills of exchange, and a passport to secure his passage out of the kingdom. It is possible that even these terms would have been complied with, had the sum demanded been in the coffer of the civil list; though this sacrifice would not probably have deferred the insurrection beyond a few days. The firing of cannon and musquetry continued: the Assembly remained for some time silent. A motion was then made and agreed to, that all property and persons should be under the safeguard of the law and of the people: and another for an act or proclamation to all the citizens; inviting them to have confidence in their representatives who had sworn to save the country. While the contest was yet doubtful, the Assembly kept terms, and were respectful to the King and constitution. When that was decided, the Assembly, just like the national guards, joined the prevailing party. Elated by the victory, they resumed their former arrogance, and basely insulted the unfortunate prince by the most injurious motions. A decree was passed, by which his royal functions were suspended, and he himself and his family retained as prisoners, in the name of hostages.

CHAP. III.

Causes that involved the Dissolution of the French Monarchy. The Foundations on which the Monarchy was established. These removed by a Change of Manners. Three Eras or Periods of the Revolution. The proximate Cause of the final Dissolution of the Monarchy. The Community of Paris takes the Lead in Public Affairs. Change of Ministers. General Elections. Arrests and Domiciliary Visits. Walking Commissioners. Prisons full of Victims. Massacres at Paris. Cruel Treatment of the Royal Family. The Meeting of the National Convention. Their Proceedings. They abolish Royalty. Court the Favour and invite the Aid of Philosophers. Amass in their Treasury as much Gold and Silver as possible. Prepare for a Mock Trial, and the Execution of the King. Efforts of Roland, Minister of the Interior, to soothe the public Mind, and restore Order, and the peaceable Pursuits of Industry. Without Success. Absurdity of the great political Principles on which he acted, and Extravagance of his Expectations. Futility of expecting a general Change of inveterate Habits from the Institution of new Laws. The Efficacy of Laws depends on Activity of human Passions.

August, 1792. **I**T is natural, at this important epoch, to cast back a glance on the causes that involved the dissolution of the French monarchy. All human affairs are linked together by a chain of necessary connexion; and, to speak with precision, there is only one great and first cause of all the phenomena in the universe. To mark some

some of the principal occasions or circumstances in the order according to which things are produced, is all that is permitted to the civil historian or natural philosopher.

The French monarchy was established on great vigour of character, formed in a rude, but manly age, by a devotion to chiefs and kings, who were the patrons, as well as the judges of the people in peace, and their leaders in war; by military pride, and a reverence for religion. A strong and mutual band of attachment subsisted between the feudal chieftain and his faithful vassals, whether they attended him in the field of battle, or joined the chase on his domain, or shared in his hospitality at his castle, or acknowledged him as the arbiter of differences between themselves and their neighbours; while the doctrines and ceremonies of religion confirmed and heightened all those sentiments of duty, whether of individuals towards one another, or to the Supreme Power that united men in society. A very different order of affairs was gradually introduced by progressive knowledge and refinement, luxury, licentiousness of manners, and, finally, by the decay and death of religious faith, and the fatal misapplication of certain maxims in political philosophy. When the brave and hospitable Baron, forsaking his lands and tenements, had become a supple courtier; the Abbé a wit and an infidel; the Bishop a licentious beau; and the hereditary and independent judge had delegated his power to venal deputies, then it was evident that there was something rotten in the political fabric; and that it had begun to totter and

decline from that bold and perpendicular line in which it had been first erected.

The gradual declination from this line was precipitated by the interference of Lewis XVI. in the American war, which accelerated the movement that had been already given to public opinion, in a direction directly contrary to the spirit of an absolute monarchy. The philosophers of France, who had for many years become extremely self-conceited, and arrogated to themselves a right to give, instead of receiving the tone from the court, began now to discourse concerning the rights of man, and the nature of representation. On these subjects they indulged in much refinement; their natural genius on this occasion being seconded by an emulation of producing a political system that should excel that of England, and even of America.

It was an error common to the French, with other reformers, that they proceeded on a kind of mathematical principle; followed analogies taken from inanimate matter, and seemed to conceive that they should set to work on their new constitution in the same manner with carpenters, smiths, potters, taylors, and other operators on dead substances; whereas there is a closer analogy, which it would be well to keep in view, between societies or governments, and plants or animals, which require particular soils, food, and culture. No man in his senses thinks of making a seed, or a plant: he digs around it, he waters it, he feeds it with proper manure; but he never thinks of creating such another,

another, on an improved plan, by any chemical or mechanical process*.

But if it had been safe and prudent to launch forth on the ocean of metaphysics without sight of land, with the mere compass of human reason, the French philosophers, and Constituent Assembly who had adopted their ideas, did not by any means act consistently with their own principles. Every nation has its fundamental or constituent laws: in conformity to these laws the states general were convened, for the purpose of representing the grievances of the nation. They had no instruction from the people either to subvert the old government, or to form a democratical constitution; yet they proceeded, under the assumed name and authority of the Constituent Assembly, to do both the one and the other. They formed a constitution, not springing, like ripe fruit, according to the analogy just mentioned, out of the circumstances, habits, and wishes of the people, but shaped after fancied models of perfection, and to be approved by the general will afterwards. In order to procure a show and semblance of this will, they invited armed federates, as they were called, in July 1791, to Paris, for the celebration of the third anniversary of the revolution, from all the departments; but armed federates were not the proper representatives of free citizens.

Thus the Constituent Assembly

violated the rights of men in the very means they employed for their establishment. Nothing could be expected but destruction to a system so inconsequent and absurd. The American constitution has hitherto been durable, because it was founded on the general voice of the people deliberately collected and fairly represented.

The depraved state of morals in France †, private interests and views, consequent intrigues, and a general mistrust between individuals and parties, were incompatible with the duration of a constitution so popular as that which had been established in France. The animating spirit of free governments, is, a sense of moral, including religious obligation, and simplicity of manners.

In contemplating the great and complicated mass of events that more immediately preceded the fall of the French monarchy, from another point of view, we perceive three different eras, or rather periods of revolution.

The first, the declaration of the parliament of Paris in 1787, that they had no right to register imposts not consented to by the nation, with a concomitant demand of a convocation of the states general; and the invitation of the prime minister, the Cardinal de Lomenie, to all men of letters to publish their sentiments on the great questions that occupied the attention and cares of government, for the purpose of aiding the deliberations of

* For a brief discussion of this subject in general, and this analogy in particular, see a letter from the Rev. Dr. Thomson, to Dr. Parr, published by the learned Doctor, in an Appendix to his Sequel to a Letter from Mr. Curtis. *Dilly.*

† It might be very dangerous for other nations to hazard the experiment of forming republics, on the supposition that their morals are much purer than those of their French neighbours.

the States General*, which it was promised should be assembled.

In the second period of revolution we behold an Assembly of Notables, determining the form in which the meeting of the States General should be held; deciding that the Third Estate should have as many representatives as the other two orders of Nobility and Clergy together; the States assembled, and the Third Order out-voting the other two; a contest between the Third Estate and the other two respecting the verification of the powers of all the Deputies of the three Orders by all the Orders in common, or as one body; the court attempting to support the clergy and noblesse by a military force, but compelled to give way to the superior force of the people; a majority of the two higher orders consenting to coalesce with the representatives of the people as one National Assembly; and a new constitution formed by this Assembly, accepted by the King.

During this period, we wonder to see the enlightened and ingenious French nation precipitated from one difficulty and danger into another, by the immoderate vanity, self-conceit, and presumption of a foreigner and a protestant whom they idolized; while he opposed and frustrated the plans of a profound financier and statesman of their own country † one day, and adopted those very plans another.

14th September 1791. In the

third period of revolution we see the royal prerogative restrained by the new form of government within too narrow bounds, while many circumstances concurred to extend, beyond all possibility of controul, the pretensions and power of the people. The King could not propose any new laws; nor did he possess the power, in case of any violation of the constitutional laws on the part of the Legislative Assembly, to dissolve them, and to appeal to the people: but, on the other hand, a simple and unsupported accusation by the Assembly was sufficient for the arrestation and imprisonment of any of his Majesty's ministers.

As the Constituent Assembly prepared the fall of the monarchy by an excessive reduction of the power of the crown, and augmentation of that of the people, so also they laboured for the same end when they decreed their own ineligibility either to the administration of government, or to the second, or Legislative Assembly. Whether they were actuated by a desire of displaying disinterested zeal for the public welfare, or that they declined the odious task of executing and enforcing the laws that they had established, the effect was the same:—they who were the best qualified to direct, at a most critical time deserted the helm. And lastly, what gave immediate and full activity to all those prejudices and passions that disorganized the new constitution, and completed the

* This was a virtual acknowledgement of the legislative power of the people, and could not but inflame the pride and arrogance of the philosophers, who had already formed themselves into a party, in opposition to the court.

† If the scheme of Mr. de Calonne for taxing the lands of the nobility and clergy had been adopted and carried into execution, they would not have been seized as they were, some time after, for the payment of assignats; and consequently there would not have been a revolution

ruin of monarchy in France; was the war prepared by the emigrants, secretly supported by foreign powers, and which was generally, though erroneously believed to have been undertaken with the privacy and approbation of the King and Queen of France.

The immediate or proximate cause of the final dissolution of the monarchy, then, and what had been produced by a series of preceding causes, of which some have been enumerated, was, the uncontrollable will of the people, who were permitted to assemble, and form, and execute resolutions too in a summary way, by violence, in spite of all the new laws and new magistrates, on whom the lapse of time had not conferred that authority which is necessary to give life and action to forms of government. So that on the whole it may be said, that the catastrophe of the 10th of August, 1792, was effected by the same means precisely as that of the 14th of July, 1789:—the doctrine of the equality and the rights of men, and of the sacred duty, for such it had been called by La Fayette and others, of insurrection*.

While the power of the King was too feeble to resist the repeated encroachments and attacks of the Legislative Assembly, the ambitious and unprincipled leaders of that Assembly courted popular favour by flattering all their passions, paying homage to all their caprices, and indulgence to all their excesses. Petition barely courted the favour of

the populace by the sacrifice of all that was generous or just; and even avowed as a maxim, that amidst all the outrages of popular insurrection, it is not justifiable on any account to spill the blood of a citizen.

While the shadow of kingly power remained, men sought to cover their actions under the veil of some plausible theory:—Still they attempted or pretended to establish their political systems on the basis of morality; and accordingly, in the first stages of the revolution, they talked of right and justice. The democratic leaders began now to speak only of necessity, expediency, and revolutionary ardour. A conflict of factions ensued for the sake of power, but not of principles. Popular favour was courted by accusations, proscriptions, connivance at plunder and every crime; and a prospect held forth of a general equalization of both power and property. All power being vested in the very dregs of the people, there was no other government than a tumult of various and contending passions, until this at last, according to the usual process of anarchy, yielded the sceptre to the single emotion of terror.

Soon after the flight of the King, and the reduction of the castle of the Tuilleries, a deputation from the new chosen community of Paris appearing at the bar of the Assembly, said "Legislators! the new magistrates of the people appear at your bar; the dangers of the country occasioned our elec-

* Of the French principles, modified afterwards by Condorcet into a democratical form, and proposed among other schemes, though rejected, Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford, in his posthumous works lately published, says, "I did but just cast my eyes on the beginning and end, and was so lucky as to observe the hypothesis (Condorcet's) contradiction. He sets out with a declaration of equality, and ends with security of property; that is, we will plunder every body, and then divide the spoils on our wrong heirs," vol. 5. p. 619.

tion; circumstances rendered it necessary, and our patriotism render us worthy of it. The people at length tired of being, during four years, the dupes of the perfidy of the court, have thought it time to endeavour to save the empire, on the brink of ruin. Legislators! All that we have to do is to assist the people. We come here in their name to be advised by you in measures for the public service. Petion, Manuel, and Danton are still our colleagues. Santerre is at the head of the armed force. The people who have deputed us to you have given us in charge to declare, that they will acknowledge no other judges of the extraordinary measures which necessity and resistance to oppression have obliged them to adopt, than the French people united in the Primary Assemblies." Thus, instead of being advised by the Assembly, they prescribed the conduct to be observed by that body in the most peremptory terms. They wanted to cover and protect the crimes that had been committed, by the authority of a National Convention. The address from the Common Council, that had now assumed the reins of government, was heard with great applause by the people in the tribunes. The Assembly (August 1792) having agreed on a call of the House to determine who were present, as many members had absented themselves either through

fear, or some other motive, took the following oath: "I swear, in the name of the nation, to maintain liberty and equality, or to die at my post."—On a motion made by Mr. Vergniaud, the French people were invited to form a National Convention. The executive power was suspended until such time as the National Convention should decide on proper measures for securing the blessing of freedom to the people. The payment of the civil list was also suspended; it was decreed, as already mentioned, that both the King and royal family should remain under the protection of the Assembly as hostages; and all public officers, whether civil or military, who should leave their posts in the present moment of danger, were declared infamous.

On a motion made by Brissot it was decreed, that the present ministers had lost the confidence of the nation, and they immediately proceeded to vote six new ones (August 14, 1792); Le Brun for Foreign Affairs; Danton * for the Administration of Justice; Mongé, a teacher of navigation, for the Marine; and the patriotic ministers lately dismissed, Roland, Servan, and Claviere; the first for Home Affairs, the second for the War Department, and the third for Contributions†. These three were appointed *provisory*, because the King might be restored to his au-

* This factious and violent republican had received large sums from the court; which were given in order to soften him, and by his means to prevent extremities.

† They had been in March, 1792, appointed by the King, through Dumouriez's influence. The secret friends of the King had advised him to try at that time a Jacobin administration. They advised to dismiss them when Dumouriez had some misunderstanding with them, and to dismiss Dumouriez at the same time. Nine months before the 10th of August, d'Abancourt, a nephew of Mr. de Calonne, had been appointed Secretary at War—this choice was not popular. The republican faction recalled the three patriotic Jacobin ministers.

thority by the new convention ; in which case he would have the right to confirm or reject them, and name others.

August 13th, 1792, the plan of a decree for summoning the National Assembly was proposed by Mr. Gaudet. The Primary Assemblies for chusing the electors were appointed for the 26th of August. The electors for the Convention were to assemble on the second of September; and the members chosen for the Convention, which were not to exceed in number the present Legislative Assembly, were to meet at Paris on the 20th of the same month. The former distinction of citizens into active and passive was suppressed; all that was now necessary in order to entitle a man to vote, was, that he should be 21 years of age, a Frenchman who had lived for one year in the country on his own revenue, or the produce of his labour; and that he should not be in a state of servitude. The citizens in the Primary Assemblies, and the electors in the Electoral Assemblies, were to take an oath to defend liberty and equality, or die in defending them. The regulations respecting elections were not decreed, but only recommended, as the present Assembly did not assume the right of ordaining a form for the exercise of sovereignty in the formation of a National Convention. The electors were to have three livres a day during their mission, and to be allowed at the rate of one livre a league for travelling expenses. These, with other decrees and regulations, were sent by couriers to the eighty-three departments of France. Com-

missioners were also sent to the armies to explain the conduct of the Assembly, with orders to arrest La Fayette, and powers to suspend general officers, of whatever rank.

Couriers were also dispatched to all the provinces, for the purpose of explaining the motives and views of the Assembly to all the provinces, which were in expectation, as in the days of the first revolution, of some great event, and ready to receive any impression.

There was now, however, a difference in the situation of mens minds. At first, the hope of being better was the predominant passion; it was now the fear of being worse. A general distrust, lassitude, and despondency was apparent throughout the whole of the provinces; yet such was the activity of the Jacobins, that congratulatory addresses to the Assembly for their firm conduct in dethroning the King, were sent from all quarters.

In the mean time the Assembly, under the influence as well as protection of the municipality of Paris, proceeded in the exercise of sovereign power in a manner that shewed what opinion they entertained of those assemblies of the people to whom alone the municipality had appealed as judges of the deeds of the 10th of August. They immediately began, or rather continued an attack (August 1792) on all things that made a distinction of property and rank, and all that could form a barrier between the order, elegance, and harmony of society, and the rude assaults of the vulgar, on all the fruits of industry and art. They adopted and published a manifesto, drawn up

by Brissot, of the motives on which the French National Assembly proclaimed the convocation of a National Convention, and pronounced the suspension of the executive power in the hands of the King. All those ecclesiastics who had not taken the oaths required, or who retracted and persisted in their retraction, were ordered in eight days to quit the limits of their respective departments, and in fifteen days the kingdom. Disobedience to the decree was to be punished with banishment to French Guianne. Those who left the kingdom in a voluntary manner were not to have either pension or revenue, but to be allowed three livres for every ten leagues, or about a penny a mile for the journey. Infirm priests, and those above sixty years of age were exempted. And so great was the jealousy of that order, that the ecclesiastics thus excepted were not permitted to live in the country at large, but to be assembled in the chief town of each department, in a house of which the municipality was to have the inspection. This dreadful decree was followed by the most numerous and direful calamities. England was distinguished above all other countries for the generosity with which she received and supported the exiles, who, towards the end of 1792, had fled in so great numbers from the fury of their countrymen. At the same time that this decree was passed and put in execution against the refractory priests, the council general of the commune of Paris issued orders that all the vessels, images, and other moveables in the churches of Paris, whether of gold or silver, should be removed, and sent to the

mint. From the priests and images, the reformers proceeded to the demolition of certain statues: which they seemed to consider as a kind of auxiliaries of the clergy in support of monarchy. The statues in the public places; of Louis XIII. in the Place Royal; Louis XIV. in the places Vendome and Victoire; those of Louis XV. &c. and all the statues of bronze, were converted into cannon; and thus it was said were drawn over from the cause of tyranny to that of liberty. Thus pursuing their victory over royalty, and willing to remove every thing that might lead to its restoration, they decreed, on a motion by Brissot, that the Swiss regiments in the service of France ceased to be in the service of France; but at the same time that France wished to continue in peace and amity with them. The suppression of the Order of Merit, or of St. Louis, was decreed in the same spirit. All claims of indemnity for feudal rights were abolished; and an act for the division of waste lands was followed by one for the division and sale of the lands of all the emigrants. As the decree against emigrants, and for the division of their lands, was an excellent expedient for enriching the nation, it readily occurred that it would be good policy to increase the number of emigrants, or to punish those who did not emigrate, so as to put an end to the race of ancient proprietors in France. For this purpose arrests and domiciliary visits were instituted, under the inspection of the bloody municipality. Two hundred and eighty members of the common council of Paris, and about six hundred officers belonging to the sections, were basely employed

employed in accusing, and signing, and executing orders for arrests. Under pretext of searching for concealed arms, all the citizens, except those who were to be employed by the municipality, were ordered to remain at home; the barriers were shut; and armed men were stationed at all the corners of the streets. The members of the sections having become the agents of the principal leaders, through fear, the whole of the Parisian guards, with only a few exceptions, were just as completely under their command as ever they had been under that of Bailly or La Fayette. About one o'clock each morning, for several weeks, the search began by patrols of men of the lowest rabble, with pikes, under the orders of commissaries of the sections. When the Assembly discovered that the municipality was going on so fast with arrests that some of its own members were among the number of the arrested, they passed a decree for dissolving that corporation. But Hueguenin, president of the municipality, being sent for, not because he had arrested 3000 innocent and respectable persons, but because he had summoned before his tribunal a clerk belonging to Brissot's newspaper-office, declared to the Assembly that the municipality had unlimited powers, and that it was the representative of the sovereign of Paris:—and Petion, at the head of a deputation from the municipality (August 31) coolly menaced the Assembly with an insurrection, the great instrument of power, if they did not annul the decree. Tallien proposed a plan of compromise, which was adopted. This was a new organization of the municipality. This transaction is

recorded for the purpose of shewing how completely the Assembly was under subjection to the municipality; as the municipality, on their part, acted in the name and spirit of the lowest classes of Paris, and of France.

As the Assembly was threatened by the people, so the people were threatened by the approach of the Prussians under the Duke of Brunswick: so that the affairs of France at this time were completely under the government of the principle of terror.

In these circumstances, Danton, the minister of justice, by promises and threats, procured from the Assembly; Sept. 2d, a decree for walking commissaries, to second the good intentions, and execute the will of the executive power, in aiding him to save the country. By this decree, whoever refused to give up their arms, or to serve in the army, was declared a traitor to his country, and to be punished with death. Danton was no sooner furnished with these powers, than the barriers were shut; and the municipality published the following proclamation: "Citizens; the enemy is at the gates of Paris. Verdun can hold out only eight days. Let us assemble quickly at the Champ de Mars, and there form an army of 60,000 men, in order to march against the enemy."

As the prisons were now nearly filled with victims, it was thought time to prepare for getting rid of them in the manner of the 10th of August; and the usual artifice was practised, of exciting the people to acts of bloodshed, by rousing their fears. The tocsin was sounded, the cannon of alarm fired, and the massacre on the point of commence-

ment.

ment. But it was necessary to find a pretext for beginning. emissaries were therefore dispatched into all the quarters of Paris, to persuade the curious and the idle, that, as the prisons were full of aristocrats and suspected persons, and that the majority of the inhabitants were under the necessity of marching against the common enemy, it would be dangerous to leave their wives and children to be massacred by the aristocrats, who had a design to escape from prison and deliver up the town to pillage, and all the horrors of which aristocrats are supposed capable. Different bands of assassins, though none of them very numerous, but all of them headed by some of the Mar-seillois, were sent to the different prisons. Several carriages leaving Paris with some of the exiled priests, were stopped at the barriers, and carried back to the abbey-prison, and the convent of the Carmelites, also employed as a prison. While the last of these unfortunate men were descending from a carriage, one of the assassins, pretending that he saw them making signs to the other prisoners, and that a general mutiny was intended, — immediately all of them, to the number of about twenty, were massacred. Until an example of murder be set, the multitude, however depraved and sanguinary, are backward to imbrue their hands in human blood. It was in order to overcome this natural reluctance that the chiefs of conspiracy and assassination in all the stages of the revolution, as particularly on the 10th of August, carried about the heads of murdered persons upon pikes. Those heads acting like an electric shock, conveyed a strong impression of the act of blood, and inspired a momentary sympathy, and imitation of the murderers. The massacre of the priests, of whom bloody trophies were handed about throughout all Paris, served as a signal for beginning the work of carnage. In the convent of the Carmelites there were above 300 clergymen, unaccused of any crime besides that of a regard to the oath they had taken to be faithful to the church and the monarchy, and many of them distinguished for learning, piety, and virtue. The Archbishop of Arles, the Bishop of Beauvais, and the Bishop of Saintes, were the first who felt the stroke of assassination. The scene of massacre was the garden of the convent, adjoining to which was the chapel. A number of the ecclesiastics crowded around the Bishop of Arles, anxious to preserve his life at the risk of their own; the furious assassins in the mean time calling out to know which was the Bishop, whom they considered as a leader and encourager of his order, in disobedience to government. The Bishop, unwilling to court a momentary safety at the expence of his brethren, stepped forth from the throng, a willing victim to duty and honour*, and said, "I am he whom ye seek." The assassins seemed at first to be somewhat struck with such serenity of character and dignity of conduct; but, to overcome this impression, one of them went behind him and struck off his hood. Having suffered other indignities and revilings, he was cut to pieces with sabres. The number of priests

* In allusion to the words of our Saviour, John ch. xviii. ver. 4. 5.
massacred

massacred on this occasion, amounted to 244. The massacre at the abbey was suspended, after the murder of the priests, about an hour. During that interval a kind of tribunal was erected, in which a few of the most abandoned and ferocious of the populace were the accusers, judges, and executioners. The first step was, to demand the effects of the prisoners; the trial was short, and the execution of the sentence instantaneous. It was in very few instances that condemnation did not follow accusation: not only were men and women condemned on suspicion, but on account of their being related to suspected persons. Immediately on condemnation they were cut down with sabres at the door, amidst the cries of *vive la liberté*.

The massacre of the Conciergerie began nearly at the same time with that of the Abbey prison. Eight Swiss officers who were on their trial, and which had been just begun, with that of Major Bachman, and other persons waiting for their sentences, among whom probably were many guilty of crimes, to the number, in all, of 85, were massacred without any shew of legal process. Two hundred prisoners in the great Chatelet shared the same fate. Many of these were confined on suspicion of forgery, or passing false assignats; others of crimes of a private nature; but none of them had been tried. Seventy-three felons condemned to the galleys, confined in the Cloister of St. Bernard, were there massacred. Forty-five unfortunate women of the town were massacred in the hospital, or workhouse of the Salpetriere. At the prison of the Hotel de la Force, where the massacre was begun on the 2d,

and continued for some time at certain intervals, one hundred and sixty-four persons were assassinated. The prisoners who had been sent to Orleans on account of their attachment to ancient monarchy, now called treason, sedition, and incivism; the Duke of Brissac, De Lessart, the judge La Riviere, and others, to the number of 58, were conducted to Versailles, and there massacred in presence of the national guards and principal officers, who did not make any attempt to save them. But the most horrible, as well as the last of all the massacres of September, was that of the Bicetre, both a prison and an hospital, where the criminal, the sick, the wounded and the insane, were all shut up together. Here the prisoners, inspired with some hopes perhaps, from the greatness of their numbers, or at least being certain of their fate, with the resolution of despair, determined to make resistance, though in irons; and prepared, as well as they could, for their defence. The assailants aware of this, played on them with cannon charged with grape-shot, as they ran from one side of the different courts in which they were confined to another. When they were no longer formidable for their numbers, they were shot with firearms, by way of diversion. The massacre of prisoners was continued night and day, without interruption, for a week.

To enumerate the various circumstances that aggravated the horror of these crimes, and opened new and humiliating prospects of human nature, would require volume on volume. Nor are these wanting; for it was not possible that this subject, so painfully interesting, should be passed over
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in silence in an age so abundant in journalists and all denominations of writers. To these writers, all of them concurring in the most important facts and circumstances, we refer our readers for circumstantial details of the massacres of Paris, and other parts of France. Among these, however, there are a few which cannot be wholly omitted in this place, as they serve to illustrate not only the inhuman fury of the Parisians at this time, but the progress of the revolution from bad to worse; from false theories of government, to the most depraved and destructive actions.

The amiable and generous Princess of Lamballe was massacred, although her only crime was a sincere and unconquerable attachment to her royal mistress, and a detestation equally insurmountable, of the murderer of her husband. Being called to take the oath of liberty and equality, and that of hatred to the King, to the Queen, and to royalty, she said, "I will readily take the first, but I cannot take the last; it is not in my heart." A person who was there, said in her ear, "Swear, or you are a dead woman." The Princess lifted up her eyes without saying a word, and went towards the door. The president gave the usual sign for execution*, and in an instant she was assassinated. The naked body was submitted to insults scarcely to be imagined, certainly not to be expressed. Here, once for all, we shall take occasion to relate that it was a common thing for persons of both sexes to give poignancy and zest to their other crimes, by a studied violation of all the sentiments

of decorum and modesty. The head of the Princess, after being carried on a pole to the Temple, was exposed to the view of the King and Queen, who expected the same fate. The head, we are told by Mr. Clery, who saw it with horror, "though bleeding, was not disfigured; and her fine light hair still curling round the pike."

The Count de Montmorin, who had taken refuge on the 10th of August in the house of a fisherwoman in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, being discovered by the imprudence of his hostess, was arrested, and conducted to the bar of the National Assembly. He answered the questions put to him with great calmness, and in the most satisfactory manner; but the circumstances of his having concealed himself, and a bottle of opium being found in his pocket, formed, as they said, a presumption that he was conscious of some crime. Having been detained two days in the committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbey, where he was murdered, with circumstances too shocking to be mentioned.

In the first stages of the revolution, the tumults, outrages, and most criminal excesses, flowing from speculative principles, though erroneous, were not disgraced with the additional turpitude of theft and robbery. On the 20th of June there was nothing missing or misplaced in the royal apartments in the Thuilleries; and many proofs of a zeal, at least disinterested, were exhibited even on the 10th of August; but after that period, when the reign of numbers and physical force was established,

* *Qu'on enlargisse la prisonniere*—The prisoner must be released.

the flood-gates of all the basest passions were opened, and that political enthusiasm, which had in a great degree swallowed up all inferior views, was mixed, contaminated, and overwhelmed by an inundation of crimes, and an almost universal disregard to considerations of either morality or religion. The assassinations, arrests, and menaces of this gloomy period, were uniformly accompanied with robbery and extortion. The numbers whom fear and danger drove out of the country were immense; and the municipal officers and members of the Jacobin club who gave or procured the necessary passports, enriched themselves by enormous sums. Five thousand pounds were frequently given for one passport. Large sums were also extorted by means of denunciation; and in others, by promises of protection.

At a time when the French nation were breaking through all the ancient bonds of society, it would have been very extraordinary, if so lively and changeable a people should have continued to wear the yoke of matrimony. The Assembly, on the motion of Mr. Sillery, relative to divorces, came to the following resolutions: "1st. That a dissolution of marriage, by the mutual consent of the husband and wife, be allowed. 2d. That a divorce be allowed at the desire either of the husband or the wife, on the simple allegation of difference of tempers, or other stated grounds."

While the most unprincipled, the most active, and those who possessed the greatest power and influence in their individual capacity, grew rich on the spoils of their neighbours, the great patrimonial estates of the nobility and clergy were

seized by the Assembly in the name of the nation; and these being divided and subdivided, were sold to all who could purchase them, and for the greater part to the cultivators of the soil, who had an opportunity of hoarding up assignats in the course of service in the national guards, and in the army. The plate and jewels of the crown were also seized for the public exigencies. A time was foreseen when assignats would no longer serve to purchase the necessaries of life; on which account every effort was made to keep up gold and silver in the mint.

The rulers of France were not more restrained by the laws of morality in their conduct towards other nations. Claviere, minister for contributions, as he could not venture to propose any new taxes on the people of France, conceived the project of drawing contributions by negotiations with the principal banks of Europe. Agents were sent to London, Amsterdam, Madrid, Hamburg, and other places, who had orders to negotiate bills on Paris, payable, as was well understood, in assignats. The value of the bills discounted was remitted to France in specie. When they became due they were paid according to the course of exchange. But before this could be converted into gold or silver, assassins were hired to patrol the streets, and by threats, or acts of violence, to chase away from their several stations all those who, according to the manner of Paris, sold money for bills in the streets. At other times, when a rise in change was wanted for the purpose of drawing new bills, Claviere sent men to offer more money than was wanted. Thus the new government of France was shifted from that

that basis of morality on which Condorcet, and other leaders in the Constituent Assembly, pretended to establish it, and rested wholly on a violation of private property, and a fraud committed in the creation of assignats, on public credit, rendered by the varied and extended intercourses of society and of commerce, the common bankers of Europe, and the whole civilized world.

Having taken a brief survey of the character and conduct of the new government of France, we return to those of the royal family, on whose ruins it was erected.

When the King and royal family came to the Assembly, they were received with respect, as it was not then known how the contest expected at the Tuilleries might terminate. When the roar of musquetry and cannon had ceased, and the cry was heard that the Swifs fled, then all appearance of respect for the royal family was laid aside: the oath of equality was unanimously taken, and the suspension of the King unanimously voted, as above related. It was decreed at first, that the King, with his whole family, should be sent to the palace of the Luxembourg*; and also, that as the civil list was suspended, a revenue should be assigned out of it for the King. It was not known how far the French nation might suffer any treatment of the King less respectful or moderate. Perhaps the Assembly itself did not at this time feel those sanguinary and deadly sentiments towards the King and blood royal that were soon inspired by conscious guilt and consequent

terror; and by the very fury that arises in every animal against any living creature it has once made an object of hatred and persecution. Be all this as it may, the royal family was not conducted to the palace, nor supported at the expence of a liberal, a decent, or any fixed and certain revenue whatever. The unfortunate Louis XVI. with his amiable and unfortunate family, was doomed to a miserable prison, harsh treatment, and the bare necessities of nature:—every remain of comfort and consolation, even that of social intercourse, was gradually taken away. Death snook his dart-day and night over their heads, and what remained of the course of life was embittered by a series of cruelties that seemed to have been dictated by the ferocity of the most savage nation; and the subtlety of the most refined. But, under all these severe sufferings the whole royal family displayed the most magnanimous and amiable virtues; fortitude, piety, resignation to the will of God; conjugal, parental, filial, and fraternal affection; and a generous concern for the fate of their friends, and the whole unhappy French nation. While the new rulers rioted in the midst of prosperity, in every lust of sensuality and power,—the family driven from the throne exhibited, in a prison, and under the most terrible circumstances that can be imagined, a most brilliant pattern of moral excellence. Many publications, all of them agreeing in the main and most affecting points, illustrate the truth of what is now asserted concerning the deportment of the royal prisoners of France in

* The residence of the present Directory.

the last year of the monarchy. But we cannot, on this occasion, pass over in silence the journal of the occurrences of the Temple, by Mr. Clery, the faithful and heroic valet de chambre of the King; in the perusal of which we are agitated between indignation and grief, admiration and compassion. The moralist, in the contemplation of such a scene, is for a time lost in perplexity and doubts concerning the ways of Providence; and even religious faith itself might be in some danger of being staggered, if this principle had not been found in the present, as well as in so many former instances, to console and support the mind under evils not to be removed or assuaged by any or all of the resources of humanity.

The same spirit of democratical rage, and contempt of all constituted authority, law, or justice, which had prevailed in Paris from the 9th of August, under the direction of factious agitators, prevailed also in the election of the National Convention. A circular letter from the municipality of Paris, and countersigned by Danton, minister of justice, was sent to all the other municipalities in the kingdom. Its object was, to procure the approbation of the whole kingdom to the massacres, and even to recommend them, in case of necessity, to imitation. "The prisoners," they said, "had been put to death by the people: *An act of justice*; which appeared (to them) indispensably necessary, to keep in awe legions of traitors." It was under the impressions that such produc-

tions were capable of producing, that the primary and electoral assemblies were held for choosing a new Assembly. The clergy were banished; the higher and the most honourable of the nobility had fled or fallen by the hand of assassination; the royal family in prison expected their fate; — all who favoured royalty, or distinction of rank*, were held in abhorrence; and those who had been called passive, as well as the active citizens, had been declared to be eligible to all honours and offices of the state. The vilest of the people had completely triumphed, and they now proclaimed at once their victory and sanguinary intentions; so that good men were discouraged from mixing in the ferocious and unprincipled crowd; and the convention was chosen for the greater part, out of the most despicable and desperate men in the kingdom.

It was common for bands of assassins, at the instigation of Danton, and other leaders, to attend and overawe the freedom of elections. At Rheims there appeared, among other candidates, one Armonville, a butcher, a man of noted brutality of manners. At the name of Armonville there was a great murmur and outcry of indignation; but the armed federates cried out, "We must have Armonville. If you do not give us Armonville, we will continue the massacres, agreeably to the letter of the municipality of Paris."

The National Convention, with unlimited authority, assembled at Paris, on the 20th of September.

* So general and strong was the hatred of the noblesse, including not only the nobles, but what we call Gentry, that it was under deliberation whether any of this order should be permitted to hold commissions in the French army.

Twelve commissioners informed the National Assembly, that the National Convention was constituted in the hall of the Thuilleries. M. Gregoire bishop of Blois, said, "Citizens, the National Convention is constituted. We are deputed by it to inform you, that it is about to repair hither, in order to commence its sittings." The president then said, "the Legislative Assembly declares that its sittings are terminated." The whole Assembly upon this withdrew, in order to repair to the National Convention. They entered the hall of the Thuilleries in a body, and M. Francois de Neuf Chateau spoke thus: — "Representatives of the nation, the Legislative Assembly has ceased its functions; the late members of it hasten to be first in giving to all the empire an example of submission to the laws which you may decree. They have resolved, that their first act, as simple citizens, shall be that of serving as a guard to the National Convention, and of offering them the homage of their respect, in order to give to all France an example of bowing before the majesty of the people, whom you represent. We congratulate ourselves, that, upon our voice, all the primary assemblies adhered to the invitation which we gave them; by electing you, they have consecrated the extraordinary measures which the safety of 24,000,000 of people may require against the perfidy of one man."

September 21st. The first act of the Conventional Assembly was, to sanction by law the abolition of royalty. They proceeded on the next day, to decree, 1st, That all the public acts should be dated "the first year of the French Re-

public. 2nd. That the state-seal should be changed, and have for its legend, French Republic. 3d. That the national-seal should represent a woman sitting upon a bundle of arms, having in her hand a pike, with the cap of liberty upon it; and on the exergue "Archives of the French Republic."

The new legislators of France, as well as their immediate predecessors, discovered much solicitude to consolidate their power, and cover the enormities of the revolution by the sanction of philosophers, and by propagating their doctrines among neighbouring nations; being impressed with a strong conviction, which they did not affect to conceal, that "he that was not with them, was against them." A decree was adopted on the motion of Barrere, in the name of the committee of constitution, inviting all the friends of liberty and equality to present to the said committee, in any language whatever, the plans, methods, and means which they thought the best calculated to form a good constitution for the French Republic; and enacting that such works should be translated, printed, and laid before the National Convention. In a nation in which there are not very many who do not imagine themselves qualified to make laws for the whole, this invitation, so flattering to the vanity of Frenchmen and authors, was eagerly embraced; and the number of political tracts published about this time, was as great as was to be expected. The convention made the compliment of citizenship to political writers and orators, whose notions they approved, in different countries; and particularly in our own, to Dr. Priestley, Thomas Paine, Mr.

Wilberforce,

Wilberforce, and Mr. D. Williams. Dr. Priestley was not ashamed to address two letters, one to the Convention, and the other to Mr. Roland, expressive of the great honours conferred on him: first, by the nation at large, in adopting him a citizen of France; and next, by the department of Arne, in electing him a member of the legislative body*. These letters were much applauded, and ordered to be inscribed in the minutes of the Assembly. In answer to his letter addressed to the Assembly, the president was charged to inform him, that the Convention would receive with pleasure any reflections that he might be pleased to transmit to them. Very different from the conduct of Dr. Priestley was that of the German poet, Klopstock, celebrated with still greater justice for the humanity of his disposition than for his poetical talents, and to whom the Assembly had sent a patent of citizenship. "Moderators of the French empire," says Klopstock, in a letter to the Assembly, "I send back with horror those titles of which I was so proud, while I could think that they united me to a society of brothers and friends to humanity.—Learn that the excess of your barbarism and your crimes has placed an eternal barrier between you and the poets of happy Germany. Frenchmen, I turn away with affright from that impious troop which is guilty

of assassination, by looking on, the peaceable witnesses of murder. I fly far from the cries of that execrable tribunal which murders, not only the victim, but which murders also the mercy of the people."

The remainder of this year was spent by the Convention in endeavouring to amass in their treasury all the gold and silver of the kingdom, in organizing the sale of the lands of the emigrants, and in making preparations for the execution of their King.

But, in the midst of so much confusion, injustice, and horror, the minister of the interior laboured, with unremitting activity and zeal, to soothe and compose the minds of the distracted people to order, justice, and the pursuits of useful and honourable industry. He used his utmost endeavours to prevent or to quell disorders and insurrections, by instructions and exhortations circulated throughout all France, and by preventing or removing causes of discontent; particularly by a faithful and equitable distribution of the large sums of money granted by the Assembly, for the purpose of making advances to such of the departments as were the most in need of them; and particularly for the extraordinary supplies demanded by Paris‡. He paid due regard to hospitals and deserted children; to highways and bridges; to agriculture, manufactures, arts, and com-

* The Doctor did not accept of a seat in the Convention himself; but the same compliment was paid and accepted by his son.

‡ These advances were made on the condition that they should be repaid, without interest, in the space of two years. In fact they were never repaid, nor expected to be repaid at all: but were necessary for the preservation of authority in a new government in a turbulent nation. And in this, as in so many other instances, we recognize a striking similarity between the present system of the French and that of the ancient Romans. From the first divisions of the spoil among the robbers on the Seven Hills, to the last stages of the empire, it was thought expedient to bestow largesses on the Roman citizens.

merce. But the calm voice of reason was but little regarded amidst the general uproar. All his efforts were exhausted in reports, plans, pathetic addresses, and prayers for the public good. The executive power was overborne by the violent spirit of insubordination that raged in all places and among all parties. Roland himself was abundantly sensible of this. While he endeavoured by compliments and caresses to moderate the rage and conduct the passions of his countrymen,—in all his addresses, he confesses how little he expects from the mild mode of moral persuasion. In his report (23d September) given in to the National Convention, and which being printed, was sent to the eighty-three departments, and the armies, he says, “Paris has ever given the signal of action to the remainder of the empire on all great occasions: its inhabitants have trodden down despotism, prevented its blind fury, and disconcerted its plans. It has, indeed, been self-destructive; and despotism and its project must end together. But, should the fermentation it has excited survive the foe, this fermentation will be equally ruinous. France is rending herself, and all is disorder. The danger is extreme. Can Paris, which has done so much for the general good, become the cause of misery? No. The National Convention will soon give a new face to affairs. The present law is truly the law of the people, who ought at least provisionally to acknowledge their own work, by obeying the decrees which shall be

passed by the National Convention. No plea of suspicion can now excuse disobedience to the law. Ministers can no longer be suspected; for they and the people have but one common cause: whoever shall refuse obedience to the law, must be either a mistaken or a perfidious man; and in either case, his resistance may be destructive to the state. Reason will certainly direct the great majority; and to their force the minority ought to cede.” But, after all these expressions of confidence in the reason of a great majority and the clearness of what they ought to do, he immediately adds, “A vigorous government only, can secure the existence of free states. This truth is particularly applicable to a people consisting of 25,000,000 of * men, in times of public danger. This idea leads to another. Confidence is the strongest of political springs; and the only one which ought to actuate a free people on ordinary occasions. But the present is none of that class. Brunswick extends his influence round the National Convention. Confidence singly, is impotent: force is necessary:—force alone can overthrow treachery. It is my opinion, therefore, that the National Convention should be guarded by an armed force, capable of inspiring awe; and that this force ought to consist of men wholly devoted to military service; which should be their profession:—Regular troops only can effect this purpose.”

It might appear astonishing to those who did not reflect on the

* Under which designation, Roland, it may be thought also, comprehended women: and not with great impropriety. The French women had displayed manly courage, and more than manly ferocity.

nature of enthusiasm, that, on the very first meeting of an assembly chosen by the whole people of France, without any consideration of property or rank, when mutual confidence might be supposed, if ever to reign (and immediately after the abolition of royalty, and an oath of eternal hatred to kings) such sentiments should be avowed by so eminent and popular a leader in the revolution. The ground of virtue, the basis of republican government was abandoned, and an asylum sought within the precincts of despotism. The same absurdity of saving the constitution by violating it, was afterwards avowed, when the executive government, in September 1797, moderated the National Assembly according to their own views, by banishing to Cayenne so great and respectable a portion of the deputies.

But Roland, with his friends and adherents, though he distrusted the present generation, anticipated the virtue of future times, the happy and glorious fruit of the new form of government. In a letter which the minister of the interior sent, nearly at the same time, to the administrative bodies, he says, "Hideous egotism, which would walk tranquilly amidst ruin, to search after what it could appropriate to itself; jealous and bold ambition, always ready to shoot up in minds heated and unruly, the unthinking and immoral habits of so many men vitiated by tyranny,—all these kept up a focus of corruption, the effects of which have appeared to tarnish some epochs of the constitu-

tion. It would be as great injustice to applaud as to be astonished at them. The instant at which the elements, confused in chaos, came into regular union, must have been that of an agitation in which none but the Creator could perceive the incalculable and disorderly movements. The moment when the genius of liberty extinguishes empire, offers something analogous which philosophy alone can calculate.—But the light is made:—its shining rays animate and give colour to objects. Royalty is proscribed, and the reign of equality begins."

If ever there existed a chaos, or abyss of disorder, there could have been no such thing in its agitation as disorderly motion, since every motion from a state of disorder must have been a motion towards the establishment of order and harmony. But it would be idle to waste time in exposing the inaptitude, as well as extravagance of a comparison, between the creation of the universe and the French revolution. This scene does not so naturally recall to a dispassionate mind, light and order springing, at the Almighty fiat, out of darkness and confusion*, as the whole creation groaning and in pain, in consequence of the disorders introduced into the world by sin. But it is not wholly foreign to our purpose to give a specimen of those flowers of rhetoric which accorded so well with the genius of France; particularly at this time, and were considered as very convincing arguments, by so great a portion of the nation. The weight of this obser-

* Mr. Roland alludes to the justly admired passage, in the first chapter of Genesis, "And God said, let there be light; and there was light."

† Rom. viii. 22.

vation is not lessened but rather encreased, if the letters and other compositions of Roland were written, as is generally believed, by his wife.

Mr. Roland, in a letter to the departments, on the subject of the massacres, dated the 4th of September, uses other similitudes. "I know that revolutions are not to be calculated by common rules: but I know, likewise, that the power which makes them, ought soon to arrange itself under obedience to the law, if total destruction be not intended. The anger of the people and the movement of insurrection, are comparable to the action of a torrent which overturns obstacles that no other power is able to destroy; but which, spreading wider and wider in its progress, will carry ravage and devastation far and wide, if it does not soon return to its usual course. It is in the nature of things, and of the human heart, that victory should always be followed by a certain degree of excess: the sea, agitated by a tempest, roars after the tempest is over; but every thing has its bounds where it ought at last to be terminated." Even in these sublime and gentle admonitions to the people we discover the latent principle of all the evil; which ought not to be compared to a torrent which ceases with the rains, or the dissolution of the snow by which it is occasioned, but to a well of bitter waters constantly springing up into poisonous streams of misery and death. The French nation are admonished of what they ought to do, or not to do; but the grand principle of insurrection and revolt is still approved, held sacred

still, and compared to whatever is grand and affecting in the course of nature. Yet it is allowed that insurrection may be too long continued. If," Mr. Roland continues, "disorganization becomes a matter of habit and custom; if men, zealous, but without knowledge and skill, pretend to mix perpetually with administration, and to stop its course; if, supported by some popular favour, obtained by a great degree of ardour, and maintained by a still greater facility of making harangues, they spread abroad mistrust, and sow calumny and accusation, excite fury and dictate proscriptions,—the government is then only a shadow*." Though these remarks may have an appearance of criticism rather than of narration, yet nothing is more to our purpose than to trace the great cause amidst all the symptoms of the disease. For light on this subject, we cannot but acknowledge our obligations to a publication by one of our countrymen, who witnessed the volcano in its most violent eruptions, and marked with accuracy and penetration, the strata, disclosed, of moral nature. On the passage just quoted from the Letters of Roland, the author of the History of Jacobinism observes, "Those who patronize revolt, should not liken it, when supported by principle, to a river that is to return to its bed: it should be likened to a fire that never ceases till all is consumed. Have not all those who have witnessed the revolution, seen that the habit of revolt was subversive of order, law, and liberty, as Roland says? And is it not evident, that what men are taught to consider as a duty, is very likely to

* History of Jacobinism, page 516.

become

become a habit? Why then, instead of preaching eternally against revolt carried too far, and continued too long, do not they at once declare that revolt is illegal, and, instead of being a duty, is a crime? This is the language that ought to be spoke; but every one willing to reserve to himself and friends the privilege of revolting, when to them it seems proper, refuses to make this declaration, and each has, in the end, fallen a sacrifice to this terrible article of the declaration of rights*." Roland, and the other reformers of France were sensible that the French character was not adapted to a republic; but they reckoned upon the change that would be introduced into that character by the institutions of a free form of government; not recollecting that written laws are, in themselves, but lifeless things; and that they derive their whole energy from the activity of the human passions that carries them into execution. Where the morals of men are grossly depraved, they either suffer equal and just law to become obsolete, or use their liberty only as a cloke of licentiousness. Not only did the passions and immoral habits of men hurry them on, in the progress of revolu-

tion and anarchy, to greater and greater excesses and crimes, but also blinded their understandings, contracted their views, and involved them in continued contradictions. Though the primary movers and leaders of revolution, agreeably to the genius of the French nation, entertained the same projects of national aggrandizement with their successors, they intended, at least professed to pursue great and glorious ends, by wise and virtuous means. Mirabeau's plan was to produce a change of manners in his countrymen, by altering the system of education, in a space of time not less than fifteen years; and to extend the influence of France, by enlarging that of other nations. Had Mirabeau lived, the vices and defects of the constitution of 1794, would, perhaps, have been corrected by appeals to the primary, whose rights had been usurped by the Constituent Assembly, and by restoring the King to liberty and political importance. In other countries, as well as France, there were many men who abhorred the crimes of the 10th of August and 2d of September, yet still thought it expedient to adopt the principles from which they flowed.

* Had Mr. Playfair attended more than he has done to arrangement and to dates, his work might be considered as incomparably the best account of the French Revolution that has yet been published; the most profound, satisfactory, and entertaining. While the phenomena of the revolution, in its different stages, are traced with great perspicuity to the French doctrines concerning the rights of man, and particularly the *duty* of insurrection, the excesses, inconsistencies, and absurdities of both the people and those who assumed the reins of government, are painted with great force of ridicule; which, however, seems not at all to arise from any design of displaying wit and humour on the part of the author, but to be the natural and unavoidable result of a clear and just view of his subject. Mr. Playfair writes a fine genius and turn for speculation with great knowledge of the world, political, commercial, and financial; and has shown, by other publications, besides the present, how much he is capable, especially in times like the present, of being of service to his country.

CHAP. IV.

Insurrection in the French West Indies. Internal State of the Islands previous to 1789. Division of the Inhabitants. Form of Government. Universal Oppression which prevailed. All parties discontented. Threatening Aspect of Affairs. Dreadful Convulsions evidently at Hand. Disposition of France towards the Colonies. Society of Les amis des Noirs. Its Proceedings. The Inhabitants of St. Domingo send 18 Deputies to the National Assembly in 1789. Suppression of an Insurrection of the Mulattoes. The Legislature of France wisely resolve not to interfere in the Affairs of the Colonies. The General Colonial Assembly of St. Domingo meets at St. Marc's on the 16th of April, 1790. It is opposed by Mauduit and the Partizans of Royalty, who gain over the People of Colour to their Interest. Extravagant Plan of a new Constitution, voted by the Assembly on the 28th of May. Both parties prepare for War. The Deputies embark for France, to justify their Conduct before the King and the National Convention. Proceedings of the Jacobins in France. They prevail upon J. Ogè to undertake an Expedition to St. Domingo, in favour of his Brethren. Character of J. Ogè: his Rebellion and Death. Hostile Disposition of all Parties in France to the West Indian Planters. Reception of the St. Domingo Deputies. Murmurs excited in the Colonies. Murder of Mauduit. Decree of the National Assembly for placing the People of Colour on a footing with the Whites. Its Impolicy. Its dreadful Effects in the Islands. Rebellion in Guadaloupe and St. Lucia. It is proposed at Cape Francois to deliver up the Colony to the English. Meeting of the new Colonial Assembly at Leogans on the 25th of August. Insurrection of the Mulattoes. They gain over the Negroes, who rise in a Mass. Their dreadful Atrocities. They destroy every thing with Fire and Sword. Consternation at Cape Francois. Measures pursued by both Parties. Anecdotes of Negro Barbarity. Peace is restored by a Treaty between the Whites and Mulattoes; in which the Operation of the Decree of the 15th of May is agreed to by the former. Repeal of that Decree by the National Assembly. Upon Intelligence of this Event, Civil War was renewed in St. Domingo. Battle of Cul de Sac; Mutual Cruelties. The Commissioners appointed by the National Assembly, arrive about the End of December. They are universally hated and despised. Soon after, return to France. New Commissioners appointed with unlimited powers. Decree of the 4th of May. Arrival in St. Domingo of Santhonax, Polveril, and Ailton. Their Tyranny and Oppression. They become absolute Masters of the Colony, and reduce it to the most abject Slavery. State of the other Islands. Conclusion.

WHILE the mother country was thus convulsed by faction, and over-run with violence, the colonies presented a picture still more affecting and melancholy. Heretoo the spirit of innovation appeared; here it prevailed to excess, grew into phrenzy, and produced misery and devastation. The bands of society were loosened;—the different orders of the state rose in arms against each other:—the most cruel civil war was carried on;—the most dreadful atrocities were perpetrated:—human blood was shed in torrents. The French colonies were not plunged into this deplorable situation at once: they were

were reduced to it by a long course of calamitous events; many of which took place several years previous to 1792. None of these have we yet mentioned in any former volume: partly because we could receive no information but what was confused and contradictory; and partly because, by waiting a little, we hoped to present our readers with a clear and uninterrupted view of the whole. Accounts have become more fully authentic, now that the spirit of faction has in some measure subsided, and time has begun to clear away the mist of prejudice. We shall, therefore, proceed to delineate a short sketch of the history of those islands during the years 1789, 90, 91, and 92.

All the inhabitants were ranged under three great classes. These were the whites, the negroes, and the *sans mêlès*, or *gens de couleur*. The first, it is scarcely necessary to remark, was composed of Europeans who had been attracted by hopes of security and gain, to settle in the new world: the second of those unhappy Africans, who had been dragged from their native shore, deprived of their liberty, and obliged to spend their lives in the cultivation of the soil; the third, or people of colour, of the offspring from an intermixture betwixt the other two. As the descendants always inherited the lot of their fathers, these three classes comprehend every inhabitant of the island; and betwixt the three there was drawn an impassible line.

The system of internal government which prevailed in those islands, was as bad as the imagination of man can well conceive:—it was monstrous and unnatural: it had slavery for its basis, and the most

dreadful oppression was its fruit. No order of the community could be said to be free:—their chief privilege consisted in insulting and injuring their inferiors. The negroes who were subjected to the arbitrary will of a master, were in a situation scarcely more deplorable than the *gens de couleur*. The unfortunate mulattoes (tho' not absolutely private property) had often reason to envy the lot of those that were: they were not only to every generation deprived of all shadow of political liberty, and prohibited from exercising any liberal profession,—but they were considered as belonging to an inferior species, as bordering on the brutes. They were subjected to the most intolerable grievances; they were permitted by the laws to be insulted, and even beat with impunity. As it was not in their case as in that of the negroes, the interest of any one to protect them, so they were cruelly oppressed by all. The brutish uncultivated negro, suffers only from the pain a stripe inflicts upon his nerves:—to the mulattoes this treatment was torture. From being in easy circumstances, and from having received a good education, many of them were possessed of fine feelings and acute sensibility.

The whites themselves could boast but little of their freedom and independence; they groaned under despotism in all its rigours. The government was administered by a governor general, and an intendant named by the King of France, whose power was absolute in their respective colonies. They framed laws, imposed taxes, and commanded the military. An appeal lay to them from all the courts of justice; and they were even shamefully open

to bribery and corruption. The victory of the prosecutor or defender depended more upon the weight of their purses than the justice of their cause. Thus, no man's property or his life could be said to be secure. He was even exposed to the effects of envy and malice, of rapacity and violence; and as the fountains of justice were poisoned, he could not hope for redress.

Under a system thus unreasonable and oppressive, the colonies remained in tranquillity till the year 1789. But though this was the case, and though they gave ample proofs of public prosperity, we are not to suppose that they remained in contentment; that there were no secret murmurings against slavery, no longings after change. Notwithstanding this seeming acquiescence, in the system, it might have been easily foreseen that dreadful convulsions would attend its dissolution. All usurped authority is temporary, and the confusion which attends a revolution, is always great in proportion to the former deviation from the principles of liberty. Though till 1789 the political fabric gave no external signs of decay, yet it had been secretly undermined for years; and now it tottered to its fall. The hardships and sufferings endured by every rank in society, had generated discontent in all, and all were impatient for reform.

The negroes, uncultivated and insensible, continued to ply their laborious task without thinking much of the justice with which it was inflicted. But even among them, a spirit of insubordination began to appear. Books calculated for their low capacities, tending to inflame their minds against their masters, and

to excite them to revolt, had been industriously circulated amongst them. Medals were struck for the benefit of those who could not read, representing their degraded situation, and instructing them in their violated rights. The people of colour, many of whom were men of liberal fortune and good education, had become enlightened upon the subject of politics. They were unhappy at their lot before; they now knew that it was unjust;—they knew that they were aggrieved, and were exasperated, to a man, against the whites, who thus cruelly oppressed them. The writings of the French philosophers had found their way to the West Indies; and here they produced their natural effect. The planters kept pace with their brethren in the mother country, in their detestation of arbitrary power. They were filled with indignation at the thought of the despotism under which they had hitherto groaned. They entertained high ideas of colonial independence, and considered themselves as forming an integral part of the French empire, and bound to obey no laws but what they themselves had framed.

Thus a revolution was wished for by all, and by all it was considered as the certain harbinger of unbounded felicity. Many happy effects might have been produced by such an event, had it been conducted with moderation and prudence; but, unhappily, two circumstances existed which were sure to render it, instead of a blessing, a curse. The expectations and demands of each class were extravagant:—each was solicitous about its own. The negroes wished for nothing less than complete emancipation.

cipation. Complete equalization with the whites was expected by the mulattoes. The whites, in their fond visions of power and happiness, had formed an idea of a system of government which would have realized the former; but which was incompatible with colonial subordination. A selfish narrow-minded spirit universally prevailed; no symptom of diffusive benevolence, or general philanthropy. While the whites eagerly and impatiently expected freedom and independence, they were deaf to the demands of the mulattoes, or determined to reject them. The unhappy negro bled under the lash of the mulatto, who was himself impatient of oppression, and importunate in his calls for redress. The tempest had been gathering for years; now it hung gloomy over the devoted islands, big with ruin: — at length it burst; and the pride of power, the rage of innovation, and the struggles of contending factions, produced a torrent of destruction which swept away every thing before it.

Had the islands been each a sovereign state, from the circumstances we have already mentioned, a civil war was inevitable. But colonies must ever be dependent upon the mother country; they must be guided by its directions, and obedient to its decrees. Upon these all the events that befall them chiefly depend. It was therefore in the power of France to have averted the impending storm, at least to have mitigated its horrors. Had her councils been directed with policy and foresight, she might have saved those inestimable possessions, which constituted the chief source of her naval power, her commerce,

and her wealth. But, unhappily, the spirit which then animated France was ill calculated to soothe the discord, and to heal the divisions which were about to distract the colonies.

The minds of men were filled with ideal schemes of government, built upon abstract principles; which, though never to be realized, they had determined to execute without regard to times or to seasons, to effects or to consequences. A favourite plan at this period throughout France, was, to abolish negro-slavery, and to place every inhabitant of the sugar colonies on a footing of equality. A society was established of men of these principles, who called themselves *Les Amis des Noirs*, and who laboured incessantly to bring about this order of things. They made speeches, they published pamphlets, and did every thing in their power to influence the public mind. These men, at the expence of all that was just and good, and sacred in France, at length obtained the sovereign dominion in that country; when they had it in their power to make experiment of their system upon the colonies. That system was ill calculated for the meridian of St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, and Tobago. These islands, in the event, were totally ruined by a series of precipitate measures, of rash and untried schemes, adopted without due consideration, or competent knowledge of the subject, and founded upon the same abstract notions and metaphysical dreams which had involved the parent country in its present unparalleled situation.

The first revolutionary symptoms exhibited in St. Domingo appeared

1789, soon after the King had come to the memorable resolution of convening the states general of the kingdom. Upon receipt of this intelligence, the inhabitants, in express contradiction to the commands of the governor, met everywhere in a tumultuous manner, passed resolutions declaratory of their rights; and at length elected eighteen deputies, whom they dispatched to France to represent them in the great national council.

However, things remained for some time tolerably tranquil, tho' the planters became daily more alarmed and discontented at the disposition which prevailed towards them in France, and the resolution which it was manifest the French had adopted, to espouse the cause of the mulattoes.

This state of delusive tranquillity was soon interrupted, by intelligence being received of the celebrated declaration of rights voted by the National Convention on the 20th of August. The doctrine there held forth is incompatible with any form of society, above all with that existing in the islands. Among other sentiments of a similar nature, it is there declared, that "All men are born and continue free and equal as to their rights;" according to which the negroes had not only a right to freedom, but to share their estates with their masters.

The publication of this declaration excited a violent ferment throughout the island; and apprehensions were entertained of a civil war being instantly kindled. The mulattoes were in raptures with the seemingly near prospect of all their gay visions of equality being realized. The long night of darkness, of ignorance, and of prejudice, they

thought was drawing to a close. They concluded this to be the dawn of a bright day, when man was to be treated as man. Dreadful was the consternation of the planters, and strong their feelings of indignation and resentment. They said that this declaration had been dictated by political fanaticism, or deliberate villany; and that it was calculated to produce universal confusion and anarchy. An assembly was immediately convened in each of the three provinces into which the French part of St. Domingo is divided, to deliberate upon the most proper method to guard against the encroachments of the mulattoes. The opinions and decrees of those assemblies were various and discordant; but they were unanimous in expressing the most marked disapprobation of the disposition which France had shewn to intermeddle with their internal regulations. They here assumed a high tone, talked of their exclusive right in this matter, and seemed to set the power of France at defiance.

The mulattoes meanwhile, exasperated by the conduct of the whites, and their steady determination not to admit the validity of their claims, became turbulent and seditious, and prepared to enforce their demands with the sword. Accordingly, large bodies of them appeared in arms in different parts of the country, and published manifestos, setting forth their views, their demands, and determinations. But without a skilful leader, without sufficient concert, and without a plan, their attempts for the present were easily overpowered.

At this period the cause of the mulattoes seemed to be desperate; their

their rebellion had been curbed at home; they were abandoned by the legislature of France. Upon hearing of the disposition of the colonies to the mother country (for sentiments of rage and indignation were general throughout all the islands, particularly at Martinique) the commercial and manufacturing towns, which subsisted by the West India trade, took the alarm. They believed that the inhabitants either wished to renounce their dependence, or to throw themselves into the arms of a foreign power: so that the source of their wealth would be dried up, or diverted into a different channel. The National Assembly was forced to pay attention to their clamours, and to deliberate upon the most proper scheme to soothe the minds of the colonists. After a long and animated debate, a decree was passed which imported that the legislature of France would not interfere with the commercial arrangements or internal regulations of the colonies; and that the constitution of each should be such as itself should choose, provided it was consistent with the necessary subordination and dependence on the mother country.

This decree was perhaps the most equitable, prudent, and politic, that could then have been devised. A colony has surely a just right to frame the laws by which it shall be governed. Never would the French colonies have submitted to be governed by a legislature at 3000 miles distance, after what had happened in the mother country, and with the example of the Americans ever before their eyes. Besides, the decree was founded on the strong basis of moral necessity; the colonies were ready to renounce

their allegiance. Had France adhered to it, they might still have been in her possession; yet nothing could equal the clamour which it excited among the mulattoes; but particularly among the members of the society of the *Amis des Noirs*. They reprobated it as the offspring of tyranny and the mother of oppression. They said that it sanctioned all the abuses which already existed in the West Indies, and that it would be the foundation of greater. Thus this decree failed of effect in establishing tranquillity: while it satisfied one party, it rendered another discontented and furious.

About the beginning of 1790, an order arrived in St. Domingo, from the King, for convening a general Colonial Assembly. To such a degree was the respect for royalty diminished in St. Domingo, that this order was nearly disregarded. The members were elected in a manner different from what had been there enjoined; the place appointed for holding it was altered, the time fixed for its meeting.

This important assembly, on which so much depended, at length met at St. Marc's, on the 16th of April, to establish the peace; and to settle the constitution of their country. They at first evinced a spirit of moderation; their deliberations were conducted with prudence, and their acts were framed with wisdom. The pleasing prospect was opened of tranquillity and happiness being speedily restored by the enactment of just and equitable laws.

Many abuses were rectified in the administration of justice; which made it equally open to a man, whatever was the colour of his skin. The mulattoes were relieved from

from all the oppression and grievances under which they had formerly groaned; and, though not placed absolutely on a level with the whites, yet this melioration in their lot was declared to be only the earnest of future favours.

These conciliatory measures had the desired effect upon the people of colour. They now began to lay aside all thoughts of violent proceedings, and to hope for redress only from the operation of law.

But unhappily there existed in the island a set of men to whose interest this coalition was prejudicial. These were men who had held commissions and offices under the old government, and to whose wishes nothing could be more opposite than the success of the Assembly in establishing good order throughout the colony on the permanent foundation of liberty. In this case, those officers, tax-gatherers, commissaries, and judges, who had lived by violence and corruption, and fattened upon the spoils of innocence, would have seen their power and their riches annihilated for ever. At the head of these was Mr. Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince; a man of great talents and insinuating manners, devoted to the ancient system, though of fairer reputation than most of those with whom he acted in concert. He now strained every nerve to detach the mulattoes from the alliance of the whites. He declared himself their protector, and insinuated that they might expect to be supported by the government of France. He told them that the planters were insincere; and that if they would join themselves to him, every demand should be granted.

By these arts, he soon succeeded in sowing discord between the two parties. The mulattoes became jealous and distrustful of the whites, and wholly devoted to his interest.

The conduct of the planters themselves, at this juncture, was impolitic and weak in the extreme. Instead of behaving with unanimity and moderation, they split among themselves, and gave their enemies just ground to complain of their ambition and extravagance. The provincial assembly in the north did every thing in its power to counteract the measures of the general assembly at St. Marc's, on the 28th of May. It passed the famous decree containing the new constitution, which gave the finishing stroke to the ruin of the cause of the whites. Many of the articles of that decree are altogether subversive of colonial subordination, and afforded an ample handle for the ruin of its operation. No sooner was it promulgated than the governor Peynier, Mauduit, and others of that faction, boldly asserted that the assembly, imitating the conduct of the Americans, aimed at shaking off the authority of France, and establishing complete independence. The improbability of this story prevented its credit. They then invented a report, and industriously propagated it, that the colony had been sold to the English; and that the assembly had received forty millions of livres as the reward of their treachery. Strange as it may appear, this unfounded and extravagant charge gained universal belief throughout the island, and cast the greatest odium on the general assembly. Several parishes recalled their

their deputies; and in general the inhabitants looked upon it with jealousy and mistrust.

The governor, encouraged by the impression which had gone abroad to the discredit of his enemies, determined, by the advice of Colonel Mauduit, to take active measures to ensure his ascendancy. He dissolved by proclamation the general assembly. With an armed force he arrested several of the deputies of a provincial meeting, who had presumed to convene contrarily to his wishes. He collected troops from every quarter of the island, established magazines, and made, with activity, every preparation for war.

Meanwhile the members of the Assembly were not inactive. They summoned the inhabitants to repair to St. Marc's, in defence of their deputies; they raised troops, and gained over to their side the crew of a ship of war, which had been under the command of a partizan of Peynier and Mauduit. All was anxiety and alarm. Hostilities seemed on the eve of commencing; an important blow was expected to be instantly struck; every thing threatened an obstinate and bloody struggle.

At this critical period the effusion of human blood was prevented, and the fate of the colony suspended for a season by an event unlooked for, and at this day unaccountable. A sudden impulse seized the members of the general assembly to go to France, and to justify their conduct before the supreme authority of that country. Accordingly, in a few days they actually, to the number of eighty-three, left their native country on this bold and patriotic enterprize. This

disinterested conduct struck the contending factions with equal astonishment and admiration. A momentary calm succeeded, and all parties seemed disposed to abide by the decision of the King and the National Assembly of France. The peace of the colony, however, was soon violated from another quarter, and by men of different principles. A desire of anarchy and a desire of despotism are equally prejudicial to good government, and produced the same fatal effect upon the island of St. Domingo. It had lately suffered from the latter; it was now to suffer from the former.

The ruling party in the Assembly, with Petion, Brissot, and Robespierre at their head, had seen with extreme dissatisfaction the peaceable demeanour of the *gens de couleur*, and the prospect of peace being established by their coalition with the whites. Such an event would have baffled all their schemes; they therefore strained every nerve to prevent it; and as misrepresentation and calumny had not been effectual, they were determined upon a bolder enterprize.

Among the mulattoes of the West Indies then residing in France, was James Ogé, a young man of considerable abilities, of a warm imagination, and a sanguine temper. Him the levellers pitched upon as a fit person to answer their purposes. They introduced him to the meetings of the society of the *Amis de Noirs*, where he was instructed in his rights and his injuries; where he had painted to him, in glowing colours, the cruel wrong and contumelies to which he and his brethren in the West-Indies were exposed; and where he was shewn the monstrous absurdity of that prejudice

judice which estimates the merit of a man from the colour of his skin. By hearing these discourses, his mind became inflamed to frantic madness; and he was prevailed upon to undertake the command of an expedition to rescue his brethren from oppression and slavery.

Being furnished with money and letters of credit, Ogé embarked for America in July 1790; where he purchased arms and ammunition, which he found means to get conveyed to St. Domingo. But what was his disappointment upon his arrival! He had been led to believe from the assurances of his friends in France, that the coloured people would instantly flock to his standard. With all his efforts in the space of several weeks, he could scarcely muster 200 raw inexperienced youths; and even of these he had but an imperfect command. Notwithstanding his utmost exertion, they committed the most atrocious enormities. All of their own order who would not join them, they inhumanly murdered. One man, as an apology for his conduct, pointed to a wife and six helpless children. Wife, children, and husband, they involved in one common massacre.

The event was as might have been expected. He was soon met by a superior force, and his little army completely destroyed. He himself, with a few of his followers, contrived to make his escape into the Spanish part of the island. Here he found only a temporary asylum. He was soon delivered up by the Spaniards, brought to Cape François, tried, condemned, and broke upon the wheel. But though the expedition had this unfortunate issue, its consequences were important and lasting. It was the means

of sowing irreconcilable hatred betwixt the mulattoes and the whites.

We must now recur to what was going on in the mean time in France. Here every thing ran counter to the interests of the planters. They were hateful to all parties: to the royalists, from their visionary schemes of government; to moderate men from these, and from their treatment of the people of colour; to the violent democrats and Jacobins, from the slavery of their negroes.

Accordingly, the deputies from St. Domingo met with a very ungracious reception upon their arrival in France. They were scarcely admitted to a hearing by the National Assembly: their conduct was censured in terms of the greatest asperity; all their decrees were reversed, and their persons put under an arrest. The National Convention accused the planters of disaffection to the mother country, and of impatience of constitutional subordination and good government: it requested the King to give orders for forming a new colonial assembly, and to send out a strong military force to maintain the royal authority in St. Domingo.

No language can describe the ferment which was there excited on hearing of this decree, or the amazement and consternation of the whites. A more arbitrary and tyrannical sentence was never dictated by Louis XIV. They considered this as a re-establishment of the ancient system; and looked upon themselves as devoted to destruction between the mulattoes on the one hand, and Mauduit and his followers on the other. As he was considered as the author of their calamities, the rage of the populace against

against him knew no bounds. Their hatred was soon participated by his own soldiers, who had formerly idolized him. With a levity peculiar to the French character, and with a barbarity characteristic of the times, in a few days they forgot their former affection, rose upon their benefactor, and murdered him, with every circumstance of savage atrocity.

Affairs now prospered with Gregoire, Brissot, Robespierre, and the leaders of the Jacobins. They had the prospect of seeing their wishes speedily crowned with success. All was confusion in the colonies: the planters were in disgrace; they themselves were every way gaining influence at home. Trusting to their strength, they now determined to call on the supreme legislative authority of France to give effect to their projects. A formidable obstacle here opposed their progress; for it may be remembered that the National Assembly, on the 8th of March, 1790, renounced all right to interfere in the internal regulations of the colonies. However they did not despair, but began, by every art, to bend the public mind to their purposes. All the argumentative reasoning of Brissot, all the metaphysical powers of Condorcet, all the impassioned eloquence of the Abbé Gregoire, were employed to reprobate the planters, and to shew the equity and policy of the complete enfranchisement of the mulattoes. Fortune favoured them: for at this critical moment the news of the fate of the unfortunate Oge arrived in France; which excited the deepest regret, and the most lively indignation. To heighten the effect, Robespierre procured a company of

players to represent his tragical end in pantomime upon the stage. Such odium was by that means reflected upon the planters then resident in Paris, that for some time they durst not appear in the streets.

Now confident of success, the Abbé Gregoire, on the 15th of May 1791, brought the business before the National Assembly, and moved that the people of colour resident in the French colonies, born of free parents, should be allowed, as their right, all the privileges of French citizens, and, among others, those of having votes in the choice of representatives, and of being eligible to seats both in the parochial and colonial assemblies. This motion he supported with all the powers of eloquence. Strong opposition was made. If such a decree was passed, it was predicted by some, that it would prove the ruin of the colonies. "Perish the colonies," said Robespierre, "rather than sacrifice one *iota* of our principles." The advocates for the planters were overpowered and confounded; and the motion was passed by a great majority, amidst the applause of the multitude.

Very different was the effect produced by this event among the white people in the colonies. They uttered the most dreadful imprecations against the National Assembly, and censured the members of it as their most cruel and implacable enemies. Great preparations had been everywhere made for a general federation on the 14th of July. They now unanimously resolved to refuse the civic oath. The national cockade was trodden under foot.

This furious indignation, and this spirit of resistance, raged with peculiar violence in the island of St. Domingo.

Domingo. At Cape François, it was proposed to seize all the ships in the harbour, and to confiscate the property of the French merchants. A motion was made in the provincial assembly, to pull down the national colours, and to erect the British standard in their room. The authority of the governor general was completely annihilated. To ensure his personal safety, he was obliged to promise that he would suspend the execution of the decree, and send a remonstrance against it to France. As the most proper method to secure the peace of the colony, the different parishes proceeded to elect deputies for a general assembly, which should assume sovereign authority, and resist the encroachments of France. These deputies, to the number of 176, met at Leogane, on the 9th of August 1791, and having declared themselves the general assembly of the French part of St. Domingo, adjourned till the 23th of the same month, when they resolved to meet at Cape François.

But before that day arrived, the most fertile and populous plains were turned into scenes of dreary desolation and indiscriminate carnage.

The people of colour had long been in a state of irreconcilable enmity with the whites. When they laid aside hostilities soon after the death of Ogé, it was far from proceeding from suggestions of amity or good-will:—their resentment abated not; hatred still lurked in their minds; they only deferred the hour of vengeance.—Owing to these dispositions, a civil war was sooner or later to break out between the two parties.

The decree of the 15th of May was the brand which lighted up the flames,—that set the combustible materials which had long been prepared, into immediate action. When the mulattoes observed the hostile disposition of the white people; when they saw their determined resolution to reject their claims; when they heard of massacre and proscription, they concluded that the time was now arrived when they must be ruined for ever, or make good their pretensions by force, and purchase their security with the sword. They therefore flocked together from every quarter in arms, resolved to conquer or die. Death in the field, they said, was preferable to dying on a scaffold, or to being butchered in cold blood. An honourable death was all that at first they could hope for. They were inferior in numbers to the whites; much more so in discipline and skill.

The whites saw the coming storm; but mistaking its force, they despised its violence:—they had little doubt of easily quelling the insurrection.

At this moment of anxiety and alarm, a plan was devised among the mulattoes, by which they hoped not only to save themselves, but annihilate their enemies. This was, to call in the assistance of the negroes.

This scheme at first seemed impracticable. The people of colour had always treated their slaves with great cruelty and harshness. The slaves, imagining them to be little better than themselves, could the less brook their ill treatment. There had constantly subsisted between them the greatest rancour and animosity.

mostity. However, there existed several circumstances which tended to counteract these impressions. The negroes had long fostered hopes of deliverance from slavery, though hitherto in vain. The only prospect of seeing these realized, seemed to be in abandoning their masters at once, and joining themselves with the mulattoes. The exertions of the society of the *Amis de Noirs*, had familiarized the idea to their minds: they were ripe for revolt. Accordingly, when the commissaries of the *gens de couleur* with anxiety founded the dispositions of the Africans, they found them by no means averse to their wishes. By assuring them that they themselves were supported by the supreme legislature of the mother country; by asserting that with their assistance they could not fail of success; by promising them the speedy possession of the estates of their masters; and by filling their minds with visions of future happiness, they completely conquered all remaining reluctance, and engaged to their views nine-tenths of all the slaves in the northern province of St. Domingo. Both parties laid aside or suspended their ancient feuds, and swore eternal friendship and fidelity. A plan was concerted for a general insurrection throughout all the island. The 23d of August was fixed upon as the fatal day.

Soon after midnight the revolt began in the parish of Arcueil, and in a few hours became general throughout the province. The manner of proceeding was bloody and systematic. The negroes on each plantation first butchered the white people, who lay sleeping unsuspecting of harm. They then marched on to join their confede-

rates. Their numbers were computed by some to amount to little less than a hundred thousand. Every white that they could find, they indiscriminately murdered. They made no distinction betwixt the old and the young, the strong and the weak, the father and the daughter; their former benefactors and oppressors all shared a common fate: all were put to death with every circumstance of savage atrocity. The only exception that was made, was in the case of some unfortunate females who were reserved for a more lamentable fate. Fire accomplished the ruin of what the sword was unable to destroy. The torch was applied to the buildings and plantations; and in a few hours the country presented to the eye of the beholder one vast conflagration.

In Cape François all was confusion, consternation, and horror. Vast volumes of smoke all around the horizon, ascended to the sky. Every moment fugitives with ghastly looks arrived from the country to relate new disasters. It was expected that the savages would instantly make an attempt upon the city itself; the city was nearly defenceless: thus inevitable death seemed to await the wretched inhabitants.

Happily the negroes, intoxicated with the success of their enterprize, and rioting in the slaughter of innocence, neglected to take this step which would have completed their triumph. The white people had thus time to recover from their panic, and to take measures for their safety. They sent the women and children on board the ships in the harbour:—they raised fortifications about the city, they seized some strong posts in the neighbourhood, disciplined

disciplined troops, and at length commenced offensive operations against the insurgents.

Our bounds would not permit us to enter into the warfare which ensued; nor would the most circumstantial account of this, have any other effect than that of exciting a painful sympathy, or serve any other purpose than that of illustrating the degrading and the deplorable excesses to which human nature, untutored by education, and unrestrained by religion, is, in certain circumstances, capable of being carried.

The negroes, notwithstanding every effort of the white people, still maintained their ground. They were routed to day, but to-morrow they appeared in still greater force. The rebellion spread to the other provinces; and Port au Prince was in danger of being burnt to the ground.

It was computed, that within two months after the revolt began, two thousand white people had been massacred;—that between ten and twelve thousand of the insurgents perished by the sword, by disease, and by famine;—that one hundred and eighty sugar plantations, and about nine hundred coffee, cotton, and indigo settlements had been destroyed; and one thousand two hundred christian families reduced from opulence to such a state of misery, as to depend altogether for their clothing and sustenance on public and private charity.

The mulattoe chiefs at length, becoming tired of beholding scenes of carnage, and beginning to lose their authority with the negroes, seeing no prospect of tranquillity being restored, and fearing that they themselves would be utterly ruined by

this attempt to amplify their privileges, began eagerly to long for a reconciliation with the white people. To bring this about, they declared that they had taken arms, not with any view to desolate the colony, but merely in self-defence, that they might enforce the exaction of the decree of the 15th of May; and that they were willing to lay them down as soon as their demands were complied with.

These overtures were gladly received by the planters, who now bitterly repented of their former violence and precipitancy; and who would have purchased peace by any concessions. Accordingly, the General Assembly, by a decree of the 20th September, declared that they would no longer oppose the decree of the National Convention of France, enacted on the 15th of May, and that they would willingly admit the people of colour to a free participation of every privilege with themselves. Upon this proclamation, the insurgents in general dispersed, many of them returned home, and many of them retired to the woods and fastnesses.

Thus the flame of civil war was smothered for the present; but jealousy and hatred still rankled in the breasts of all parties: it was ready to burst forth into a fresh conflagration.

Numberless are the disadvantages which are laboured under by a distant colony. In war it is the seat of bloodshed; upon a peace, it is handed about from one state to another. Its privileges are undefined and insecure; all its enjoyments are precarious. Whatever may be pretended, it is ever at the mercy of the country to which it is attached.

But,

But above all, it has reason to regret its situation in times of difficulty and disturbance. If it possessed sovereign power within itself, it might by active measures and prudent regulations, succeed in preserving or restoring tranquillity. But the powers of the government are limited and circumscribed: it must remain inactive, and wait for instructions from abroad:—these instructions when they arrive, are perhaps fraught with destruction. Laws calculated for the good of the colony, in the circumstances in which it was seen by the legislature at home, by the time they have travelled three or four thousand miles, may have become, instead of salutary, pernicious and destructive.

These truths were now fatally experienced by St. Domingo.

M. Blanchelande, the governor general of Cape François, a few days after the arrival of the decree for the enfranchisement of the mulattoes, had dispatched intelligence to France of the effect which it had produced upon the whites. He acquainted the King's ministers with the general discontent and violent fermentation it had exacted; and predicted that it would prove the death-warrant of thousands, and the loss to France of the colonies for ever. Immediately the Jacobin leaders, who had procured its enactment, sunk into disgrace; they were loaded with reproaches, and almost treated with outrage. Petitions poured in from every quarter, beseeching the National Assembly to reverse every decree which was prejudicial to the interests of the planters; and to leave no method untried to soothe their minds and to regain their affections. At length a motion was made (24th

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September) to annul the obnoxious decree:—the Constitutional Assembly about to dissolve, wished to leave every thing in tranquillity; and its repeal was actually voted by a large majority.

No sooner was intelligence of this event received in St. Domingo; than civil war was renewed with all its former horrors. The people of colour had ere this, begun to entertain doubts of the sincerity of the white people. Convinced that they had been instrumental in procuring the repeal, they accused them of the most horrid duplicity, faithlessness, and treachery. Exasperated to madness, they everywhere flew to arms, and swore that they would never lay them down till either themselves or the whites were utterly exterminated.

And a war of extermination it became. Every movement of compassion, every feeling of humanity, was banished from the breasts of the bloody combatants. Both parties were animated with the most fierce and savage phrenzy; and there was a keen emulation betwixt the two, which should excel in inflicting cruelties upon the other. A pitched battle was fought at a place called Cul de Sac, but which was not decisive; though the whites had rather the advantage; they killed 2000 of the negroes on the field, and made several prisoners. Upon the bodies of these unhappy men they practised every refinement of cruelty which the most depraved imagination could suggest. Some they broke upon the wheel, others they threw alive into the flames. It is needless to mention that the mulattoes were actuated by equal revenge and ferocity.

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St. Domingo, the National Assembly of France, in the preceding autumn, had appointed three commissioners, to assume the government of the province; whom they invested with unlimited powers. They arrived about Christmas. Men of low birth, mean talents, and profligate manners, commanded little attention or respect, and, as they had no troops to support their authority, they were soon neglected and despised. They published the decree of the repeal of the decree of 15th of May, 1791; by which they became odious to the mulattoes. They then took upon them to publish a general amnesty to all who should lay down their arms within a certain time; and thus lost the confidence of the whites, who, considered this measure as a justification of the most horrible enormities, as holding out a dangerous example to such of the negroes as had preserved their fidelity. Having travelled through several parts of the island, without being able to accomplish any thing of consequence, and seeing themselves hated and contemned by all parties, they returned separately to France in the months of March and April 1792.

Affairs in the colony remained for some months without any material change. The white people continued masters of Cape François, Port au Prince, and most of the towns and fortresses throughout the island. The mulattoes and negroes were in possession of all the open country in the northern and western provinces, and had formed several strong camps in it, particularly at a place called Le Croix des Bouquets. All cultivation, commerce, and industry were completely suspended.

But important events during this period, were falling out in the mother country. The Jacobin faction had now gained a complete ascendancy, had dethroned their sovereign, and were pursuing, without opposition, their plan of universal change and subversion. They determined, without delay, to introduce their system into the colonies. No motives of prudence, no representations from others could retard the execution of their purposes.

May 4th, 1792, a decree was passed, which declared that "the people of colour and free negroes in the colonies were French citizens, and should henceforth be on a footing of equality with the whites." But this was but a part of the plan; commissioners were appointed for all the islands, and vested with absolute powers. To these it was given in charge to do their utmost for a total emancipation of the slaves. They were desired to hesitate at no sacrifice in bringing about this event:—they were told that insurrection and anarchy were preferable to peaceful slavery.

The commissioners appointed for St. Domingo, were Messrs. Santhonax, Polveril, and Aithaud, three of the most violent and unprincipled Jacobins to be found in the French empire. To ensure respect and authority to their commands, they were furnished with 8000 troops, selected with great circumspection from the national guards. These, it was meant, should overawe every order in the state, and keep the negroes in order, if they should become turbulent and seditious; but they were chiefly meant to intimidate the planters, and to lay them at the mercy of the commissioners.

The commissioners, with their attendants,

endants, landed at Cape François, (Sept. 13) "much in the same disposition," says Mr. Edwards, "as the Duke of Alva, when he appeared in the Netherlands, in 1568," burning with vengeance, elated with the hope of the riches, power, and splendor which they were to enjoy, at the expence of the wretched colonists.

The first measure of their new government was violent and arbitrary. They dissolved their colonial assembly, which was then sitting, and sent Blanchelands, the governor, a prisoner to France; where, to be accused, was to be condemned: he soon after suffered by the guillotine.

The greatest consternation and dismay again prevailed throughout the colony. All parties joined in looking upon the commissioners as so many demons sent to aggravate their misery; and they had reason, for all groaned under the most rigorous despotism. A new general assembly was eagerly longed for, and importunately demanded. The commissioners listened neither to wishes nor demands. The public exigencies, it was thought, would render this measure necessary. By their own authority, they imposed new taxes, and assumed to themselves every branch of sovereign power.

The first object to which they directed their attention, was the establishment of their own authority. They formed a body of life-guards of all the thieves, murderers, and assassins, whom they could find in the gaols of St. Domingo. The troops had shewn some mutinous symptoms: by immense largesses they gained their decided support.

Now absolute masters of the colony, and firmly seated on the throne, they commenced a career of tyrann

ny which stands without a parallel. They made arbitrary regulations, imposed oppressive taxes, and raised exorbitant contributions. All who presumed to oppose them, they arrested and put in irons. The prisons were everywhere crowded; and they sent numbers to be tried criminally in France; among which number was M. Desparties, the new governor, whom they deposed.

The country continued still to be infested with bands of insurgents; who, issuing from their fastnesses in the mountains, made predatory excursions into the plains. Owing to these, but still more to the oppression of the tyrannical triumvirates, the wretched inhabitants had often reason to regret the turbulent year of 1791. Their misery was now more certain and more hopeless.

This was the melancholy posture of affairs at the end of 1792. Of the proceedings of these scourges of humanity in the emancipation of the slaves; of the nomination of M. Galban to supersede them upon the cries of injured innocence at length reaching across the Atlantic, and stirring up compassion in the flinty hearts of the savage murderers of Louis XVI; of the bloody civil war which ensued upon his arrival; of the general revolt of the negroes; of the conflagration and sack of Cape François, we speak not at present, as these mournful events did not take place till the subsequent year, and as this subject is of too great extent and importance not to be resumed in another volume.

The internal circumstances of all the other French colonies were the same with St. Domingo. The decrees of the National Assembly extended to all; and upon all they produced the same woeful effects. The state of Guadaloupe and Mar-

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tinico, at the end of 1792, was, if possible, still more deplorable than that of St. Domingo. At the same time when Santhonax and his compeers were sent to the last, a commissioner of the same stamp repaired to each of the former. They rivalled Santhonax in tyranny and extortions. The inhabitants rebelled; they called in the negroes to their assistance; all was confusion and horror. In short, it may be well said that, when our account closes, the inhabitants of the French West India islands were certainly the most miserable portion of the human race.

Nor were the calamities that overwhelmed the French colonies excited solely by the unavoidable course of events, but, in some measure, invited by a great portion of the inhabitants themselves, and even purchased by money. It is certain, beyond all doubt, that Brissot, Condorcet, and other chiefs among the *Amis de Noirs*, received from the mulattoes large sums of money. From the correspondence between the mulattoes and the *Amis de Noirs*, discovered to the French ministry by the mistress of Raymond, agent of the mulattoes at Paris, it appeared that instructions and plans were sent by the party just mentioned to St. Domingo, in the years 1790 and 1791, for the purpose of executing, conducting, and supporting the insurrection of the negroes; with copies of prints, pamphlets, and handbills, to be distributed in the colonies. Among the same papers was found a parcel, containing a plan and register of a contribution to be raised upon the mulattoes of St. Domingo; the sum total of which amounted to above 7,000,000 of livres. To these pa-

pers was joined a memorial, respecting the manner in which the money was to be employed. Great part of it was to be sent to Paris to reward the past, and purchase new services of several members of the Assembly and of the Jacobin clubs, to pay lawyers, writers of pamphlets, and journalists, to defray the expence of printing placards, &c. Another parcel contained a great number of original letters, addressed to Raymond by his correspondents at St. Domingo, and notes of his answers. One of the letters announced, that nearly a million had been sent to Paris, "en attendant mieux." And it appeared, by one of his letters, that Brissot had been intrusted with the sum of 300,000 livres, Condorcet with 150,000, the Abbé Gregoire 80,000, and Petion 60,000; — but Robespierre would accept of no money, either for the purpose of distribution or gratification, although he served the cause with equal zeal.

When the laws of the Constituent Assembly granting liberty to the negroes, were transmitted to the colonies, some of the governors and officers, attached to the ancient government, refused to comply with the orders they had received, and resigned their places. Their successors in office, appointed by the King, were then of respectability, but being ignorant of the manners, customs, and regulations of the islands, were incompetent to the arduous task of managing and restraining negroes intoxicated with ideas of liberty; which they confounded with a total loss of insubordination to all authority. Matters were everywhere involved in greater and greater confusion, misery, and horror, till the conquest of Martinico by the English.

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English, and the manly conduct of the French government of Guadeloupe, who told the refractory negroes, "That, being free, they were not to be flogged for rebellious practices, but shot like gentlemen; and, farther, obliged to work like freemen; that, by the produce of their labour, they might be enabled to furnish their proportion for the support of government."

CHAP. V.

Effects of the Death of the Emperor Joseph, and of the Accession of Leopold to the Austrian and Imperial Thrones. Mistaken Notions of the Meeting at Hubert. The real Object of that Meeting. Project of Leopold for settling and preserving the Peace of Europe. The Cause of the King and Royalists of France espoused by Catherine II. of Russia, by the King of Prussia, and the young Emperor Francis. The Combined Armies of Austria, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick. The Duke not at perfect Liberty to pursue his own Plans. The Manifesto published in the Duke's Name. By whom composed.

HAVING considered the internal movements of France, and the influence of these upon her own foreign dependencies, we come now to view them as affecting, or affected by, the councils of independent nations. The decease of the Emperor Joseph, and the succession of his brother Leopold, as is illustrated in former volumes of this work, to the Hungarian and Bohemian thrones, had already given a new aspect to the affairs of Europe. Leopold had governed Tuscany for near five-and-twenty years, with great wisdom and high reputation. He had directed his exertions principally to the good government of his people, to the improvement of their general condition, to the establishment of a perfect police, and to every beneficent object of a pacific reign. While at Florence, and only a distant spectator of the great scenes passing in the empire, he had attentively studied the affairs of Europe. Nor did he fail to perceive or draw instruction from the errors of his elder brother. Upon his own eleva-

tion to the imperial throne, he carried with him to Vienna the sentiments of his former life. Free from the inconsiderate spirit of reform and innovation, he knew how to temporize and to attain his object, by profound policy, by patience, and by conciliation. In the course of a very short reign, scarcely comprizing two years, he remedied many of the calamities occasioned by the precipitation of his brother. He had recovered the low countries, which had revolted; concluded an honourable peace with the Porte, and finally, after disarming the jealousy of Russia, secured the friendship of Great Britain. The objects of the convention of Reichenbach, entered into between Leopold and Frederic William, in the autumn of 1790, were fulfilled by the peace of Sistova, concluded in the following year with the Turks. The misunderstanding between the courts of London and Petersburg, which gave rise to the armament of 1791, was completely terminated. On the 31st of January 1792, the King of

Great Britain, in his speech to parliament, opened the history of the last, and the prospects of the year begun; which prospects were wholly pacific. France, in whose interior the storm had been for some time fermenting, which burst forth in the explosions already described, had suffered a temporary eclipse. A celebrated orator in the English House of Commons, said, "That he looked in vain for that once powerful country, on the map of Europe, and found only a blank. The monarchy was fallen, the sovereign was powerless, the cabinet distracted, and the finances without any order or solid support." Projects had been formed for restoring the old government by foreign force; and the French territories were to pay the expences of the restoration. These plans were supposed to have originated at the memorable interview at Pilnitz; and the court of London, as well as the great powers on the continent, has been publicly charged with a knowledge of them, if not a participation. On this subject the public have been hitherto misinformed. It was the interest of all parties that the truth should remain under a veil, but of none that it should be published. Europe has been led to believe, that the project of Leopold, which has been misrepresented under the designations of the Coalition, and the Conspiracy of Pilnitz, was hostile to the interests of national liberty, and aimed at nothing short of the esta-

blishment of despotism in France, after dismembering it of its ancient acquisitions. This opinion was confirmed by the invasion of the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the armies of Austria and Prussia, and accompanied by the emigrated princes and nobles of France. The interview at Pilnitz was indeed attended by the Comte D'Artois, Mr. de Calonne, and the Marquis de Bouillé: and a species of engagement was entered into, and afterwards published, by which the Emperor and the King of Prussia engaged, in certain eventual cases *, to support the re-establishment of order in France. This engagement, which, after its publication, was formally disavowed by the Emperor, as an act implying any hostility to France, gave full scope to the public opinion. The rulers of the French revolution anticipated and confirmed the belief, that a real conspiracy had been formed against them at Pilnitz. The death of the Emperor, which took place a few months afterwards, and which many connected with his love of peace †, left the imposition to its course. Time has discovered the truth on this important subject. The memoirs of the Marquis of Bouillé have, to a certain extent, done justice to the memory of Leopold, in rescuing it from imputations with which it has been loaded; and the ministers of Great Britain have formally disavowed in parliament any knowledge or participa-

* For a particular account of the views of the Emperor Leopold, at this juncture, and also those of the other great courts of Europe, we must refer our readers to our volume for 1791, nearly ready for publication; in which will be found the substance of the circular letter, written by Leopold to all the states of Europe, with a view of rousing their attention to their general interest.

† There is little doubt but that he died by poison.

tion in the supposed league of Pilnitz.

A misrepresentation of so gross a nature is best done away, by leaving it to its own exposition. The discovery of public imposture is succeeded by indignation†. But there are great political reasons for unloading the real project of the Emperor Leopold, when he met the King of Prussia and the Elector of Saxony at Pilnitz. The wish of that wise and pacific prince, was, to oppose an effectual security against the hurricane which menaced Europe: a hurricane, like those in the physical world, ready to be formed by equal forces rushing against each other from opposite directions: the ambition of conquest from the north, and from the south, the rage of the rights of men. These, he said, were about to meet from Russia and France on the fields of Germany, and to level her constitution and her laws to the earth, unless her sovereign rulers should have the good sense to join hands, and, in concert with the maritime powers, to consolidate the security of nations. We have seen the original plan of the intended treaty of Pilnitz, and know from the best authority, that the late Emperor, in illustrating his own project, was often heard to observe, "That the league which Henry IVth of France and Elizabeth of England, aided by their wise ministers, had discussed, in speculation, for the benefit of

Europe, must now be realized for its existence."

The alarms and precautions of Leopold did not escape the penetration of Catherine the Great. The agents of that princess had been long at work to complete her designs against Poland. The death of Joseph had deprived her of an active, as well as powerful ally, in her grand project for overthrowing the Turkish empire. The succession of Leopold, his peace with the Porte, and union with Prussia, had thwarted her ambition, and mortified her severely; while the opposition of Great Britain, to her acquisition of Oczakow, had well nigh given a total check to the career of her glory. In this dilemma, she announced herself the protectress of the ancient government of France, and stood forward as the heroine who was to conquer, like her predecessor Peter the Great, the new barbarism of her time.*

In this pleasing strain she was addressed by the emigrant princes and nobles of France. And, after the death of Leopold, drawing a veil over all the resentment that she had nourished against the late union between Austria and Prussia; and giving it, with uncommon address, another direction and acceptation, she paid her compliments to the new Emperor Francis, who had distinguished himself, under his uncle, at the siege of Belgrade, as the worthy representative of

* If any doubt should yet remain concerning the imposture in question, it would be removed by the perusal of a paper in the Anti-Jacobin of July 2d, 1798, subtitled Detector. There was a meeting in August 1791, at Pilnitz; but not any then and there formed for the dismemberment of France.

† Charles XII. of Sweden, it is well known, like the new rulers of France, affected a tone of domination among his neighbours.

her late ally. - She encouraged the most eloquent of the French emigrants, to rouse the military pride of the king of Prussia, who, from his connexions with England, had been exposed to the discredit of returning from the expeditions of Reichenbach and Riga, without adding to the renown of the Prussian armies.

Frederic William, naturally brave and benevolent, and feeling for the sufferings of the King, princes, and nobles of France, embraced with joy, an opportunity of acquiring great glory to himself, while at the head of his troops, he should restore the French monarchy. The new Emperor, equally generous, and disposed to military glory, was induced not to consult the ministers and friends who had possessed his father's confidence, but yielded to the influence of the Russian party; which had so many partizans at the court of Vienna.

The human mind forms resolutions, not from a complication of different considerations, but under the influence of one predominating passion. The motives which actuated the great northern powers on this occasion, and at this time, were probably no other than what have been just described. Yet, we may easily imagine other motives which might have occurred, and might have dictated the same conduct on the part of all the parties. The Empress might be well pleased to occupy and weaken the power of Austria and Prussia, while she still kept an eye on Turkey and Poland, and extending her influence over Germany and Europe. The Emperor might, without the imputation of very inordinate ambition, be in-

clined to embrace an opportunity of recovering the territories that had been invested by Louis XIV. and Louis XV. from his hereditary dominions, as well as from the empire on the left side of the Rhine; and the King of Prussia, besides that he might be inclined to embrace an opportunity of cementing a reconciliation with the Empress, or at least deem it imprudent to oppose her will, seconded by the Emperor, and all this at a juncture when he could not reckon on the support of France in a contest with his rival, had an interest in the existence of a power that had formed so long a defence to the states of the empire against the encroachments of Austria. At a meeting at Mayence, the Emperor and the King of Prussia had a conference for the purpose of restoring the French monarchy. The combined troops were placed under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, esteemed, from his past services, as one of the first generals in the world, and justly considered in Germany as one of the most just and enlightened of her sovereigns. The Duke had been considered by the Emperor Leopold, as the most proper person, in every respect, to direct the force of this defensive confederacy. An intercourse had been opened between them confidentially on this subject; and the Duke was fully apprised, and approved of the enterprize of Leopold. This was the circumstance that led him eventually to the command of the combined armies. He was, in fact, involved in the enterprize, without possessing the real power of either controlling or guiding it to the objects of which he had approved, and which his own wisdom

wisdom would have suggested*. This circumstance is a key to the subsequent issue of the campaign; and will account for several events that have been hitherto involved in mystery.

The Duke of Brunswick was naturally an advocate for any co-operation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin that tended to secure the rights and integrity of the German empire; in equal danger from the violence of the French revolution, and the policy by which Russia had constantly succeeded in inflaming the states of the empire against each other. He accordingly accepted with pleasure of a command that was originally signed for him by Leopold; and which the new Emperor and the King of Prussia were destined to confirm. From a delicacy towards those sovereigns, he was unassuming in their presence. In proportion as one of them was as yet inexperienced, and the other dissident of his own talents, the veteran and profound Generalissimo was attentive to their orders; so that in fact, he gave but few of his own; and these more in the detail than the suggestion of measures. Hence it was, that a proclamation, above noticed, evidently in a tone opposite to what the Duke of Brunswick would have dictated, was given in his name.

This work, the cause of much evil, was both suggested and composed by an individual, who, without office, obtained an influence which (where there was no permanent command) was equal to authority. It lay naturally with the princes of France to suggest the kind of manifesto which, from their knowledge, might have the most powerful effect, in intimidating the revolutionists in France, and encouraging the loyalists. The disposition of princes and statesmen to encourage the intemperance of violent partizans, rather than to listen to prudent advice, and to depend for justification and acceptance on the conciliatory voice of moderation, is an error as fatal as it is common†.

An unfortunate effect also flowed from another deviation from the line of conduct that would have been pursued by the Duke of Brunswick. The husband of the Arch-Duchess Christina, aunt of the young Emperor, commanded the Austrian troops in Flanders. Had the army under the Duke of Brunswick marched into France directly, through that country, his command must have been for a time suspended. Hence, we have understood, originated the march into Champaign, and the eventual failure of the siege of Lille, by the

* It is not with the Kings of the north, and above all, with those of Prussia, as with those of the south; who, even when they attend their armies in person, delegate their whole authority to a commander in chief; as Louis XIV. did to the Maréchal de Turenne and the Prince of Condé;—and George II. of England, to the Earl of Stair. When the kings of Prussia, whose characters as sovereigns, are essentially connected with that of military chiefs, appear at the head of their armies, every eye is turned on them, as the primary source of motion; the authority of the General being but secondary.

† And Ahab, king of Israel, said unto Jehoshaphat, There is yet one man by whom we may enquire of the Lord: but I hate him, for he never prophesied good unto me; but always evil: the same is Micaiah, the son of Imla. 2 Chron. xviii. 7.

Prince of Saxe Teschen; which, with other events in the field, of this year, we are about to relate.

The intelligence brought from time to time to the French princes, every city, strong-hold, and military corps in France, was of the most encouraging kind. The sentiments of the Duke of Brunswick on this and other heads, which had been discussed before the expedition broke ground, may be collected from an observation which he is said to have made to the confederate sovereigns and princes relative to their intelligence:—"If these reports be true, there will not be occasion for half the force to be assembled; but if they be false, and that a spirit is to be encountered in France directly opposite to what is described, the combined armies will not be sufficient for the undertaking." It is at the same time to be observed, that the Austrian government, weakened by the war against the Turks, instead of sending sixty thousand men into the low countries, according to the original plan, was unable to raise more than thirty thousand; which were reduced to half that number, by a detachment of fifteen thousand, under General Clairfait, to join the Prussian army before Longwy; which detachment was farther reduced by the necessary garrisons of Namur, Mons, and Tournay. These facts it seemed proper to introduce in this place, previously to a narrative of the campaign, to which they belong; as they serve to illustrate, in a very important degree, both its conduct on the part of the German commander in chief, and its termination.

The plan of the Duke of Brunswick, then, on the whole, appears

to have been as follows: To set out from Coblentz, with an army of Prussians, fifty thousand strong, and to march, by Treves and Luxembourg, to Longwy. After the reduction of this place, and also, if possible, Montmedy, to establish at both, magazines for the army; and from thence to continue the march, and to reduce Verdun. In support of these, as well as of subsequent operations, the court of Vienna engaged to bring into the field two armies: the one to act in the country between the Rhine and the Moselle, and to be of sufficient strength for the purpose of menacing at once Landau and Saarlouis, and carrying on the siege of Thionville; while the other, of much superior force, should be engaged in some important operations in the low countries; but whose positions should be as near to the army of the Meuse as possible. If the pleasing expectations that had been entertained of a general rising in France, and co-operation with the invading army should not be verified, it was the design of the Duke of Brunswick not to cross the Meuse; but, during the siege of Thionville, as soon as the Prussians should be masters of Verdun, to detach a considerable portion of his army for taking Sedan, Metz, and perhaps, with the aid of the Austrian armies in the low countries, of Givet. In possession of the banks of the Meuse from Verdun to Givet, his flanks covered by two Austrian armies, it would be in the power of the Duke to throw his troops into cantonments behind that river: from whence he would be able to observe the opposite positions of the enemy on the Sambre; and from ground so strong to

go on the ensuing year, to conquests almost certain.

The French King, in consequence of the preparations and movements of the Austrians and Prussians, and with a view, it is reasonable to suppose, to his own peculiar situation, had established three armies, in order to cover and protect his country, and to be in readiness to act as emergencies might require, or existing circumstances direct. The first army that was assembled, and which was disposed on the northern frontier of France, was placed under the command of the Marischal de Rochambeau, an experienced officer, who had served in the French armies during the late American war; the second under the Marquis de la Fayette, who had also served under him in the American war; and the third under the command of a gallant veteran who had spent more than forty years in the service of France, the Marischal Luckner, on the Rhine. Of the three generals, only Luckner and la Fayette were attached to the revolution. The discipline of the French army had, for some time past, been much neglected; while, from the political principles introduced into France, insubordination of the troops had been daily increasing. The soldiers living in garrisons, the great towns of

France imbibed the ideas of the civil classes with whom they associated, and became connected with the inhabitants of the capitals and the different provinces throughout the country. The want of discipline, however, was compensated by an ardour in the cause of liberty and the revolution; and, on the whole, what were called the troops of the line, were as capable of being led on to action, with alacrity and with effect, as any troops in the world. But the greater part of the officers, especially those in the first stations, were enemies to the revolution, and disaffected to the present government; which, they considered as an usurpation. This diversity of sentiments produced of course a division in the army. Some of the officers, avowing their disaffection, retired from the service; others remained, ready to improve circumstances that might arise for overthrowing the present order of affairs, and restoring the former. A mistrust of the officers, produced among the soldiers, and communicated to the whole nation, increased the general hatred against the nobles: inasmuch that it was under deliberation, at one period, among the rulers of the revolution, whether the class of nobles should not be precluded from the rank of commissioned military officers.

CHAP. VI.

Mr. Rochambeau takes the Command of a French Army. Head Quarters at Valenciennes. Disposition and State of the Army. Divisions. The principal and greater Part of the Officers attached to Royalty. Expedition under Biron against Mons. Fails of Success. So also, that under Dillon against Tournay. Resignation of Rochambeau. Servan appointed Minister at War. Reflections on the Military Operations of the French. New Plan of Operations. Servan succeeded in the War Department by Dumouriez. Operations

Operations under Marischal Luckner. First Division of the Prussian Army, under the Duke of Brunswick, arrive at Coblenz. The Situation and Strength of the different Armies of France. Position of the Austrian Army. Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. Desertions from the Austrian Armies. Reduction, by the Austrians under General Clairfait, of Longwy and Verdun. Siege of Thionville, and vigorous and successful Defence. Various Actions between the Prussians and the French, under Dumouriez. Sicknes in the Prussian Army. War with Sardinia, and Successes of the French Troops under General Montesquiou. Retreat of the Prussians.

ON the 21st of April, Mr. de Rochambeau left Paris for Valenciennes, to assume the chief command on the frontier of the Netherlands, towards Mons and Tournay. The force that had been collected there amounted to nearly 30,000 men, and had been drawn principally from the different garrisons. The General's orders from the ministers of France, were, to establish, on his arrival at Valenciennes, three camps, in order to cover the frontier, and to be ready to act against the enemy. The head-quarters being Valenciennes, the Marischal was directed to retain under his own immediate command 18,000 men; and to establish at Maubeuge, at the distance of twenty miles, a second army of 5,000 men; while a third was to be formed at Dunkirk. The whole army, composed of all the three, occupied, besides Valenciennes and Lille, Arras and Cambray. The army on the side of Maubeuge and Cambray was commanded by D'Harville; that of Dunkirk by Delbeck. Besides those principal officers, Lieutenant-General D'Aumont commanded at Lille, and Caulaincourt at Arras; making in all nine Marshals de Camp.

Mr. de Rochambeau, greatly struck with the undisciplined state of the army, determined (April 22) to avoid offensive operations, and

to carry on the war by posts and entrenched camps.

The force under the command of Rochambeau was destined to cover the frontier towards the Austrian Netherlands, from the German Ocean, at Dunkirk to Maubeuge, in French Haynau, with their right extending to the Meuse.

The Marquis de la Fayette, appointed to the command of the second army, fixed his head-quarters at Metz, and occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Lunéville. He had under his command Lieutenant-General de Wittgeinstein, De Bellemont, Crillon, Parquet, and Desfranc, with fourteen Marshals de Camp. By this means was the cordon extended from the banks of the Meuse to the Moselle, and retained in checks the important fortrefs of Luxemburg.

This officer had also conceived a very unfavourable opinion of the state of the army: but Younger, more of a courtier, and milder than Rochambeau, he did not deliver his sentiments with equal warmth and decision. He hoped to be able to place matters in a better train, and in time to model the army according to the rules of military men.

The third army was formed on the Rhine, under Luckner, and extended from Landau, by Strassburg, towards Montbeliard; and the pass of Porrentruy into Switzerland,

land. The possession of this important pass, aided by the favourable position of the mountains of Jura, rendered the extensive frontier of Franche-Comté entirely safe. M. Luckner was the only one of the general officers who spoke in any tolerable terms of the soldiery; he was himself a favourite amongst them; and he had endeared himself to them by every mark of attention to their wants, while he, at the same time, maintained a regular discipline. The Marischal boasted of his troops, that they would follow him like lambs. The system of this gallant veteran was in direct contradiction to that of Rochambeau:—the plan of operations which he advised, and wished to practise, was, to carry immediately into the enemy's country all the horrors of war, and to subsist at their expence. His line of conduct was stamped by the boldness of decision: he detested procrastination, and wished at once a vigorous offensive war. His ardour, however, was always damped by the enemy of the revolution, and the most successful *intriguer* of France, Bertier, *Chef de l'Etat Major* of Luckner's army, and since of Buonaparte. This officer had so much influence upon the old and weak General, that he directed entirely his operations; and, being notoriously known for an enemy to the revolution, and a violent royalist, brought upon the poor General an unfavourable opinion, which produced sometime afterwards his disgrace and fall.

A fourth army was likewise assembled on the side of Savoy, commanded by M. de Montefquieu, to oppose the troops of his Sardinian Majesty, who had already

advanced to Van-var and Montmeliant, with a view to attack the city of Lyons. The Marischal's orders were to fix three camps; one at Var, another at Barraux, and a third to cover Lyons.

It will be here attended to, that the left of M. Luckner's army extended to Montbeliard, and to the pass of Porrentrui; from whence the connection was interrupted by the lofty mountains of Jura. The Marischal's army may be termed the army of the Rhone, or of the Alps; the right of which approached to Franche Comté, from whence it communicated with that of Luckner.

The strength of these armies was rapidly increased.

The army of the north, commanded by Rochambeau, amounted to about fifteen thousand men; the centre army, commanded by La Fayette, at most to seventeen hundred; the army of the Rhine, under Luckner, to about twenty-two thousand. Besides these armies, there was a body of about ten or twelve thousand, dispersed in different stations on the coasts of France, from Bayonne to Dunkirk.

In this statement of the French force, we do not include that sent abroad for the protection of the colonies, and which amounted to upwards of 17,000 men.

The magazines of France were found so empty, that the ministers were making contracts, and sending abroad different commissaries to buy arms, chiefly muskets. Beaumarché went to Liege and Holland; and another to North America, to procure the muskets that were in the magazines of that country, and had served in their revolution, chiefly procured from France.

Matters

Matters were thus situated, when it was determined in the French councils to march a body of troops into the Austrian frontier, and to take possession of the important pass of Porentrui, already taken notice of, and the territory of the Bishop of Basil, in which it is situated.

We cannot sufficiently condemn the very extraordinary measures adopted on this occasion by the government of France.

It has already been observed, that neither of the armies were in a state to take the field; for besides their want of discipline, they were in want of every requisite to constitute an army. It was originally intended by the French cabinet, that the campaign should not commence before the 14th of May; but such was the rash anxiety of the royal party, that on the 22d of April orders were transmitted to begin operations from the army of the north and the centre army; and the army of the Rhine on the 29th of that month.

The commanders and principal officers were aristocrats, men strongly inclined to the person of the King, and strenuous supporters of monarchical power. Mr. Biron, who held a subordinate command under Rochambeau, was appointed from Paris, by orders immediately from the King, to conduct an expedition, the object of which was, to appear before the garrison of Mons, a considerable frontier town of Austrian Netherlands, distant from Valenciennes twenty-one miles.

The avowed intention of this movement was, to discover the disposition not only of the troops, but of the inhabitants of the Low Coun-

tries: but the whole appears to have been extremely ill concerted; and if we were to venture a conjecture on this subject, it would be unfavourable to the cause of royalty, and that it was done more with a view to throw matters into greater confusion, and to open the way for the entrance of the Austrian troops into France, and to hasten their approach, as the situation of affairs in the capital was becoming every day more and more uncertain and precarious. What appears extremely suspicious is, that Mr. Rochambeau was not at all consulted, and had no discretionary orders or power. Had he been apprized of the intentions of the French ministry, he would without doubt have given it his decided negative. What could exceed the madness of the scheme of sending against regular disciplined troops, the worst disciplined in Europe, and those too unprovided with tents, stores, or ammunition? no hospitals for the sick and wounded,—nothing but disorder throughout every department! If we consider that the commanders were for the most part disaffected, we may account for this apparent confusion and contradiction.

In order to favour this diversion, for it never can be considered in the light of a real and serious attack, orders were transmitted to Lieutenant General d'Aumont, to detach Mr. Theobald Dillon, with ten squadrons of cavalry, and some battalions of infantry, amounting in all to three thousand, towards Tournay. Mr. Carle was in like manner to march from Dunkirk with 1200 men, to make a feint at Furnes.

The

The question which comes to be considered is, the utility of these extraordinary transactions, and what good purpose they could possibly answer. If it was with the view of dividing the force of the enemy, and drawing their attention to the defence of the frontiers generally, and without being able to discover to what point the principal attack was intended to be directed, where was the army, and the equipment necessary for that army, to enable it to strike an important blow?

The whole force of France was now extended from the Rhone to the German Ocean, an extensive frontier of not less than seven hundred miles, strengthened by several large navigable rivers, and protected by strong and important stations. Mr. Biron marched from Valenciennes; and on the evening of the same day was in possession of Quivrain, the Austrian advanced post, on the side of France, where he remained for the night.

On the morning of the 29th, the Marischal moved on, dislodging in his way all the outposts of the enemy; and in the evening appeared before Mons. The Austrians, acquainted with the approach of the French army, had previously taken possession of the heights in the neighbourhood of the city. These were now occupied by a numerous body, who had taken the precaution to throw up works and batteries, in order to cover the garrison, and prevent the enemy from gain-

ing the advantageous situation which the heights presented. Biron was astonished at a fight, which he so little expected, from the accounts which he had received, and hesitated on the propriety of an attack. The night between the 29th and the 30th was a scene of tumult and disorder. The troops became disaffected; and this was followed up by the desertion of the 5th and 6th regiments of dragoons, or the greatest part of them. With great difficulty they were brought back to camp by the exertion of Biron in person. On his return with the flying squadrons, he found nothing but dismay. It had been given out, during the absence of Biron, that he had gone over to the enemy*; and that his intention was to deliver the whole of the force under his command into their hands. His appearance restored, in some degree, confidence: but the idea of an attack on the Austrian lines was now at an end. At day-break of the morning of the 30th, Biron commenced his retreat in the face of a superior enemy. The Austrians did not lose a moment to take the advantage of this retrograde movement, but commenced a vigorous attack on the French columns. The army were able to make good their retreat to Quivrain; from whence they were conducted to their former camp at Quiverechain, leaving a battalion of national guards to protect the former post. The Hulus soon after advanced upon Quivrain,

* This was a common artifice among aristocratical officers of the army, in order to deceive the soldiers, and to bring confusion and shame upon every undertaking; in the hope of disgusting the soldiers, and crushing the spirit of the revolution. To this motive (when the perfidy was obvious to the soldiers) we may attribute the scenes that attended afterwards the retreats of Dillon, Biron, and others.

and drove out the French troops. Biron made some efforts to regain it; but the troops, exhausted by fatigue, insisted on being led back to Valenciennes: with which demand Biron was obliged to comply. The camp was plundered by the Hulus; all the camp-equipage, and every thing else was lost; and the French re-entered Valenciennes in the greatest disorder.

A fate similar to that of the army under Biron, awaited also the expedition from Lisle; but which ended still more unhappily in the death of Mr. Dillon, the commanding officer, as well as that of many other of the officers. The system was, that the whole nobility of the army should be put to death.

Mr. Dillon, on the 28th of April, set out from Lisle, and arrived by day-break on the next morning, within a short distance of Tournay. A small body of the enemy appearing in sight, commenced a distant cannonade. The French cavalry, abandoning their artillery, fled to Lisle in the utmost disorder: the infantry followed with great precipitation. One half of the men and horses were killed and disabled on the road, partly through fatigue, and partly by the sword of the enemy. The fugitives, whether with a view to palliate their own disgrace, or from a conviction of the fact, exclaimed that the men were betrayed by their officers, and hanged Mr. Chaumont, brother of the Adjutant General, Mr. de Berthier, officer of engineers, a priest, and some Austrian chasseurs that had been taken prisoners. An eye-witness of this scene says, "I heard the ridicule and the barbarous shouts of the soldiers, and saw them amuse themselves in striking the

dead bodies with their hands. They were crowded in a wheel-barrow, with the officers of engineers. I shuddered at the sight. The municipal officers arrived with a cart, in which they placed the dead bodies, and continued to abuse them. It is two o'clock, and I have not been able to hear the last news of the General, or the action. Not a wounded man has yet appeared; and among all the soldiers, not one seems to have been in a battle, except a foot-soldier, who has received some shot through his hat.

"I remained in the street to observe the dispositions of the people. About four o'clock I went towards Fife's Gate. In the entrance of the street the agitation was great, and the howling most terrible. At last I heard the cry of "He's coming, he's coming to the lantern." I asked, with a trembling voice,— "Who?" — "Dillon," they answered, "the traitor, the aristocrat: we are going to tear him to pieces, he and all that belong to him."

"Rochambeau must also perish, and all the nobility in the army. Dillon is coming in a cabriole; his thigh is already broken—let's go and finish him." The cabriole soon appeared; the General was in it without a hat, with a calm and firm look. He was escorted by four horse-guards. He had hardly passed through the gate when more than a hundred bayonets were thrust into the cabriole, amidst the most horrible shouts! The horse-guards made use of their sabres, it is true; but I don't know whether it was to defend themselves or to protect the General. The man who drove the cabriole disappeared, the horse plunged, and no bayonets had yet been fatal, when a
shot

shot was fired into the carriage; and I think this killed Mr. Dillon, for I never saw him move afterwards: he was taken from the carriage and thrown into the street, when they trampled upon his body, and ran a thousand bayonets thro' it. I neither heard from him complaints nor groans.

Between seven and eight o'clock, I went to the market-place, where a fire was lighted, in which his body was thrown. French foldiers danced round the burning body of their General. This barbarous scene was intermixed with the most savage howlings."

Rochambeau, who had been made acquainted by Biron with his different operations, had foreseen and dreaded the event. He was satisfied that no part of the failure could be attributed to him; yet it was with the utmost regret that he beheld the disasters which he had not in his power to prevent. To cover the retreat of Biron, he occupied, with all the remaining force, the heights of Sainte Sauve, where he established his head quarters. Nothing could equal his chagrin at this (as he termed it) infernal stroke. He wrote to the King in terms of the highest disgust, at the injudicious interference of ministers; and both he and Biron demanded leave to resign. The confidence between the Generals and the army was destroyed: the former thought themselves ill treated; while the latter imagined that the principal officers, who formed the aristocracy of the army, had conspired to betray them, that the road to Paris might become more accessible to the friends of the King.

These acts of cruelty proceeded

from the same cause with the disgrace of Biron. The principles of democracy were now deeply rooted in the lower ranks of the army, and had even extended to the subaltern officers; between whom and their more immediate superiors there is, in most foreign armies, more than a becoming distance.

From this epoch may be dated the fate of royalty in France; and the rapid declension of the power of the King, and the consequent diminution of his adherents; for, the disposition of the army being thus publicly known, it both checked and overawed those who might be inclined to support the royal cause.

In consequence of these unfortunate transactions, the small force which had been detached towards Furnes, under Mr. Carle, retired to the camp at Dunkirk. Their march was not marked by any extraordinary event, as they met with no opposition whatever.

According to the plan of operations previously agreed on, the army under M. de la Fayette, on the 24th of April, at night, received orders from the council to move to Givet, and to arrive there by the 30th, in order to second and support the operations of the detachments sent to Mons and Tournay from the army of Rochambeau. It was impossible for Fayette to quit his position before the 26th, when he sent off M. de Narbonne with the artillery. The distance from the position of De la Fayette was fifty-six leagues; and besides, the roads were very heavy and bad: yet such was the zeal and activity of the commanders, and the spirit of the troops, that this march was effected in five days, and in the mean time all the troops in the neighbourhood

bourhood of Givet were ordered to repair thither.

On the 29th, the French and Austrian patrols had some skirmishes; and on the 30th Colonel Lattem, with his regiment of horse-chasseurs, took possession of Bouvenis, with the loss of only a few men. This post, which is half way to Namur, was on the succeeding day occupied as an advanced post of the army by M. de Gouvion, with 3000 men. By this time Fayette had received intelligence of the misfortunes which had taken place in the army of the north; which determined him to postpone farther operations. The General, in his letter to the minister at war, complained loudly that he was in want of articles indispensably necessary to the movement, as well as to the preservation of his troops. He was destitute of tents, hay, straw, and draught-horses. His army occupied the heights of Givet, while his advanced posts had penetrated seven leagues into the enemy's country. The little foresight of the French executive power strikes us with astonishment. This army was literally in want of every thing. Artillery, powder and ball, articles of the first necessity, they were without; and the soldiers passed the night in the open air. Add to all this, discipline was relaxed.

Similar orders were transmitted to M. Luckner, to commence hostilities on the side of the Rhine, by entering the district of Porentin, and to take possession of the pass of Porentui. This pass is on the side of Basle, and is important to the French, as it is equally so to the

Germans, in case of war: it opens a road at once into Germany and Switzerland.

M. de Custine, who was sincerely attached to the revolution, and Ferriere were ordered by the *Marischal* on this service. The troops were ordered to rendezvous at Richery, on the frontiers of France, on the 29th of April. This force consisted of 2000 men, with seven pieces of artillery; and were said to be in excellent order. On the 30th, complete possession was taken not only of the pass, but of the whole principality; and General Custine himself, with 1000 men, occupied the town of Delemont. The French troops met with no opposition from either the armed force or the inhabitants of the country; who, on the contrary, expressed themselves highly satisfied with the event, and brought wine in abundance for the use of the troops.

The Prince Bishop of Porentui had some days before taken the alarm, and in consequence had applied to the Austrian General who commanded in the neighbourhood, for a sufficient force to protect the country and pass. The Prince was actually on the road, accompanied by 400 Austrians; but the previous success of the French rendered that measure fruitless.

The chagrin of Rochambeau made it necessary for the ministers of France to nominate a successor in his command. M. Luckner was called to Paris; and about the same time M. Servan was appointed minister at war, in the room of Mr. de Grave: a sincere friend at once to the King and the system of a limited monarchy†. Luckner warm-

† Servan was a clerk in the war-office, under the *Compte de Grave*.

ly represented the loss which the army would suffer by the secession of the old Marischal from his brethren in arms; and that, if all subordination was not entirely at an end, it would be better to prevail on him to retain his command; and offered himself as a mediator in the business. The Marischal set off for Valenciennes, where he found the discipline of the troops in a much worse state than he had supposed. Rochambeau continued for a little while to act in concert with Luckner; but in fact resigned the command into his hands, and returned to Paris. The command of the army of the Rhine, in the mean time devolved on Biron.

The Legislature of France was about this time taken up with enquiring into the state of the armies, and of devising a proper and exemplary mode of punishing the troops who had conducted themselves so ill in the recent affairs of Mons, Tournay, and Lisle; when resolutions were entered into, highly necessary to curb the licentious and dangerous proceedings of the soldiery.

Previously to Rochambeau's quitting Valenciennes, on the 17th of May, an action took place at Bavay, an advanced post towards Haynau, half-way to Maubeuge: in which the French garrison of eighty men were taken prisoners. But the Austrians, were in their turn, obliged on the approach of Rochambeau and Luckner, to evacuate the place with some loss; taking with them a quantity of forage.

It would now seem that the executive government of France, either improving on past misconduct, or otherwise apprehensive of the growing violence of the Assembly, and that their measures would be

minutely and carefully investigated, and for which their lives would be responsible, came to a resolution no longer to dictate the measures necessary for the armies, or to direct in future the plans of military operations; whether in regard to the co-operation of one army with another, or the necessary movements in the attack, or the requisite assistance in the defence of fortified places. They now determined to confine themselves merely to forwarding the supplies and raising in the internal provinces of the country, recruits for the different divisions of the land-forces. This system being arranged, a meeting was held at Valenciennes, on the 19th of May, between Rochambeau, Luckner, and Fayette; when every thing was settled for the progress of the campaign, under the most strict and inviolable secrecy.

So far we have seen the measures of France ill-timed, abortive, disgraceful; and we have in some degree shewn the immediate causes of their disgraces and misfortunes. The reduction of the low countries was the object of the campaign; and the disaffection of these provinces to the house of Austria, afforded a well-grounded probability as to the success of the expedition. There cannot be a doubt that the plan was a good one; nor that, had the armies been well appointed, and had discipline been duly preserved, it would have been attended with success. The position of the armies, and the relative situation of the strongest fortified towns, which are in fact the keys to the different countries, are in this place to be adverted to and considered. The army under Rochambeau occupied the direct road to Brussels, without
any

any impediment but the garrison of Mons; and besides, the roads and country were extremely favourable to the march of an army. The force under De la Fayette, which had been ordered to assemble and form in the neighbourhood of Mentz, had been ordered to rendezvous at Givet: a commanding and projecting situation towards the county of Namur on the river Meuse. The strong fortrels of Namur is also on this river, and commands on that side, not only the county itself, but the city of Brussels and all Brabant; from whence the reduction of the maritime Netherlands was an easy and an immediate step. Fayette had every advantage to expect from the navigation of the Meuse; by which means also his stores and provisions, with the articles necessary for a siege, would have been conveyed with ease and alacrity. Another object of the first importance, was the capture of Liege and Maestricht, both strong-holds on the same river; and whose seizure would have been justified on the score of political necessity; which in all cases where princes or kingdoms are concerned, supercedes all other considerations. The armies of France possessed of these places, would be able to oppose a strong barrier against the house of Austria; and prevent their forces from penetrating into and relieving the low countries. The numerous detachments of French troops extending from Dunkirk to Givet, would have easily accomplished the reduction of Tournay, Furnes, Ipres, and all the subordinate garrisons; whilst the great body of the army would have concentrated themselves at Brussels and Louvain, and speedily have en-

tirely subjugated this valuable appendage of the house of Austria. It is here to be remarked, that the arms of France were by no means seconded by the Belgians, in the way it had been supposed: and in place of many of the inhabitants being ready to join their standard, scarcely any appeared besides the emigrants who had accompanied the army.

Every thing was now in the greatest state of disorder: the original plan of the campaign was totally overfet; and in place of the Austrian Netherlands being overrun by French troops, the frontier of France was entirely open to the inroads of the Hulans and other irregular troops, who committed every depredation in collecting forage, plundering the peaceable inhabitants, and even in levying contribution in the towns and villages.

According to the plan concerted between the Generals at the meeting at Valenciennes, it was resolved that the army of M. de la Fayette should give up all intentions against Namur, and by degrees draw towards Maubeuge; there to form a permanent entrenched encampment. This measure was suggested with a view to favour the operations of Luckner, who, during the approach of Fayette's army, was busily employed in equipping and bringing into order the troops under his command, for an attack on West Flanders; where it was imagined there was a great probability of success.

When Fayette was about to put this plan in practice (23d of May) M. Gouvion was surprized at Hamphene, near Florennes. This little affair terminated on the side of the Austrians: but the French, in their account

account of it, gave it the colouring of a drawn battle. Fayette moved on by the route of Philipville and Beaumont to Maubeuge. This General placed his advanced guard on the direct road to Mons: a circumstance which could not fail to draw the attention of the garrison, and the troops encamped in its neighbourhood. Gouvion was at Grifnette about four miles and a half from Maubeuge, where he commanded an advanced post, which he had entrenched. On this post the Austrians made a desperate assault on the 13th June, and carried with it but very little loss; obliging the French troops to retire to the gates of Maubeuge. What is remarkable, Fayette made no movement to support this detachment, but suffered the Austrians quietly to retain possession of the post, and carry off a considerable booty. In this engagement, Gouvion was killed by a cannon-shot in the village. This gallant officer had been since the year 1789 extremely assiduous, and entirely devoted to the service of his country. The National Assembly paid every attention to his virtues, and decreed honours to his family.

On the 13th June, M. Servan resigned his situation of war-minister, and was succeeded by M. Dumouriez. This man had rendered himself conspicuous by avowing himself the author and adviser of the plans against the low countries, which had proved so unsuccessful. But these failures, Dumouriez observed, should only serve to make the French nation more successful in future, and enable them to profit by the errors which he had committed. Sensible that bad discipline and want of equipment were the real sources of the distresses and ca-

lamities which had ensued, he made it the first act of his new ministry to report the state of the armies and fortifications, where, throughout, he saw nothing but negligence, weakness, and disorder. Dumouriez resigned his office on the 18th of June, fearing the resentment of the Jacobins; and requested leave of the Assembly to repair to his station, as Lieut. General in the army of the north, as before mentioned.

In the mean time, Fayette had the command of the entrenched camp at Maubeuge, where he held in check the Austrians on the side of Mons and Namur. M. Luckner, having in some measure organized the army of the north, had filed off towards Lisle; and on the 17th of June the Marischal took Menin without opposition, and the following day effected, with little loss, the capture of Courtray.

The Marischal's main object was the capture of Ghent, a large city in the centre of Flanders, from whence he might, by means of the different canals all through the province, have easily reduced the whole country to his subjection. Orders had been previously sent to M. Carle to march with a division of the army from Dunkirk, to the attack of Ipres; which he accordingly did; when this place surrendered with no opposition. M. Carle now formed a junction with Luckner, with the force under his command, consisting of 5000 men. The army under Fayette, to favour the operations of Luckner, made a diversion towards Tennesieres, where a slight action ensued, with little loss on either side. The King, who had at this time great confidence in Luckner, demanded of the Assembly a *carte blanche* for him in all mi-

litary



lilitary affairs. This commander still continued to complain of the *want of discipline and appointment* in the army under his command. Occasional skirmishes took place between the contending armies; but of too little consequence to be minutely detailed. It appears that M. Luckner found his endeavours to penetrate into Flanders were ineffectual; and on the night of the 29th June, he evacuated Courtray and Menin, and marched back to Lisle, where he encamped on the 30th on his former ground. Early next morning the Marischal separated his army into three divisions: the first marched to Valenciennes; the second took possession of Orchies; and the third resumed its position in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk.

By this sudden and unexpected movement, the whole of Flanders was evacuated by the French; but the system of war became totally changed. That war which, according to the military notions of M. Luckner, was proper to be an offensive, now became merely defensive. The defensive was Berthier's plan, the offensive was Luckner's; but as Berthier was the soul, and the other the body; so the old body submitted to the soul.

On the 3d of July, the Duke of Brunswick arrived at the head of the first division of an army of Prussians, at Coblenz, on the right bank of the Rhine. This army was computed at 52,000 men, all in the highest state of spirits, discipline, and subordination.

It was now necessary to oppose the whole strength of the country against so formidable an enemy; and that too in a situation where it was most assailable, on the side of the Rhine, Lorraine, and Alsace. The

junction of the Austrians with the Prussians would constitute a regular well-appointed army, 80,000 strong.

The minister for foreign affairs represented to the National Assembly the dangers which threatened France, and the strong combination that had been formed against it. He included in this report, beside the King of Hungary, who, on the 5th of this month, had been elected Emperor at Frankfort, the Kings of Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and the Pope.

On the 14th of July the two Generals, Luckner and Fayette, arrived in Paris. The former was demanded by the Assembly to give an account of his campaign; but this he positively refused to do; alleging that the King was the immediate person to whom he was to detail operations that were merely military: at the same time he assured the Assembly that the army was still incomplete, deficient in number of corps, and by no means united; and that, if neglected, it would be in immense disproportion to that of their enemies. These representations were no less true than the other which followed them. It appeared that, after garrisoning the various places absolutely necessary, there would not be a greater number of effective men than 70,000 to oppose the combined strength now approaching the frontiers of France. Augmentations and levies were in consequence proposed, and Marischal Luckner was appointed by the King Commandant-General of the two armies of the Center and the Rhine. M. Biron was appointed to the immediate command of the army of the Rhine, but subject to the orders and control of the Marischal.

It is necessary to revert to the position of the Austrians, and the situation of the army of the north. The Austrian advanced posts had penetrated the French frontier, and taken possession of Orchies and Bavay. The French force in that quarter was very much divided and dispersed. The entrenched camp at Maubeuge, and another at Maulde, with the strong fortresses of Valenciennes, formed the principal points of defence on the part of the French. Dumouriez, who commanded at Maulde, in absence of Luckner, had repaired to Valenciennes, from whence he corresponded with Fayette on the situation of affairs, and wishing him to make some movements in his favour.

It appears that a good understanding did not subsist between these generals; and that the Austrians were in a fair way of making still farther progress, without having much resistance to apprehend. Dumouriez, in his plan for checking the progress of the Austrians, rested principally upon his position at Maulde; which evidently appears to have been well taken.

In this posture of military affairs Luckner left Paris, and returned to his command. On the 27th July, the Duke of Brunswick, who by this time had fully established his headquarters at Coblenz, published his famous manifesto *; which in place of serving the cause of kings, in which he was engaged, only united the various and divided opinions of Frenchmen, and bound more firmly the Jacobin faction; while at the same time it made numberless converts to their opinions. Previously

to this measure, there was the greatest difficulty in recruiting the armies of France; but such was the patriotic spirit which this manifesto inspired, that, in eight days, no less a number than 10,715 young men voluntarily, and without bounty, enrolled their names in the common hall of Paris, for the defence of their country. A similar spirit manifested itself throughout the different departments of France. The war carried on between the Austrians and French, on the side of Valenciennes, Orchies, Bavay, and Maubeuge, was merely a diversion, to assist the arrival of the Prussian and Austrian detachments, for the grand attack by the way of Luxemburg. When matters began to ripen, the Austrian forces relinquished the success they had obtained in French Flanders, and returned within the line of their own frontier. In the mean time, the army of Fayette had marched towards the Rhine. During its progress on the 23d, and three succeeding days, the enemy engaged them with various success, but which chiefly ended in favour of the French. There appear about this time very great commotions in the Austrian army, and a strong inclination on the part of the soldiery to desertion,—liberal rewards to all those who should resort to the standard of liberty. At this time not less than 150 Austrian soldiers deserted in one day to Valenciennes.

M. Luckner had by this time arrived at his command, in the neighbourhood of Mentz. Biron and Custine made a push beyond Landau, and put to death 400 hussars; after which they retreated to Landau, on hearing of a considerable

* See State Papers, p. 229.

body of Austrians being in the vicinity of that place.

August the 11th, the Prussian army was put in motion. This force had been encamped in the neighbourhood of Triers, and intended to enter France by the route of Sirk and Thionville. The army of emigrants consisting of 10,000 men, were kept a day's march in the rear of the Prussians. On the night of the 11th, a slight skirmish took place between a party of French and Prussians. On the 12th, the Prussian hussars and chasseurs occupied the post of Sirk; where the inhabitants who had fired from the windows on the Prussian troops, were hanged by the common hangman.

General Clairfait was now in full march towards Montmedy, with the view of co-operating and forming a junction in France with the Prussian army. On the 22d this General made himself master of Longwy, after a very feeble and ineffectual resistance, notwithstanding that it was strongly fortified, well-garrisoned, and amply provided with stores and provisions. Some days previous to this, the Prussians had attacked the French post, at Aumeby, near to Villers la Montagne; which they carried after a vigorous resistance; in which each party sustained a considerable loss. The combined armies now commenced the important siege of Thionville; and shortly after that of Verdun. Thionville was gallantly defended, although surrounded by an army of 50,000 men: but Verdun was treacherously delivered, as Longwy had been before, to the enemy; which facts confirmed, in the opinion of the nation, the danger in which they were, by having their

armies and fortified places in the hands of nobles, and most of them disaffected to the cause of the revolution. The French executive government apprehending their growing danger, used every method to stimulate the patriotism of their countrymen. M. Luckner was appointed Generalissimo of the armies of France. An *entrepot* was established under his immediate control at Chalons-sur-Marne, where he established his head quarters. To this point all the fresh levies were conducted; from whence, after they were inspected, they were forwarded to the different armies, accordingly as circumstances or exigencies might require.

It cannot be disputed that Dumouriez did, on all occasions, acquit himself as an active and enterprising officer; and that he evinced a very considerable degree of knowledge in his profession.—The proclamation which, according to the instructions of Roland, minister of the home department of France, he issued at the critical moment, when the combined armies were by rapid movements attempting to penetrate to Paris, was a well-judged, and a provident measure. He commanded the inhabitants to drive all the cattle and horses behind the French camps, to destroy, or carry away provisions and forage, and to cut down the trees everywhere, to form *abbatis*, that the march of the enemy might be impeded as much as possible. About this time General Latour and Colonel Mylius made an attack on the towns of Lannoi and Roubaix, situated between Tournay and Lille; which were taken after a vigorous resistance on the part of the French.

The disgrace that followed the feeble

feeble defence of Longwy, appears to have had a good effect on those to whom the command of fortified places had been entrusted. Thionville continued to make a vigorous resistance. A sortie was made with the best effect; and prevented the enemy from carrying on active operations against the place.

The advanced guard of the Prussians still continuing to advance, General Kellerman moved to Bar-le-duc; which obliged the Prussians to fall back on the main body. He afterwards ordered his army towards St. Dizier, to cover Châlons from the enemy.

An attack had been made on the 12th, by the Prussian army, upon Dumouriez's head-quarters at Grand Pré.—The enemy was met at Chenay-Besû, by a detachment of the French army, under the command of General Miranda. An action took place between the French and Prussian infantry;—which last were driven by the French, supported by their artillery, to the village of Mortheme—here the engagement was renewed, the Prussians having received reinforcements both of infantry and artillery. But they were again overpowered, and forced to retire upon their advanced posts at Briguenay, where their cavalry was equally compelled to retire by the French artillery and light cavalry. This action, though not a great one (the bo-

dy of troops engaged, being on the side of the French 1500 in all, and that of the Prussian 3000) yet was of great importance at that moment. The French were taught, by that essay, that they might meet a body of Prussians, and with advantage, even with an inferior number:—that their artillery had appeared that day intrinsically superior to the enemy's; and that their Generals could manœuvre before the Prussians with equal success: which considerations, certainly raised very much the spirit of the French army.

On the 14th September another attack was made on Dumouriez's army, at La Croix au Bois. A detachment under General Chazaux had suffered and lost that important post; which check forced Dumouriez to make his retreat; and the General was on the point of breaking up his camp at Grand Pré, and retiring to St. Menchould*; when, by a lucky change of fortune, he defeated the enemy, re-established his camp, and issued orders for the protection of the country. Dumouriez's force was daily increasing; and the armies of France drawing to a focus, for the protection of the capital. Dumouriez's army consisting now of 26,000 men; Kellerman's of 22,000; Burnonville's 11,000 with 80,000 men expected from Paris, constituted an army of nearly 80,000 men.

But rumours, very unfavorable to

* For an account of this retreat, which really saved the French army, see in Dumouriez's Life, the details he gives there; though he does not sufficiently explore the panic terror in which the army was thrown that night by the reports propagated by the disaffected officers of the French army; nor the merit that General Striiger and General Miranda had, in rallying the troops, and checking these bad effects, by shewing to the soldiers, who listened to these two officers, the perfidy and fallacy of the reports they had heard; and by which means order and confidence were re-established.

the French army, were at this time in circulation; and, in consequence thereof, two battalions which had been ordered by Luckner to join Dumouriez from Chalons, refused to march. The real truth of the unfortunate event which occasioned these reports, has not as yet been clearly ascertained; or rather, they have been industriously concealed. Dumouriez, in his letter, denounces vengeance on the fugitives and those battalions who had basely deserted their guns.—at the same time, the General asserts, that he can answer for the safety of his country, and requests that the Assembly may be under no alarm.

Montmedy, invested by Clairfait, made an excellent defence, which, with that of Thionville, prevented the combined armies from advancing in their march towards the capital of France.

On the 11th of September, the army under Clairfait having quitted the camp at Romaine, posted itself on the heights above Barécourt and Befancy; and a part of the Prussian troops made a movement in a parallel direction. In consequence of these movements, partial actions took place between the armies; in which the French appear to have regained the credit they had lost in the action of Grand Pré. The forces of the French were now collected at the important points of Chalons, Rheims, and St. Menehould. The army of Dumouriez was that of the advanced guard; and on whose particular exertions depended the fate of France. The combined armies, by their entrance into Champaign, would have obtained possession of the finest country in the kingdom, and

the best adapted to the movements of regular troops; and more especially of cavalry, with which the Austrian and Prussian armies so abounded. It would, in fact, have given the key of Paris, and the certainty of its possession.—The eyes of all were now turned to this important object: the defeat of Dumouriez's army would instantly have broken up the body of raw, undisciplined troops, stationed at Chalons; who, no doubt, would have fled to Paris, and whose arrival would have created the greatest alarm and consternation. The friends of royalty would have rallied, and have opened the gates of the capital to the victorious enemy.

On the 20th of September, the combined armies attacked the advanced guard of Kellerman, near to Dampierre:—the Austrian and Prussian armies were repulsed. This attack took place on the 20th of September, when there was a very vigorous cannonade on both sides. Soon after, a truce took place, and a negotiation was opened between the King of Prussia and Dumouriez. The Prussians were in the mean time taking measures for their retreat. The republican government was proclaimed by the Convention; and all negotiation was of course at an end. The Duke of Brunswick sent his second manifesto, as preposterous as the first, and in contradiction to the propositions that had been made in the course of this suspension of arms. Kellerman, struck with a sudden terror, wanted to make a retreat at this critical moment; and all that Dumouriez and other officers of influence of the army could do, was, to promise him that all the baggage of the army should be sent to the rear

rear at Vitry, to enable him to move, if necessity should compell him to take such a step. The enemy made his retreat soon after; and Kellerman was convinced of his imprudence and folly. We cannot help remarking that this seems to be the period when discipline and subordination began to be displayed in the French armies. — Sickness and want of provisions began to pervade the combined armies, particularly that of the Prussians. The soldiers, from eating large quantities of unripe grapes, had brought on a bloody flux: the horses of the cavalry were in like manner seized with distempers, owing to the new wheat on which they had been fed. In a letter, found in the pocket of the Prince de Ligne, who was killed on the 14th of September, it appears that the Austrian troops could procure nothing to eat; that they scarcely ever eat meat, and had tasted nothing hot for four or five days together: the weather too had been very bad, which increased the sickness and mortality, and rendered the roads impassible. By the same letter of the Prince de Ligne, it appears that all the promises made to them by the emigrants, with the most sanguine expectation of success, had completely failed; which produced great coolness and divisions among them. We may recollect that Dumouriez had, in a proclamation, commanded the peasants to cut down the trees, and everywhere to form abbatis, to cut up the roads, and to oppose by every means the progress of the combined forces. These prudent measures, added to the bravery of the peasants themselves, who frequently attacked small detachments from the army, and fired with great

success on the enemy, was very conducive to the retreat of the Austrians and Prussians.

War having been declared by France against the King of Sardinia, and a very considerable body of his troops having advanced to the defiles of Savoy, General Montesquieu put his army in motion, and advanced upon that country. Montmelian received the French army; and shortly after Chamberry opened its gates. The Sardinian troops made no stand against the enemy, but made a precipitate and irregular retreat. These successes for a time shielded Montesquieu from an attack which had been made on his conduct in the Assembly, and from a vote of suspension which had absolutely taken place. The government of France determined also on the reduction of the county of Nice; for which purpose General Anselme and Admiral Triguet were joined in an expedition. Towards the end of the month, General Custine took possession of Spire, where he found abundance of ammunition and many guns. The Duke of Saxe Teschen, on the other hand, had invested Lisle with a considerable force, and had summoned it to surrender. But the Generals Ruhaut and Giscard, of the artillery, officers of great merit, took every measure to defend it, and succeeded. La Bourdonnai, the commander in chief, was much censured for the little assistance he gave to the garrison.

The Duke of Brunswick foreseeing that the tide of war was likely to turn in favour of the French; and that his army, reduced by sickness and famine, would soon be obliged to return home, under the disadvantages of a retreat (on which he

he would be harrassed on all sides) prudently resolved to attempt negotiation; and on very moderate terms offered to withdraw his army, and to become the ally of France: all that he wished, was, the perfect safety of the King, and an honourable place for his Majesty in the new constitution.

About the end of the month the Prussians began to move off: they left Clermont, and quitted their advantageous camp on the heights of Lalune. The retreat of the Prussians opened the communication between Chalons and St. Menesbould, which had been intercepted about twenty-four hours. The Duke, in this retreat, lost daily a great number of men, waggons, and horses; and afforded to the French generals a complete triumph. In this retreat the French army might have obtained advantages over the enemy, if they had acted upon his rear with activity and resolution:—and this was Dumouriez's intention, having sent his orders for the purpose to Valence, Bournonville, and Miranda: but Kellerman opposed it; Bournonville acted with delay; no advantage was obtained; and time was left to the Duke of Brunswick to execute it with order, and a success which he could scarcely have expected from his situation. Dumouriez was particularly elated; and he assured the Assembly that he would fix for the winter his head-quarters at Brussels. The distress and want

of the Prussians in this business was undoubtedly great: the camps which they left, and which were taken possession of by the French, appeared more like a burying-ground than the residence of the living: they had even been reduced to the necessity of eating their horses, to satisfy the cravings of nature.

The reputation of men, in all the different walks of life, but in none so much as that of war, depends, with vulgar minds, on success; as success, again, depends on fortune. The military renown of the Duke of Brunswick suffered a temporary relapse; and his pedantic adversary in the field, who has celebrated his own praises in three sizeable volumes, laboured to set off his own ability and address, by contrasting these with errors alleged by him to have been committed by the German commander. But the errors of the day are usually corrected by the progress of time: opinions descend from the higher and best informed to the lower classes of men: and the light of truth dispels the illusions of fancy. It has already sufficiently appeared that Dumouriez was not qualified to make a just estimate of the conduct of the Duke of Brunswick, being unacquainted with the whole of his views, as well as with many important circumstances in his actual situation. Though the Duke was disappointed in the force * on which he had been in-

* Among other persons of consequence, on whose co-operation the Prussians relied, was General Dumouriez himself, who assured the court of Berlin of this so early as the month of May, but who was utterly devoid of sincerity and good faith; and had no other principle of action than to conduct himself in such a manner, that there might still be room to make terms with whatever party might be uppermost.

duced to reckon, and also of a general rising in his favour, he fairly put the dispositions of the nation to the test by entering France; and when he found the whole country hostile, and ready, if he should advance, to close around him †, by address and negotiation, he made good his retreat, under all the disadvantages and disasters of an inclement season, sickness, famine, and an enemy superior in numbers, and daily encreasing. So that, all circumstances duly con-

sidered, it was not General Dumouriez, but the Duke of Brunswick that gained the greatest, that is, the most difficult victory.

But the retrograde movement of the German armies, and a consequent attack upon Flanders, under the auspices of General Dumouriez, gave a new direction to the revolutionary current of France; from being invaded, became the invader. She not only pushed to the Rhine, but, crossing that river, made various conquests in Germany.

CHAP. VII.

Accusations decreed by the National Assembly against the Generals Luckner and Anselm. Progress of General Custine on the Banks of the Rhine, in Germany. Armistice proposed to Dumouriez by the Duke of Brunswick, for the Purpose of Negotiation. Longwy given up by the Prussians to the French. Dumouriez goes to Paris to concert with the Assembly the future Operations of the War. Progress of Dumouriez in the Netherlands. Battle of Jemappe. Consequences of the Victory obtained there by the French. The Reduction of all the Austrian Netherlands; of Liege; and all the Country between the Sarne and Moselle, as far as the Bridge of Cesarebruch.

FORTUNE now seemed particularly propitious to France; the county of Nice had, by recent edices, entirely surrendered; by which a great quantity of arms and ammunition were added to the army of the republic; and the Austrians, finding their attempts against the garrison of Lisle impracticable,

broke up their camp, and abandoned the siege. We cannot read, without painful emotion, the miseries of the unhappy inhabitants of Lisle, or without praising their fortitude; not less than 30,000 balls and 6,000 shells had been fired against the city: but such was the calm intrepidity of the people,

† Sir Henry Clinton, who had commanded in America, and had served formerly with the Duke of Brunswick, accompanied him in part of the present expedition. That General observed to the Duke, that the silence of the country, the retreat of the inhabitants, and their speedy communication of intelligence among each other, made him think he was on the soil of America during the last rebellion. "Return," said the Duke, "and mention these facts to the government of England, that they may understand the nature and probable issue of the present war."

conducted

conducted by the two Generals, Ruhaut and Giscard, before mentioned, that they patiently waited the event of fire and desolation, and used every effort to repair, on the moment, as much as possible, the dreadful consequences which they occasioned. Enquiry seems now to have particularly set on foot, in regard to certain of the Generals who had been hitherto entrusted with commands; and in consequence, Generals Luckner and Anselme were served with a decree of accusation from the National Assembly; and Luckner was committed to prison. This honest veteran paid for the perfidies and faults of Berthier, who had either emigrated or absconded.

The Prussians still continued in full retreat, by the way of Stenay. They evacuated Verdun on the 12th of October; and which, on the following day, was taken possession of by M. Dillon, who commanded the advanced guard of the army, after the junction had been formed between Dumouriez and Kellerman. Besides this army, that under General Burnonville, who was stiled the French Ajax, was particularly galling to the Prussians; and daily took men, horses, and cannon. It is, however, allowed on all hands, that the retreat of the Prussian army, although marked by the roads being strewed with carcasses of horses and dead bodies, was very regular and orderly, and conducted with the most consummate ability.

This campaign is one of the most glorious and the most scientific that the French armies ever performed:—it was a war of positions, by which means and manœuvres they stopped a superior enemy that

was marching in triumph to the capital of the kingdom, with an army of about 70,000 men; while the French Generals that were before them at Grand Pré, only had 17,000. With this small force, they fought them, they made a successful retreat before them, they joined two other corps that were at a great distance, and with them formed an army, with which they took a grand and superior position at St. Menehould, repulsed their attacks, and forced them to retire and to quit France, without putting to the hazard of a battle the only army that France had at that time to protect the country. This really was what the military call a war of positions, in which science must have the advantage; and the event shewed that the French had made proper use of it.

We have already taken notice of the capture of Worms by General Custine; which was soon followed up by that of Spire, and a large quantity of flour with warlike stores of every description, which proved a valuable acquisition to the armies of France. The progress of this General was at once rapid and successful; he followed this blow by the attack of Mayence. This strong fortress, on the banks of the Rhine, was garrisoned by 10,000 men; and which surrendered on the 21st of October, without much loss on the side of the French: a spirit of dismay seems to have seized the whole of the German frontier, if we may judge from the little resistance given to the French at this period. Francfort on the Main was delivered up to Custine on the 23d, almost on the first summons. Here also a large quantity of stores was found, besides the inhabitants being obliged to

to pay a contribution of two millions of florins. This General was energetic in the cause of liberty; and there is no doubt, had he been properly supported, but that he would have penetrated to Coblenz, the grand emporium of aristocracy. But either there was a want of co-operation in *Kellerman, or it was not thought proper by that officer to leave the French frontier open to the incursions of the enemy. But General Custine weakened his army by continued detachments, and by the progress he had made in the country of the Prince of Hesse.

The center army, under the command of Kellerman, continued unceasingly to harass the rear of the German troops; and General Valence, who commanded the advanced guard in the room of Dillon, was particularly successful in driving the Prussians from the post of Pillon. It appears somewhat singular that the Duke of Brunswick, as he became more enfeebled in point of military force and equipment, and at the same time that his weakness was known to the enemy, became more urgent for negotiation than he had been in his former overtures. He could scarcely suppose that in the posture in which affairs then stood, he would at all be attended to. Whatever were his views and motives, on the 17th of October, the Duke and General

Kalkreuth sent an aid-de-camp with a trumpeter, to request an interview with General Kellerman. The General understood from this aid-de-camp, that it was the intention of the Duke to propose in the intended conference some amicable mode of terminating the disastrous war. The General treated the idea of a retreating and ruined army opening a negotiation, with contempt:—neither was he authorized by the National Assembly or the executive power, to listen to any terms of accommodation. His orders were to chase the enemies of France from the republic; and he prudently and properly replied, that he could not in his capacity enter into any parley, more especially while any part of the combined forces yet remained within the boundaries of the republic.

The Duke of Brunswick remained still in possession of Longwy, the only possession of any consequence which the combined powers had, and on the very confines of France. It was suggested by General Kellerman, that this should be given up as a preliminary article, and previously to the French nation listening to any terms or offers whatsoever. The Duke, willing to gain time in doing what he would ultimately and indeed very speedily be compelled to do, proposed that it should be surrendered to the French

* For the purpose of co-operation with Custine, Kellerman was employed; but his genius and military talents were proved by the events, to have fallen short of the public expectations. He conducted himself with delay and timidity in the pursuit of the Prussians, throughout all their retreat; and when his positive orders were to march towards the Rhine, to join Custine, and to support him in the pursuit of the Prussians, he led his army into cantonments, and stood in the frontiers of France. For this fault, the Executive Council wanted to try him; but they contented themselves with suspending him from his command, and appointed Bourtoville in his place.

on the 26th: but the General finding that the intention was delay; and that allowing for the extreme badness of the roads, which were everywhere cut up by the French peasantry, in the first instance on the advance of the Prussians, and lastly by the Prussians themselves, on their retreat, and made worse by the heavy rains that had fallen, he could bring up the whole of his force against Longwy in the course of three days, demanded that the gates of the town should be put in possession of the French troops on the 22d: on which day the combined forces should finally quit the territory of the republic. To this proposition the Duke assented; and General Valence was directed to settle the terms of capitulation. They were very short, and consisted of no more than the usual formalities necessary and proper on such occasions. One thing indeed is remarkable, that while the Duke of Brunswick was eagerly bent on the restoration of royalty, and endeavouring to enter into negotiation for the purpose, he consented, or rather perhaps was under the necessity of consenting, by article 4th of the capitulation, that to give more authenticity to it, it should be sealed with the seal of the French people; and that of his Majesty the King of Prussia. This appears to have been the first step on the part of the coalition, to acknowledge, and in some measure to guarantee the independence of the republic, and even to sanction the trial and death of the King. The Duke does not appear to have been compelled to enter

into this capitulation; he had it in his power either to evacuate the place altogether, or otherwise to have left it in the hands of a garrison, who might have given it up when compelled by the exigencies of a siege. But as Verdun and Longwy appear to have been treacherously given up, so Longwy, for aught that has yet appeared, seems to us to have been foolishly given away*.

The Prussians were now retired into Germany, and the states of France free from the invaders. The French National Convention decreed, that the armies of the republic had saved their country, and that it was no longer in danger. — We cannot pass over without censure, the rhodomontade style of the French Generals, and the vaunting manner in which they severally described their successes: but this is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the genius of the French nation.

General Valence still continued to force the enemy to evacuate Remoy, Chenoy, Lotom, St. Marc, and New Virton. In the attack of the important post of Virton, the Prussians left 200 men on the field of battle, while the loss of the French only amounted to 15. Virton was appointed by the combined armies, as the general point of retreat, and where they were again to collect and form their armies.

It has been already observed, that General Custine had weakened his army by imprudent detachments. Flushed with success, he went on from one step of success

* Yet it must be acknowledged, that we are not acquainted with all the circumstances of the case; and that it was not the manner of the Duke of Brunswick to act foolishly, or from unjustifiable motives.

to another, at the same time calling on Kellerman to form a junction, and to co-operate with him in carrying the war into Germany. He was now in possession of Mayence, which he was strongly fortifying, and in which he possessed a key to the Rhine and the mouth of the Main. Elated with the idea of having it in his power to enter the states of the empire by this pass, he acquainted the minister of war that he had made all his conquests with 16,000 men; that it required only an army of 45,000 men to revolutionize all Germany; and that, with the force under General Kellerman, added to his own, not an Austrian should be seen on the left bank of the Rhine, and not a German on the right.

It was the evident object of Custine to have prevented the Hessians from rendezvousing at Coblenz; whither also the Prussians had directed their march. The plans of the enemy, on the other hand, were to oblige the French General to abandon Frankfort, and to shut himself up in Mayence, where he could be blockaded for the winter, and be eventually obliged to surrender. The Prussian army, by a movement from Coblenz, occupied the right and left banks of the Lhan, from Nassau to Wetzlaar. Custine determined to attack them in their position before they could form an idea of his intentions. By some means the Prussians were apprized of his march, and prepared for him; but such was the impetuosity of the French, that they forced the Hessians beyond Marbourg, and drove the Prussians from all their posts on the Lhan. This action happened on the 9th of November.

ber; and was attended with little loss to the French, the Prussians, it is said, having fired too high.

On the 12th of October General Dumouriez arrived in Paris, to consult on the future operations of the war. This General, in an address to the Assembly some time before, had declared that he would establish that winter his headquarters at Brussels; and as the Prussians were by this time almost entirely out of the French territory, followed by Kellerman with an army of 40,000 men, the opportunity now presented itself of putting his intentions into execution.

This plan of the invasion of Belgium had been for some time a favourite idea of Dumouriez's, though not approved by the Executive Council, nor by the Committee of War; but the last successes of Dumouriez, and the great influence that he acquired by them, were irresistible powers, and carried his plans into execution.

The executive power and leading members of the Convention, had formed a design of attacking and revolutionizing Spain. For this purpose, Condorcet had written a pamphlet, entitled, "An Address to the People of Madrid." They sent, by an express, an order to General Miranda, recalling him to Paris. This General quitted Valenciennes for this purpose, at the moment that the French army was marching towards Mons. On his arrival in Paris, he was informed that an army was collected towards the frontiers of Catalonia, for the purpose of introducing liberty into Spain; and that he was appointed to the chief command. A council was called, in which the General appeared, and shewed the imperial policy

policy and impracticability of the enterprise at that time. He declined this command; and was successful enough to persuade the members to relinquish the enterprise, or to suspend it till time should bring things to maturity; and future events shew what was the proper line to be pursued both relative to Spain and her colonies.

The force under the command of Kellerman, had been, with infinite trouble and perseverance, organized, and was now become a regular, subordinate, and well appointed army, consisting of 40,000 effective men. The recent retreat and the various defeats of the Austrian and Prussian troops, inspired the General with confidence that the period was now arrived when the Belgians and Liegeois would eagerly espouse the French cause; and by a ready co-operation, materially assist in the reduction of those fertile provinces, from whence the numerous armies of France would be supplied with provisions and forage; while the fortified places, with which the Low Countries abounded, would furnish ammunition and warlike stores of every kind. Advantages like these were not to be neglected. It was determined on by the National Assembly, that Brabant should be invaded by Dumouriez; and on the 1st of November, it was resolved by the Executive Council, that the armies should not cease to improve the advantages which they had already gained; nor enter into winter quarters till they had driven the combined armies beyond the Rhine.

When Dumouriez quitted his army, on his journey to Paris, this

army divided into two corps, under the Generals Bournonville and Miranda, and marched, on the 11th October, towards Valenciennes; which movement produced the raising of the siege of Lille by the Austrians. Dumouriez, at his return from Paris, found the army, quartered near Valenciennes, in very high spirits, and every thing, by the exertions of those two Generals, ready for marching into Belgium.

On the 27th of October, we find General Dumouriez at Valenciennes, where the magistracy shewed him every attention, and presented him with the keys of the town; the acceptance of which was of course refused. Troops were now daily arriving to complete the force destined against the Netherlands; and particular attention was paid by Dumouriez in collecting a very formidable train of field and heavy artillery, and which was said to extend to the length of some leagues on the road. At this period the German troops, which had already evacuated Orchies, St. Amand, and Marchiennes, were by degrees retiring from the French Netherlands towards Tournay and Mons. They had entrenched themselves in the Lys; and the advanced posts of the French army were at Roubaix and Lannoy.

By the 4th of November, Dumouriez had entered the Austrian Netherlands in nine columns, and advanced to Boussu (having quitted his head-quarters at Konning on the 3d) where the Austrians had an excellent position. He immediately attacked them, and killed 150, and took 200 prisoners, with the loss of no more than twenty men.

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men. By this success, a junction was formed with General d'Harville, and his detachment from Bar-ray; and the army took possession of the territory of Delonges.

On the 5th, in the morning, General Dumouriez reconnoitred the position of the enemy. The Austrian army consisted, according to some accounts, from 20,000 to 23,000 * men, commanded by the Duke of Saxe Teschen. Their right extended to the village of Jemmappe, and their left towards Mount Palisel. They were posted in all this length, on a woody mountain; where they had, in an amphitheatre, three tiers of redoubts, furnished with twenty pieces of heavy artillery, at least as many field-pieces, besides three field-pieces for each battalion, amounting in all to 100 pieces of cannon.

The army of Dumouriez was plentifully supplied with artillery; but, on account of the superior advantage which the elevated situation of the enemy's guns afforded them, it would have been the height of imprudence to have trusted the event of the day to artillery alone. Dumouriez, relying on the energy and spirit of his troops, and the strong secure they had evinced to be led to action, determined on a vigorous and close attack in the course of the following day. On the afternoon of the 5th, several partial skirmishes took place between the contending armies; and General d'Harville was enabled, with 600 men, to take possession of the

heights of Framery; while General Dumouriez took his position with his right toward Framery, and his left, extending towards Horne, having the enemy immediately in front. On the morning of the 6th, the General ordered twelve sixteen-pounders, the same number of twelve-pounders, with twelve six-pounders, to be advanced and disposed in the front of his line; by which disposition, d'Harville had the advantage of flanking the enemy's left. The General, in person, commanded the attack on the right: that of the centre was led by Egalité and other Generals. At seven in the morning, a very heavy fire of artillery commenced on both sides. This continued without intermission, and without any decided effect on either side, till ten o'clock. The troops of France by this time displayed the greatest eagerness to attack the enemy with fixed bayonets. This mode of attack was recommended by the Generals Egalité and Bournonville; but it was necessary, previously to this, to approach certain of the enemy's batteries, and to occupy the village of Carignon, then in the possession of the Austrians, and without which the French could not attack the lines of Jemmappe. The direction of this attack was entrusted to Colonel Thuvénot, an officer of merit and experience. His efforts were to be directed against the villages of Carignon and Jemmappe, and the right of the enemy's en-

* In a pamphlet composed under the eye of the Duke of Brunswick, entitled "Lettres sur l'Ouvrage intitulé 'La Vie du General Dumouriez,'" published by Frankfurt, 1795, it is asserted, that on this occasion there were 60,000 French against 15,000 Austrians.

trenchments, as soon as he had effected his object. To the left d'Harville was ordered to carry his batteries nearer to the enemy; by which means he could produce a more considerable impression, and supported by General Bournonville, who was ordered at noon to attack the left, keep them in check towards that quarter. This was the time appointed for the general assault; when the centre of the French army moved on in columns, in regular order, to carry the lower tier of the Austrian batteries. This service was readily effected, but not without considerable confusion and disorder in the French line. Of this disorder the Austrian General wished to take advantage, and for that purpose detached the cavalry to charge the French troops. This movement was soon discovered by Dumouriez, who instantly gave orders for the hussars and chasseurs to cover the infantry, and to charge and repel the enemy; and he was himself of considerable use in forming and directing the manoeuvre.

While the French cavalry were successfully employed in this business, the infantry, under the command of Egalité, pushed on to gain possession of the second tier of redoubts. After this was performed with great bravery, there was still another effort to be made, in order to gain the summit of the heights, where the Austrians were posted to make their last and greatest stand. The intrepidity of Dumouriez's army, and their coolness in surmounting the complicated difficulties as they occurred, in the course of a long-contested engagement, had very considerably slackened the order of the Austrians. At two

o'clock in the afternoon, they completely gave way on all sides; neither did they attempt to occupy or dispute any of the posts which remained to be defended between the heights of Jemmappe and Mons. They entered the garrison of this place in the most irregular manner, and which partook more of flight and panic than the defeat of a regular army, whose discipline and courage had hitherto been regarded as equal, if not superior to those of the first troops in Europe.

After the action, the General posted his army on the heights of Cuvenis, where he collected his wounded; and at the same time General d'Harville, took possession of Mount Palisel, as M. Stetenboffe did of Mount Bertellmont. The Austrians lost in this action, according to the account of Dumouriez, "the most terrible in the memory of man, 4000 in killed and wounded, and nearly the same number in missing and disbanded." The loss of the French, was about 300 killed, and 600 wounded.

We cannot avoid remarking, that the French studiously, in all their engagements, diminish their own loss, whilst they exaggerate that of their opponents.

In this action, the superiority of numbers was very much on the side of the republicans, as they perhaps exceeded the Austrians in the proportion of three to one: and it is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the irregular retreat of the Austrians, they only lost eight pieces of cannon.

Dumouriez lost no time in summoning Mons to surrender. This place, after three different demands, was totally evacuated by the Austrians; and on the morning of the

11th, surrendered by the magistracy to General Bournonville, who had been ordered to commence the attack, by erecting batteries, and bombarding the town.

The Austrian forces retired to Brussels, whither Dumouriez now prepared to follow with all expedition, and otherwise to reap the fruit of this important victory.

Bournonville, to whom the magistracy of Mons had opened its gates, was appointed by the executive power to repair to Metz, to take the command of the army under General Kellerman; that officer having been recalled to Paris.

He was promoted to this command, for the purpose of supporting Custine, and acting with more vigour and judgment than his predecessor. But in this expectation, both ministers and the public were still disappointed.

Operations in West Flanders were at this time carried on with great enterprise and effect. On the 6th of November, General Labourdonnaye, who commanded in that quarter, gave orders to make a false attack on Menin, in order to cover his design of forcing the Austrians from several important posts which they occupied. They were in consequence beat at Pont Rouge, Comines, and Varneton; where they had entrenched themselves, but were obliged to retire. By these events the navigation of the river Lys was opened; which was an inestimable advantage to the French army. Forage was very scarce, and cattle could not be

spared to bring it from a distance. A boat was able to bring as much as would require sixty waggons to draw.

On the 8th in the morning, Labourdonnaye entered Tournay, with the first division of his army, which, following the example of Mons, had likewise been evacuated. The second division, encamped at Cisoing, was to follow the next day, in order jointly to proceed on operations concerted with Dumouriez.

The fall of Tournay was accompanied by that of Menin and Ipres; and on the 12th, General Labourdonnaye took possession of Ghent, the capital of Flanders, without the least difficulty. The Austrians under la Tour, to the number of 5000 men, fell back on Antwerp; but part of the baggage of his detachment, embarked on the Scheldt, fell into the hands of the French. During this time, Dumouriez had not been idle; for on the 13th he appeared before the city of Brussels; and on the morning of that day, his advanced guard beat a force commanded by the Prince of Wirtemberg, consisting of 8000 men, on the heights of Anderlicht. The engagement lasted six hours. The French lost thirty men; the loss of the Austrians is stated at a much greater number. On the 14th, in the morning, the gates of Brussels were opened to Dumouriez, General Miranda* had been left in charge of the army, while the advanced guard, with Dumouriez at their head, had advanced on Brussels.

On

* This General only joined the army the day after the battle of Jemmappe; having been absent, by the orders of the Executive Council, recalling him to Paris from Valenciennes, for the purpose of taking the command of the French army on the Spanish frontiers, as before mentioned. On his arrival at Mons, he took the command

On hearing the cannonade at Anderlicht, and receiving an express from Dumouriez, Miranda immediately moved on to support the advanced guard; and he would doubtless have been at Brussels as soon as Dumouriez, had he not been prevented by subsequent orders from that General. The merit of General Miranda had been in many instances conspicuous; and his bravery and services are on this occasion very handsomely and justly acknowledged by General Dumouriez to the minister at war.

An army under the command of General Valence, from the district of Maubeuge, was penetrating by the Sambre towards Namur. In his march he occupied the town of Charleroy, belonging to the Austrians, where the people planted the tree of liberty; and where it was reported that the inhabitants of Namur anxiously expected his arrival. It is a curious and an extraordinary fact, that notwithstanding the French were everywhere throughout the Belgic provinces received with acclamation and every demonstration of joy, the inhabitants were nevertheless extremely sparing of their supplies to the army. Of this circumstance Dumouriez very pointedly complains, in his letter to the war-minister, and informs him that his men had not tasted food for thirty-six hours.

General Labourdonnaye now detached his advanced guard, by the

route of Sermonde, towards Antwerp, and some battalions to take the towns of Bruges and Ostend. The expedition to maritime Flanders was assisted by another, fitted out from the port of Dunkirk. The Eveille sloop sailed on the morning of the 16th for Ostend: the convoy intended to accompany her, could not, by reason of contrary winds, get out of the harbour; but the sloop arrived in the afternoon of the same day at Ostend;—where the commander was received by a deputation of the magistrates and citizens, who gave immediate possession of the place. On the 18th the Duke of Saxe Tschén proposed, that both armies should, on account of the lateness of the season, go into winter quarters, taking the Meuse as a barrier between both armies. This request was negatived by Dumouriez, who verbally replied, that he should transmit the proposition to the heads of his government; and that, in the mean time, he should continue the operations of the campaign. It is to be observed, that the French armies were in a much better condition to prosecute the war than the Austrians. The latter had lost the magazines* of which the French were in possession; and the recent capture of Malines, or Mechlin, had very considerably added to their resources.

General Clairfayt and the Duke of Saxe Tschén had concentrated themselves at Louvain, and in its

command of the right of Dumouriez's army, till its arrival at Tirlemont, in Belgium, when he was appointed commander in chief of the army of the north; and succeeded Labourdonnaye, then encamped near Antwerp, on the 25th November.

* In these magazines they left not much; having carried with them many articles. It is remarkable that Dumouriez should have committed the same faults, in the pursuit of the Austrians from Jemmappe to Cologne, that Kellerman did before with the Prussians, in their retreat from France,

neighbourhood.

neighbourhood. On the 18th, the advanced guard of General La-bourdonnaye's army, commanded by Lamorlue, entered the city of Antwerp:—but the citadel still held out: the inhabitants of this place evinced the same friendly disposition to the French which all the other places had done;—and the navigation of the Scheldt was now completely in their possession.

General Valence, the commander in chief of the army of Ardennes, after the capture of Charleroy, had posted himself at Nevilles, which he quitted on the 16th, in order to prevent a body of Austrians, under General Beaulieu, from covering Namur. The General had been detached from the main body at Louvain, to effect this purpose; which was of considerable import, from the frontier situation of this important fortress.

Valence had sent forward his advanced guard on the 17th: and the day following he marched with his whole army to support this body, as the force under Beaulieu was by this time very near. The French army fell in with his out-posts; all of whom they attacked and routed. General Valence proceeded, with the forces under his command, towards Namur, where he encamped. On the 19th, the enemy took their ground at Ramillies; and on the 20th, in the morning, the French batteries were erected against the town. The batteries opened at seven o'clock in the morning; and at four o'clock, four companies of grenadiers took possession of the gate of Brussels. The fortress was prepared to make a vigorous resistance: the garrison consisted of 2000 men; and the commandant

depended on being reinforced by Prince Hohenloe, or by General Beaulieu, who for that purpose intended to pass by Huy, and to ascend the right bank of the Meuse to Namur. To be able to attack the enemy, General Valence constructed two bridges, the one over the Sambre, and another over the Meuse.

Dumouriez having quitted Brussels, with a view to reduce the city of Liege, agreeably to the plan long before concerted, proceeded to that place by the route of Tirlemont. He found a large body of Austrians posted behind the town; with an advanced guard of three or 4000 men, in possession of the heights of Cumplich, opposite to the Bau-tersem. Dumouriez with his advanced guard, attacked that of the enemy, by a heavy discharge of artillery. The advanced guard of the Austrians were reinforced by 5000 men, yet they did nothing; and on the morning of the 22d, moved entirely away, when the French entered Tirlemont with the loss of four men.

The General pursued his march to St. Tron, where he arrived on the 25th, and was now within several leagues of Liege. On the 27th, in the morning, he came up with the rear guard of the Austrians, commanded by General Staray, and consisting of 12,000 men. An attack was commenced with great impetuosity; and ended in the defeat of the Austrians, and the loss of Staray, who was killed in the action. The loss of the French amounted to no more than fifteen or twenty men; killed or wounded; and on the part of the Austrians, between five and six hundred. This battle was fought in the vicinity of Liege;

but it being late before it was terminated, Dumouriez judged it prudent not to take possession of the town till the next morning. At nine o'clock he marched in, amidst the joy and acclamations of the people, who, as the General observed, were lively, sensible, and dignified. It appears, from the same letter to the minister at war, that desertion still continued amongst the Austrian troops; and, in justice to the General it ought to be noticed, that when he mentions the great disproportion in the killed and wounded between his army and that of his opponents, he accounts for it, by extolling the address and vivacity of his artillery.

This siege was carried on with an extraordinary celerity; the trenches having been opened only on the 25th, by General Miranda. This General found that La Bourdonnaye, far from pressing the citadel, had not even brought the artillery for the siege to the park: he immediately sent General Duval for it, and in the course of four days the artillery was brought to the spot; batteries and trenches were finished; and the citadel, after a violent attack, having been on fire, surrendered. La Bourdonnaye was much suspected of acting in concert with Dumouriez's enemies, such as Pache, minister of war, and others with whom he was very much connected, for the purpose of stopping Dumouriez in his career, and checking his success; which appeared pretty evident by his delays in marching forwards and taking the citadel of Antwerp.

On the 29th of the month, the citadel of Antwerp surrendered to the forces under General Miranda; after he had set fire to and done

considerable damage to the barracks and storehouses for provisions.

General Valence continued unremittingly to prosecute the siege of Namur, and at the same time drove the Austrians, to the amount of 5,000 men, from a well entrenched camp on the Bois d'Asche, on the opposite side of the Meuse. Although the whole of this affair was a work of difficulty and danger, and likewise of very great enterprize, it was luckily effected by the French troops. Fortunately for Valence, a junction had been previously formed between the army under the command of d'Harville, otherwise he might have been attacked with great advantage by the enemy. The greatest praise is due to d'Harville for his ready co-operations, by which the fall of the fortress of Namur was secured. On the 2d of December, articles of capitulation were signed for the surrender of this important frontier, to the army under General Valence; the garrison being made prisoners of war.

It would appear that at the same moment an equal spirit of energy and enterprize pervaded the armies of France, and that their leaders were only emulous who should exceed in not only forming, but in succeeding in new schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. Scarcely was the capture of the citadel finally settled, when General Miranda became anxious to push his victorious army into Austrian Gueldres. On the 1st of December, the next day after he had taken possession of the city of Antwerp, General Miranda sent La Marliere with the advanced guard of the army towards Maseyck to try, by a rapid march, to surprize the Austrian posts

posts that were on this side of the Meuse, to secure some batteaux for the purpose of passing the river, and to examine the proper place for executing this passage. The rest of the army followed on the 3d, and executed the march thro' the Campine with great success, and arrived on the banks of the Meuse upon the 17th and 18th. General La Marliere had driven all the posts that the enemy had on this side of the river to the other: but, wanting resolution and activity, had let them take away all the batteaux that were upon the river Meuse, except two that General Miranda was fortunate enough to take near Wassein. In this place he conceived the passage might be executed; and in consequence, sent La Marliere with his *avant-garde* to threaten the enemy, opposite to Ruremonde, as if he had intended to pass the river thereabout; which stratagem called their attention to that quarter, while in the night, with the two batteaux aforesaid, General Miranda passed the river at Wassein with a body of 1,500 men, took possession of a wood that was opposite to Wassein, and protected the passage of his troops. When the number amounted to 4,000 men, he marched to the enemy that was behind the river Roire, forced all their advanced posts to repass this river, and attacked the bridges of Ruremonde and Orbeck. As soon as the enemy perceived this resolute attack, they set on fire two bridges, and with the greatest precipitation began their retreat towards Wasseinberg. By a ford, pointed out by some of the scholars of the town of Ruremonde, drawn by curiosity to the opposite side of the river, two

squadrons of French light cavalry crossed it; and seized some batteaux; by means of which the infantry also began to pass. With these two squadrons of cavalry, and one battalion of infantry that followed, General Miranda entered the town of Ruremonde; where he found some of the enemy's baggage, and made a few prisoners. The magistrates delivered every thing with friendly dispositions, and informed him of the despondent situation in which the enemy, though stronger in force, were in at that time. General La Marliere was sent immediately with his *avant-garde* in pursuit of the enemy, and soon afterwards General Champmorin followed him with a second division of the army towards Wasseinberg and Berchem: they made some prisoners, and took part of their baggage in their retreat. At this time General Miranda received an express from General Dumouriez, informing him, that some matters of the greatest importance made it necessary that General Miranda should come to him at Liege as soon as possible. General Miranda's intention was to follow the enemy to Cologne, join Dumouriez's army there, and to drive them to the other side of the Rhine, making this river their barrier for the winter season; but the news received from Dumouriez compelled him to alter his plan. However, he gave orders to La Marliere to invade all Prussian Guelders and the duchy of Cleves, and lay a moderate contribution on his Prussian Majesty's territories, just to show that the French army that had driven him from Champagne, had ended the campaign, by taking winter quarters upon his Prussian Majesty's

Majesty's dominions. He left his army under General Duval, and went to Liege to meet General Dumouriez about the 10th or 12th of December. When he arrived at Liege, he found General Dumouriez very much disaffected and displeased with the government and intrigues of Paris. A conference was held between the commissaries Camus, Gosselin, Danton, and La Croix, and the Generals Miranda, Valence, and Dumouriez. Commissaries had arrived for the purpose of settling the dispute between General Dumouriez, on the one part, and the minister Pache, and the contractors for the army, on the other. In this conference General Dumouriez spoke with asperity about the decree of the Convention (of the 15th of November) by which Belgium was deprived of the rights and advantage offered to them by Dumouriez's declaration, "That he would not obey any bad laws; and that the decree was impracticable." This proposition was very ill received by the commissaries, who however tried to soothe him. General Valence spoke next, and assented entirely to the opinion of Dumouriez. General Miranda then spoke in his turn, and gave an opinion in direct contradiction to the principles of Dumouriez; acknowledging, at the same time, the decree in question to be unjust, — in some measure impracticable, and very impolitic; but that if a General was permitted to say that he would not obey a law, passed according to the constitutional forms of the state, "because he thought the law bad," there was an end of all government. That his counsel was, to suspend the execution of the decree; to remon-

strate with the government the impolicy and injustice of it; but if the government, after this, insisted upon the execution of it, their duty, as soldiers, was to obey, and to enforce it as far as their command extended.—This declaration pleased the commissaries very much: Dumouriez felt the justice of it; and they all agreed to remonstrate and suspend the execution of the decree.

This circumstance may confirm the opinion of those who think that the true principles of a free government were little understood in France, even by such enlightened men as Dumouriez.

The motive upon which Dumouriez had written for to General Miranda to join him was, a letter from a member of the Committee of General Defence, informing him that government had agreed to appoint General Miranda commander in chief of the French islands in the West Indies, where an army of 12,000 regulars, 15,000 people of colour, and a fleet of some sail of the line was collected for the purpose of making the Spanish colonies in America free and independent: That General Miranda was to be entrusted with this command, and to act as he should think proper: That a frigate was waiting for him at Brest, and should immediately sail, &c. Though the object of this plan was not disapproved, (as that of the revolution of Spain had previously been) by General Miranda, yet he thought that the position of France at that moment was not safe; and above all, was less sanguine than many others in his expectations of the benefits to be expected from these political principles, that began to be propagated in France at that period; He therefore remonstrated strongly against

against the undertaking at that moment, and begging them to postpone it for a better opportunity, being a matter of too great importance and of too much consequence to mankind to be hazarded in that indigested manner, and at a period of so much uncertainty, confusion, and disagreement. The force of his reasoning was justly admitted, and his counsel followed.

Some people have blamed General Miranda for not having seized that opportunity of extending freedom and independence to his native country. But it has sufficiently appeared, by subsequent events, that if he had followed the line of conduct proposed, he might have been the instrument of establishing anarchy and despotism, instead of liberty; and it must be matter of sincere satisfaction to General Miranda, that he was the means of preventing incalculable evils, both to Spain and South America.

During these operations, it appears that Dumouriez was much in want of money, and every kind of equipment for his army; his disputes with the convention, and his necessities were so great, that he wished and offered to resign. The invasion of Holland was by this time determined on; and as that task was allotted to him, he, no doubt, was anxious to have his army in the best possible state. In his correspondence with the convention and the minister at war, to whom he imputed much blame, he was warm, and his expressions on some occasions had much asperity. Complaints had been privately preferred against those who had contracts, or who otherwise supplied the army; and whether the warmth of the General to de-

send these men, proceeded from a just indignation at the injustice done to them, or otherwise, with a view to cloke their peculation, is a point very nice to be determined. We should, however, be rather inclined to suppose, that peculation did exist in the army: and we are willing to believe, that when Dumouriez demanded the unrestrained controul over all departments, and the complete power of supplying the whole, that he was acting for the public good, and with the view of checking such irregularities as had crept in. We know that confidence must exist between the commander in chief and the immediate heads of departments; and the moment that he loses his consequence with them, and that the power is transferred into distant hands, the discipline, the first principle of action, the spirit which animates the whole, is irrecoverably lost, and from that moment the army ceases to be organized. The General is the soul of his army, and a soldier has only him to look to for his immediate means of support, and for the pay that is due to him from the state. Dumouriez went so far, that he requested to be suffered to appear at the bar to defend the bankers, D'Espagnac and Malus, who had advanced him money for the pay of his troops:—He concluded by saying, "That the situation of his army was such, that it lost the republic more men than the loss of a battle, and loudly calls for a new order of things."

The success of General Custine on the Lhan, induced the war-minister, Pache, to order M. Biron to send whatever troops might be demanded by that General to his immediate assistance. Biron, with a truly great and magnanimous mind, throw-

throwing aside all personal pique, pride, or animosity, wrote to Custine, putting himself, although formerly his senior, and all his army under the immediate command of that officer. It was indeed necessary that measures should be taken to strengthen the important position of Custine on the Rhine and Meuse; for the King of Prussia, after his defeat on the Lhan, with the loss of Limbourg, determined that his army should now be supported by that of Coblenz, the great center of rendezvous of the combined powers. These armies, consisting of 50,000 men, obliged Custine to retreat to Mayence, which he had taken care to fortify in the most advantageous and formidable manner. The inhabitants of Frankfurt, not being satisfied with their new masters, took an opportunity of opening their gates to the Prussians; by which one-half of the garrison were made prisoners of war, and the rest were butchered by the Prussians and Hessians. At this juncture it was impossible for Custine to give the smallest assistance, as the junction of Biron did not take place till next day. Some movements took place after this junction, on the part of Custine, in which the French troops behaved with the greatest bravery, and in the course of which, on one occasion, 18,000 resisted for a considerable time 30,000 of the enemy. In this action the conduct of Colonel Houchart was highly extolled: with 2,000 men he had opposed 12,000, had checked their progress, and without the loss of a man, took from the enemy several prisoners.

It has already been noticed, that General Bournonville had been appointed to succeed Kellerman in

the army of Metz, on the 13th of December. The head quarters of this officer was at Cers, and he then occupied the towns of Mestzeig, Frendenberg, and Sarbruck. The latter, being a place of considerable importance, the possession of it occasioned several small engagements between the contending parties, all of which ended in favour of the French. The loss on their part was generally very trifling, from the enemy firing either too high or too low. The object of this expedition was, to get possession of Treves. Bournonville had already conquered all the territory between the Sarre and the Moselle, as far as the bridge of Cosarebruck; and the republican troops were in actual possession of all the district between the confluence of these rivers. In the course of this business the armies were engaged ten times; and what is extraordinary, the French in all these engagements had only ten men killed, and sixty wounded.

The dominion of France was thus rapidly extended from the Alps to the Rhine, and from Geneva to the mouth of the Scheldt; and the most numerous and best appointed armies of Europe were at this period everywhere retreating from the undisciplined but enthusiastic troops of the victorious republic.

It seldom happens that governments possess the wisdom to anticipate the just demands, or voluntarily to yield to the wishes and claims of the people, so long as they think themselves sufficiently strong to resist them by force. The house of Austria had but recently secured, by the power of the sword, the allegiance of the states of Brabant

bant and Flanders, who had risen in arms for the purpose of repelling the invasions that had been made on their privileges by the house of Austria, in violation of an express compact called the Joyous Entry, between the sovereign and the people. The Emperor Joseph, confiding in his arbitrary power, attempted to impose on the Belgians innovations in their religion; and at the same time to deprive them of those fundamental privileges, on the condition of which they had originally put themselves under the protection of the house of Austria. This brave and constant people, though overpowered by the imperial arms, persevered still in claiming their rights and privileges. Though they had been unable to vindicate their claims by arms, they persisted still in their appeal to justice. The Austrian government, without contesting the legality or justice of their claims, had hitherto refused to grant their request, for no other apparent reason than the tyrannical pleasure of exercising uncontrolled authority. But after the battle of Jemmappe, and the consequent reduction of Mons, when all was fear and confusion at Brussels, and the Archduchess Mary had removed with her court to Ruremonde*, she addressed two manifestoes to the Belgian people; one announcing her intention to hold her court at Ruremonde; the other to communicate to them the confirmation of the charter of their liberties, the Joyous Entry. The gratitude of the Belgians for this concession, must no doubt have been not a little diminished by the time and circumstances in which it was made.

The rapid progress of the French arms, not yet disgraced by pillage, outrage, and oppression, was a subject of joy and exultation to various parties of men, in various parts of Europe; and animated with new hope their efforts to obtain the redress of grievances. The Belgian patriots, as they were styled, triumphed in the success of their new masters. A similar party in Holland sought in the same source an alleviation of their grievances against the overgrown power of the Stadtholder, which the arms of Prussia, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, in 1789, had increased. In England, the friends and supporters of a parliamentary reform, beheld, as they conceived, in the progress of the French influence and power, an earnest of greater popular influence and political power in their own country. Scotland, the disappointed burghesses, who had so long persevered in fruitless endeavours to obtain a restoration of ancient rights, looked up to the successful invasion of the Netherlands for a correction of the abuses that had crept into the royal burghs. In Ireland, the Roman Catholics claimed a total emancipation from the penal laws; and what may appear very singular, perhaps to some, not only were so fortunate as to escape the invectives, but even to obtain the countenance and favour of that great enemy, of late, to popular claims and all innovations, Mr. Burke. In the same kingdom, a great party among the dissenters connected the destruction of one abusive government, of mighty importance in the scale of the European nations, with the destruction of every government, founded on abuse and usurpation,

* Her husband, the Duke of Saxe Teschen, was with the army.

in every other state and kingdom. At Paris, a society or club of British subjects, on the news of the conquest of Brabant, celebrated the joyful tidings in a very magnificent and general festival. Some other addresses of congratulation from British subjects were also transmitted to the Legislative and Conventional Assemblies, from England, Ireland, and Scotland. One of these was sent to the Assembly, from the Constitutional Society of London, by their deputies Joel Barlow and John Frost; who, at the same time, presented 1,000 pair of shoes as a patriotic offering to the brave soldiers of liberty.—In a word, as at the time of the reformation, the world was divided between and governed by the ancient faith and the new doctrines of the christian religion; so, at this crisis, political sympathies and antipathies agitated, divided, and governed a great portion of the civilized world.

But there was no country in Europe where the victories of the republic made so lively an impression, and produced such important and rapid effects, as in France itself. So greatly was the National

Convention elated with the irresistible progress of their arms, that, on the 19th of November, indirect and open contradiction to their former professions, not to interfere in the internal government of other kingdoms, they passed, by acclamation, a decree “That the National Convention declared, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty; and that they charge the Executive Power to send orders to their Generals to give assistance to such people as have suffered, or are now suffering in the cause of liberty.” This decree confirmed the suspicion that had already been excited by the affair of Avignon and Venaissin, and other circumstances, that the fomentation of sedition and insurrection, in foreign countries, had become a systematic principle of the French republic; and, of course, immediately produced a jealousy and caution in neighbouring nations; and in most of them, a determination to prohibit all intercourse with them, and not admit them to settle in their dominions.

CHAP. VIII.

The Sessions of the British Parliament opened. Debates in the House of Commons on the King's Speech. On the War in India. On the Armament against Russia. Motion for Papers by Mr. Gray. Debates in the House of Lords on the Russian Armament. Debates in the House of Commons on the same Subject.

WHEN the sessions of parliament were opened on the thirty-first of January, 1792, the attention of the people of Great Britain was much more taken up with the affairs of the Continent

than with their own. The French revolution, together with its consequences, was the great topic of conversation, and of general reflections in all parts of Europe; and the unsettled state of France excited

excited much alarm and conjecture among all its neighbours.

The royal speech, from the internal tranquillity of the realm, contained little more than what related to foreign transactions. The subjects of it were, the marriage of the Duke of York to the daughter of the King of Prussia, the treaty of peace concluded, through the mediation of Great Britain and its allies, between the Emperor and the Turks; and the preliminaries settled between these latter and the Empress of Russia; the continuation of the war in India; the assurances of friendship and goodwill on the part of the European powers, and the prospect thence arising of a stability of domestic peace and prosperity, and of a diminution of the public expence, and particularly of a reduction in the army and navy.

On moving the usual address, the terms of it occasioned a long and spirited contest; wherein Mr. Gray bore the principal part. He severely animadverted on the conduct of ministry, relatively to their interference in the war between Russia and Turkey. He censured, with no less severity, the ministerial representation of a speedy and successful issue of the hostilities in India, which, he asserted, were as far from promising a happy termination as in the preceding campaign. He complained that the indemnifications held out to the British merchants by the late convention with Spain, had not been obtained; and that no decision had yet taken place on that subject.

The several particulars in Mr. Gray's speech were answered by Mr. Dundas, with his customaryuteness; and Indian affairs were

placed in such a favourable point of view, as to justify the representation that the war was drawing to a prosperous termination.

The animadversions of Mr. Fox, in the discourse he made on this day, were chiefly pointed at the interference of administration between the Turks and Russians. He accused ministers of having acted neither with honour nor efficacy. The very interference itself met with his heaviest disapprobation. It was, he said, unnecessary and dangerous to excite the resentments of the court of Peterburgh; which, flying under no controul, and guiding, instead of being guided, by the opinion of the public, might have rushed with temerity into war, against its real interest. Such an event, however it might have proved detrimental to that power, must also have been highly pernicious to Britain. It was happy, therefore, that the minority in parliament resisted such a measure on the part of the ministry, and that the voice of the nation spoke so loudly against it.

He took remarkable notice that the constitution of Great Britain had been of late extolled in such a manner as conveyed indirect censure on himself and his friends, as not sufficiently convinced of its freedom from all defects and imperfections, and as it argued disloyalty to wish for a reformation of abuses. But herein he was not in the least desirous of imitating those who had overturned a constitution so radically bad as that of France, and who had justly run all hazards to destroy it. The constitution of Great Britain was, on the contrary, fundamentally good, and merited therefore the efforts of all honest and

and loyal subjects to preserve it. It was unjust, therefore, to insinuate that those who approved of the destruction of despotism in France, would rejoice in the downfall of the British constitution.

He next adverted to the riots at Birmingham; and bitterly complained, that through the laxity of the magistrates there, violent outrages had been committed on the property and persons of those of whom the populace of that place had been taught to entertain injurious opinions. They had been basely connived at in treating those persons with the most barbarous indignity. A gentleman of the greatest celebrity for his science and character, the famous Dr. Priestly, had been, through their lawless and cruel proceedings, reduced to absolute ruin, and had hardly been able to escape with his life. Such were the deeds of a multitude which had the audacity throughout the whole of these iniquitous transactions, to justify them by the pretence of their zeal for the present constitution in church and state; as if those whom they treated in this outrageous manner, had not, upon every occasion, manifested as much sincerity at least as they themselves, in the defence of the constitution, whenever it had been brought into real danger. This testimony he thought himself bound openly and unequivocally to bear to that respectable, as well as prosperous part of the British nation, which went under the name of Dissenters.

Mr. Pitt encountered the assertions of Mr. Fox and the opposition with apposite facts and arguments. He appealed for the justice of what the royal speech had

mentioned concerning India, to the sense of the House, as expressed in the preceding sessions. He lamented the disorders at Birmingham; but thought these were an object which discretion ought to consign to oblivion, as enough had been done for their atonement.

He warmly defended the conduct of ministry, relating to the differences between foreign powers. Their object was, to maintain that balance of Europe which was of the most indispensable importance to the safety of this country. Had no obstruction been thrown in his way, the negotiations he had undertaken would have terminated advantageously; but the clamours excited throughout the public, and the unreasonable opposition he had met with, afforded occasion to the power which he would have reduced to compliance, to avail itself of these national clamours, and to persist in demands which it obtained, as it were, thro' the intervention of the public in its favour. To this alone was due the successful competition of Russia with the British ministry.

He laid before the House a circumstantial statement of the last year's revenue; by which it amounted to 16,790,000 pounds; from which, deducting the expenditure, there remained a surplus of 900,000, after the annual million was paid off towards the redemption of the national debt.

Encouraged by this prosperous condition of the finances, he proposed to take off part of those taxes which were felt most heavily by the necessitous classes, as being indispensable necessities of life.

Thus ended the debate on this first day of the sessions; when the question

question being called for the address, it was carried without any amendment, by two hundred against eighty-five.

The discussion of Indian affairs, which had employed much of the House's attention on that first day of the session, was resumed on the third of February, by several gentlemen of the opposition; who contended that some papers ought to be produced, that would throw a better light upon the subject: but this was firmly resisted by ministry, on the ground of their inutility to forward any real service, and as tending rather to embroil than to facilitate any desirable purpose.

Six days after, these papers were again required by Major Maitland, who accompanied his demand with a retrospect of Indian affairs, and of the former mode of administering them. This, he observed, was founded on pacific principles, as being more safe and advantageous in their issue than those that had since been adopted; and which had plunged our settlements in perpetual broils and dangers. He represented the present war there as leading to all manner of difficulties. He condemned that war as ill-founded and aggressive on our part, and resulting from a breach of the treaties made with Tippoo. He strongly reprobated the facility with which large subsidies had been advanced to the Mahrattas; who, after receiving them, acted with the most notorious negligence. Into the hands of those predatory people, we had imprudently committed ourselves, and were become the instruments of their desultory warfare; which consisted chiefly in plundering. Such were the allies who

were to assist us against Tippoo; who had in the mean time offered us terms of peace, which he now required; and which would, he said, fully elucidate all those matters.

Mr. Francis entered copiously into this subject. He testified equal disapprobation and surprise at the denial of the papers necessary for the investigation of the Indian affairs, on the ground of leading to discussions. Without the papers, no real knowledge of the subject could be obtained; and without discussion, no proper judgment could be formed by the public, who had the clearest right to be informed of what was passing in India. The charges of the war in that country, and the conduct of the people in our alliance, were points of indispensable knowledge and investigation. To deny the papers relative to either of these, was to acknowledge that they would not bear investigation.

Mr. Dundas, in reply to Mr. Francis, insisted that the producing of papers relative to India, must often be dangerous, from the sinister interpretations which might be put on the discussions to which they gave rise, by the princes and chiefs in India, to whom, when reported, they might wear an appearance very different from their scope and meaning. He assented, however, to the demand of the papers.

When the papers had been sufficiently examined by those who required them, Major Maitland, on the 15th of March following, moved several resolutions on the Indian war, tending to reprobate it as unjustifiable, and as the result of a design planned, previously to any occasion for hostilities, for the utter

destruction of Tippoo. This was a design equally unjust and impolitic. Were this prince to be destroyed, no power would remain to balance the formidable one of the Mahrattas, who were chiefly kept in restraint by that prince; but when delivered from apprehensions on that quarter, would become extremely dangerous, from their restlessness and rapacity.

The principal reply to Major Maitland was by Mr. Powis, who argued the necessity of supporting the executive government in India in the war they had undertaken against Tippoo, from the general system long adopted in that country by British councils. He acknowledged that system to be highly pernicious in itself; but it must be effectually maintained until we could wholly abandon it. This, however, was impracticable while other European powers retained territorial possessions in the east; which was one of the greatest evils that had ever befallen Europe.

Several other speakers took part in this debate; which concluded by a negative on Major Maitland's motions.

It was again resumed on the 28th of March; when the Major declared, that from the most attentive perusal of the papers that had been produced by ministers, instead of finding himself compelled to retract his opinions, he was further confirmed in their propriety; these papers clearly proving that the English resident at the Rajah of Travancore's court, had been instructed to prevail upon him to admit a force in his dominions much greater than was requisite to protect them, and in

reality sufficient to carry on the most extensive hostilities against Tippoo, according to the plan already projected. This and other particulars of a like tendency, evinced the existence of such a plan.

In answer to these assertions, it was averred by the other side, that from the personal character and conduct of Tippoo, no person in India entertained any doubt of his hostile intentions and preparations; and that Lord Cornwallis had lamented with marked repugnance, the necessity which he clearly foresaw, of again taking up arms against that prince.

In consistency with these asseverations it was moved, that the conduct observed by Lord Cornwallis on this occasion, accorded with the true spirit and intent of the rules of government, established by the British parliament for the affairs of India.

A motion of this nature was warmly opposed. It was represented as involving in one general vote of approbation, all the measures prosecuted in India, whether worthy of praise or deserving of blame. The correspondence on our part, with the enemies to Tippoo, plainly referred to a dismemberment of his dominions in their favour, and proved of course an intended rupture with him. His pacific offers had also been refused, and the terms had not been communicated to parliament. All this wore a suspicious aspect; but what was still more reprehensible, the civil and military government of our Indian settlements, were contrary to the fundamental spirit and essence of the British constitution, vested in a single person, subject

ject to no responsibility to any power established by Britain in this distant part of the globe. However excellent and irreproachable such a person might be, it was a direct infringement of British freedom to constitute such a system; which was in every respect absolute and arbitrary.

In reply to these arguments, it was maintained by Mr. Pitt, that the motions and reasonings of his opponents tended to hurt the character of Lord Cornwallis. Terms of peace, it was said, had been proposed to him by Tippoo; but the fact was, that none had ever been specified by that prince, who had merely informed him of an inclination to treat; and intended only, by such appearance, to raise suspicions and jealousies in our allies; and by weakening their confidence in our good faith, to effect a separation from them, and leave us alone to contend with him. Had honourable terms been offered, the disposition of Lord Cornwallis was too well known to doubt of his readiness to listen to them, as well as his determination to accept no others: — for these reasons he seconded the motion; which was carried accordingly.

In this manner parliament disposed of the business of India; which, tho' it gave rise to some warm discussions, could not, from the distance of the scenes alluded to by the respective disputants, command much of the solicitude and anxiety of the public.

An object of far higher and more immediate attention took place during this session, and employed, in a very active degree, the political talents and eloquence of the most eminent speakers.

This was the interference of ministers, followed by the hostile preparations against Russia. The documents relating to the apprehended rupture between Great Britain and that power, had been laid before the House on the 6th of February. As soon as they had undergone a proper examination, the contents were brought forward by opposition.

On the 13th of February the business was opened by Mr. Gray; he began by observing, that the papers were incomplete, and did not sufficiently enable the House to examine particulars with regularity and precision. He stated several instances to prove what he had advanced: he specified the want of the preliminaries between the Russian and Turkish ministry, without which no adequate opinion could be formed of the benefits arising from the interference of the British court, supported by an armament, and accompanied by an apparent determination to enforce the measures it held forth. These had nearly involved the realm in a quarrel of a most serious and dangerous nature, without any manifest and unavoidable necessity. The conduct of the court of Berlin ought no less to be laid open on so important an occasion: but, above all, the expences attending the formidable armament that had been equipped, ought to be brought before the House with all expedition.

Mr. Pitt replied, that every proper paper had been produced; and none had been withheld that did not, according to the clearest discernment, require it. The expence of the armament he was no less desirous to lay before the House, than those

those who were the most impatient to see them, and would bring them forward with all diligence. The preliminaries between the belligerent powers had not been officially noticed; but he hoped shortly to present the House with a document of more satisfaction and consequence, the definitive treaty of peace between those two powers.

This answer not satisfying those who required more extensive communications, Mr. Gray moved, on the 29th of February, for a more ample production of papers. From those that had been communicated, there appeared, he said, just cause for censuring ministry; which had, without any warrantable motive, engaged in the business under consideration, and then relinquished it in a base and pusillanimous manner. Administration had acknowledged that they had not been able to preserve the possession of Orzakow to the Porte; and yet this was the great object of the armament. Great Britain, it had been alleged, stood on such intimate terms with Prussia, that the interest of its Turkish ally could not be relinquished, but to her essential detriment. The alliance with Prussia was, however, but defensive; and if we were, by any severe articles, bound to enter more deeply into her views, the House ought to know it, in order to guard against mere projects of ambition: from which it behoves this country to stand aloof, as inimical to the interest of Britain, and tending only to aggrandize others at her cost. The requisitions to the British court from the Turkish ministry for assistance and mediation, the intercourse of the other powers concerned in this business, and chiefly

the entire correspondence between the British and the Russian ministries, ought indubitably to be produced, if administration mean to exculpate itself from censures, and to justify the various steps it had taken in the progress of an affair, which the nation at large looked upon with a jealous eye, and of which it seriously demanded a complete explanation.

To these allegations it was replied by Mr. Pitt, that however candour and openness were requisite between ministry and Parliament, the rule being general, admitted of exceptions in particular cases, wherein the honour and the very safety of the state might be concerned. Where other powers were implicated, secrecy became an absolute duty:—otherwise negotiations could not proceed; as by laying open their reciprocal affairs and intentions, these might by such means be wholly deranged, and alliances rendered fruitless. Confidence was due to those who administered the affairs of government, until their capacity or their integrity were impeached. They had in the present case disclosed enough to make the House master of the essential parts of the business in question. The papers before it would fairly shew what were the objects of our armament, and how far we had succeeded.

Those who seconded Mr. Pitt, argued principally on the necessity of placing a liberal degree of confidence in the minister: but his opponents expressed a marked disapprobation of this doctrine, as applicable to the present case; the prosperity of the state having been most alarmingly endangered by the conduct

conduct of ministers on this occasion.

Mr. Fox reprobated in the severest terms, the demand of implicit confidence from parliament to ministers, who, by the spirit of the constitution, ought much more to be watched than trusted. The highest confidence should mutually subsist between the nation and its representatives; but if these transferred the confidence reposed in them by their constituents to ministers, the people, instead of being represented, were betrayed. While negotiations were pending, and even when at an end, the House had in more cases than one been denied the information which they required,—though called on to provide at the same time the supplies of money wanted for the ministerial purposes, thus concealed from their knowledge. Confidence in ministers was at best a necessary evil in the constitution. When the crown dictated to whom confidence should be paid, which it virtually did by the appointment of ministers,—such confidence necessarily devolved to the executive power itself; but this confidential method of voting subsidies implicitly at the desire of ministers, without exercising the parliamentary right of enquiry, was totally repugnant to the genius of the constitution; especially when the majority of the nation was evidently opposed to ministerial opinions. When nothing was wrong, nothing, he observed, needed to be secret. It was fit, therefore, that ministry insisted on the propriety of its measures; the correspondence between it and the various courts with which it had been negotiating, should be adduced in proof of its assertion; and

to remove at once the doubts of its veracity, and the persuasion publicly entertained of its erroneous conduct and incapacity.

Such was the substance of the reasoning on both sides; but the majority decided against the motion of Mr. Gray.

This question was agitated on the same day, with no less vivacity, in the House of Lords: a warm exposition of the conduct of ministers, and the severest complaints of their ill usage of the public were laid before the House by Lord Fitzwilliam. In order to give additional weight to his arguments, he circumstantially recapitulated the particulars of the controversy between both parties; grounding upon them a series of resolutions, such as, he asserted, they were fully calculated to authorize.

The Empress of Russia, he affirmed, had, by the very confession of the British and Prussian ministers at her court, been unjustly attacked. Her minister at London had communicated to our government, in May 1790, the terms on which she should make peace, and from which she would not recede. These terms were, the re-establishment of the treaties in force between Russia and Turkey, at the commencement of hostilities, together with the cession of Oczakow and its territory, as far as the river Dniester; which was hereafter to form the boundary between both empires. To this communication it was replied by the British administration, that neither Turkey nor Sweden would be anywise satisfied with these proposals. The Turks, especially, would most warmly oppose the cession of Oczakow. In the mean while, Sweden concluded a pacification with Russia,

in August following, without the participation of Great Britain. Notice was however given by the Swedish monarch, that the Empress would still abide by the conditions she had proposed, and did not intend to alter them, notwithstanding the success of her arms during the last campaign, nor the future success that might still attend them. The Empress adhered faithfully to the proposals she had made; but in consequence of the message delivered by the King's order, on the 29th of March of the preceding year, to both Houses, a formidable armament was equipped; subsequent to which a negotiation was set on foot by the British minister at the Russian court, in order to secure a fortified frontier to Turkey, on the side of Russia; but this negotiation ended by accepting the very terms already preferred by the Empress in the foregoing year, and by the consent of the British ministry; that if they were not also accepted by the Turks within the space of four months, the two belligerent powers should be left to terminate their quarrels without further interference. Thus fourteen months of fruitless negotiation elapsed on the part of Great Britain; during which her naval preparations proved ineffectual, and made not the least impression where it had been hoped and intended. The war had in the mean time continued, with the same determination in the Empress to conclude it upon her own terms, in defiance of our threats, and of the hostile posture which we had so vainly assumed. The Turks had met with additional misfortunes; and the commercial interest of Great Britain been exposed to continual hazards, from the perplexed situation of our

affairs; but what in the public examination was of much higher value and importance, the honour and dignity of the British nation suffered a material injury in the eyes of Europe.

To these weighty asseverations it was answered on the ministerial side, that notwithstanding the arguments of opposition, it remained an incontrovertible truth, that ministry had committed no sort of error in its interference between Russia and Turkey. The balance of Europe required that no power whatsoever should be depressed, nor any permitted to extend its just proportions. It was manifestly the interest of Britain to oppose the system adopted by the court of Peterburgh; which was the aggrandizement of the Russian empire, already too extensive and potent for the safety and peace of its neighbours; and which, if not timely arrested in its progress, would at last prove irresistible, and give laws to all the north of Europe. It was solely, therefore, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the public, that ministry had desisted from measures which in themselves were unquestionably consistent with the long adopted policy of Britain, and at this juncture peculiarly adapted to existing circumstances. These were truly critical, and particularly demanded, the immediate exertion of our naval power, in order to prevent in time the exercise of that which was forming by a potentate that had in the preceding war acted an unfriendly part, and was now again preparing with all her might to oppose us upon our own element. Nor was the formidable fleet that had been equipped, to be considered as a useless parade of our maritime

time strength: though it had not proceeded to actual hostilities, still it had not been beheld without terror. The court of Petersburg was not ignorant of our naval superiority, and felt nowise inclined to a trial of skill: the confidence displayed by that court in the bravery and discipline of the Russian marine, was more affected than real; and whatever boldness it assumed, was intended for the purpose of keeping the people in spirits, and not from any substantial hope of being able to cope with the navy of Great Britain: it was therefore a well-founded interference, that the court of Petersburg continued her primitive offers, not from moderation, but from a sense of the danger she must incur by departing from them, and insisting upon more rigorous conditions. In this light it was unjust to represent the armament as a needless expedient, and as having effected nothing: it had, in fact, produced the most advantageous consequences to the Turks, by preserving them from greater concessions to Russia; which would inevitably have happened, had not the dread of our preparations operated against its well-known ambition. Thus, on mature consideration, our interference had frustrated many hostile designs to Turkey; and the expence incurred by the nation had in no sense been wantonly lavished. On the other hand, the continuation of the war by Russia had put her to immense charges, and she had reaped no other benefit, if such it could be called, than the acquisition of a narrow and barren territory, purchased by a deluge of blood, shed in the course of many destructive

campaigns; during which the flower of her military youth, and the most valiant and experienced of her veteran officers and soldiers had perished.

Such were the principal arguments urged in defence of the ministry during this debate; which terminated with the rejection of the motion made by Lord Fitzwilliam.

Not discouraged by this failure, the opposition in the upper House re-assumed this business on the 27th of February; but with no additional strength or variety of reasoning on either side. The most remarkable observations on this occasion were those made by Lord Stanhope:—He particularly commended ministry for having complied with the desire of the nation, and in consequence, dropped all inimical designs to Russia. This was truly a constitutional behaviour, and entitled them to approbation from all who knew how to set a proper value on it:—this laudable conduct induced him to hope it would not any more be pretended that the voice of the people could only be expressed in parliament;—daily experience made it apparent that the sense of the nation ought not to be restricted to any privileged spot. He animadverted on the necessity which ministers had urged in vindication of their measures, to maintain the balance of Europe, and to prevent the overgrowth of any ambitious power. He recommended, in pursuance of so just a design, an alliance with France; which had, in the formation of its present system, solemnly foresworn all projects or aggrandizement, and determined to draw the sword but in a defensive war.

war. This was precisely the plan that Great Britain ought to pursue; and the abjuration of all others rendered France at present worthy of intimate connexion with this country: the French had already shewn a sincere disposition to become our unfeigned friends; they had copied zealously the British constitution; and whatever of excellence their own could boast, was visibly derived from ours. In lieu of that illiberal antipathy to Englishmen, which had long characterized them, we were become the objects of their esteem and predilection: good policy dictated a return of this friendly disposition, and a careful cultivation of the pacific and commercial relations subsisting between both countries. He flattered himself from these motives, which were equally founded on the reciprocal interests of the two nations, that no causes of any nature would be suffered to operate to the destruction or the diminution of that amity which was so essential to the prosperity of Great Britain and France. However foreign politics might represent the situation of France as unfavourable to its neighbours, still it could not be denied that peace was the most desirable object to the people of this country: its welfare chiefly depended on friendly connexions with its neighbours; without which it could not exercise its commerce abroad, either with advantage or safety. Among those neighbours, none were of more importance, in a variety of respects, than the French; to lose their good-will at a time when the treaties lately made with them rendered it particularly beneficial, would be singularly imprudent; especially when we reflected, that by treating

them with slight or indifference, we should become the dupes of those who sought to indispose us against them, in order to render us subservient to those designs which, they were conscious, could not be carried into execution without our consent and co-operation.

While the motion on this business was again negatived in the House of Lords, it was revived on the same day in the House of Commons, by Mr. Whitbread:—He reprobated, in terms of indignation, the temerity of ministers, in lavishing the nation's money with such profusion, for an object wherein neither equity nor policy could justify their interference. Much had been said on their part to exasperate the nation against Russia: its inimical conduct to this country, during the American war, had been recalled to notice, and placed in the most odious point of view: but in the transaction alluded to, it was well known that Russia was only one among many. The late King of Prussia, the celebrated Frederick, was the original contriver of the measure so injurious to this country, that went under the name of Armed Neutrality; but the enmity of that Prince to Great Britain seemed now utterly forgotten, and the influence of this kingdom exerted a particular zeal for the service of his successor. From the papers communicated from ministry, it was plain that the Turks were the aggressors in the present war between them and Russia: they demanded the restoration of the Crimea, fairly won from them by open war, and ceded to Russia by a regular treaty: they attempted, by force of arms, to recover it:—this surely was aggression. The Em-
press

reis on this occasion had applied to the British court for its mediation; but its demands on the Turks were found too exorbitant. This answer induced her to relax from claims, and to make such proposals as, from their moderation, she might have a right to insist upon: but even these were refused by our ministry; which, however, after long and tedious negotiations, was fain to accede to them. The possession of Oczakow, he affirmed, either by the Turks or the Russians, was a consideration wholly foreign to the political or commercial interests of Great Britain: it could not, therefore, be the real cause of the protraction of this ruinous war: some latent motive kept its conclusion at a distance: the probable reason was, that the politics of the court of Berlin aimed at a stipulation, with that of Petersburg, for permission to seize the cities of Thorn and Dantzic, on condition that it would not oppose the cession of Oczakow to Russia. The issue of this unjust and dishonourable interference was that of an expensive armament; and an arrogant conduct had not prevented the government of this country from submitting to the condition prescribed by Russia, with a degree of implicitness, not hitherto recorded in our transactions with foreign powers. —The resolution moved by Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of the premises, was that Oczakow was not of sufficient importance to warrant the armed interference of Great Britain.

This motion was vigorously opposed by Mr. Jenkinson, the son of Lord Hawkebury, in a speech which, though the first he had ever made in the House, excited un-

common attention and admiration. He took an extensive view of the circumstances of Europe, as relating to Great Britain, and to that balance which it was necessitated to maintain between its various powers:—the strength and influence of France being, he said, at an end, we had no farther danger to apprehend from that once formidable rival; but a power had succeeded to France, no less deserving of attention from its restless politics and ambitious views:—this was Russia; of which the conduct proved the deep laid designs on the territories and independence of her less potent neighbours. Her plans of conquest on the Turks were notorious. Were she suffered to accomplish them, the balance of Europe would be totally destroyed, to the manifest injury of every state in this quarter of the globe. The potentate whose position best enabled him to stem this torrent, was Prussia; and the wisdom of the British government had enabled it, by a seasonable alliance, to undertake the task of counteracting the schemes of Russia. The Turks were accused of having begun the present contest: but were they not justifiable by the manner in which the Crimea was obtained, by the revolt promoted in Ægypt, through the intrigues of Russia, by her haughty and unjust claims to some of the fairest provinces of the Turkish empire? Britain had already mediated successfully for the Turks in the late pacification between them and the Emperor; and her interposition between them and Russia, however artfully misrepresented, had obviated the claims she would indubitably have enforced, after the many successes that had attended her arms. Happily, however,

ever, he observed, the present era was not calculated for invasions and conquests: a spirit had arisen in Europe, decidedly adverse to ambitious views: Great Britain was constitutionally their foe: a stable unshaken peace was equally her interest and inclination.

The speech of Mr. Jenkinson was warmly seconded, and not less strenuously opposed by others. Mr. Gray took particular notice, that since the success with which the minister had acted in Scotland, he had presumptuously attempted to dictate in the same manner to other powers, and had of course raised himself many enemies. Administration, he said, had widely deviated from that open and firm conduct with foreign states, which had formerly commanded their attachment and confidence. Intrigues and machinations were employed among them; but neither to our honour or benefit. We had been jostled in conjunction with Prussia, notwithstanding so formidable an union; and so degraded were we among nations, that even the Turks, of whom we boasted, but vainly affected to be the protectors, held us in contempt and derision: they had found our friendship false, and our promises not to be trusted; and were averse to a connexion with such a people.

In order to prove the odium we had incurred among the Turks, Mr. Gray produced a letter, written by the Grand Vizier to Sir Robert Ainslie, the British Ambassador at the Porte; and which he declared, he believed to be authentic. The singularity of the style and matter, rendered it deserving of being given at length, as a specimen on the supposition of its being genuine, of

Turkish composition, and political maxims:—

“The Grand Seignior,” it said, “makes war for himself, and makes peace; he can trust his own slaves, servants, and subjects; he knows their faith, has experienced their virtue, and can rely upon their fidelity:—a virtue long since banished your corner of Europe. If all other christians tell truth, no reliance is to be had on England; she buys and sells all mankind. The Ottomans have no connexion with your king nor your country; they never sought your advice, your interference, nor your friendship; we have no minister, no agency, no correspondence with you. For what reason offer ye then to mediate for us with Russia? Why seek ye to serve an empire of infidels, as ye call us Mussulmen? We want not your friendship, aid, nor mediation. Your Vizier, of whom you speak so highly, must have some project of deception in view; some oppressive scheme to amuse your nation; which we are told is credulous, servile, an adorer only of money: avarice, we are well informed, is your chief characteristic; you would sell your God; money is your deity, and all things are objects of trade with your ministry and people. Come ye then to sell us to Russia? No; let us bargain for ourselves. When fate has spun out the thread of our good fortune, we must yield: what has been directed by God and the prophet of men, must and will come to pass. We Ottomans know no finess;—duplicity and cunning are your christian morals. We are not ashamed to be honest, downright, plain, and faithful in our state-maxims. If we fail in war, we submit

submit to the will of Heaven, decreed from the beginning. We have long lived in splendor, the first power on earth; and we glory in having triumphed for ages over christian infidelity and depravity, mixed with all sorts of vice and hypocrisy. We adore the God of nature, and believe in Mahomet:—You neither believe in the God you pretend to worship, nor in his Son, whom you call both your God and your prophet. What reliance can there be on so sacrilegious a race? Truth, we understand, you banish, as you do virtue from all your conduct and transactions with each other. Read the catalogue of the complaints, manifestoes, declarations, and remonstrances of all the christian kings, monarchs, and emperors, who have lived and warred with each other; you will find them allequally blasphemous, equally perfidious, equally cruel, equally unjust, and faithless in their engagements. Did the Turk ever forfeit his promise, word, or honour? Never.—Did ever a christian power keep an engagement, but while it suited its avarice or ambition? No.—How then do you think are we to trust you; a nation, at this moment, if truth is told, ruled by a perfidious administration, without virtue to guide the machine of state? The Grand Seignior has no public intercourse with your court;—he wants none; he wishes for none. If you wish to remain here, either as a spy, or, as you term yourself, an ambassador for your court, you may live with those of other christian nations, while you demean yourself with propriety: but we neither desire your aid by sea nor land, nor your

council, nor mediation. I have no order to thank you for your offer, because it is by the Divan deemed officious:—nor have I any command to thank you for the offer of your naval assistance, because it is what the Porte never dreamed of admitting into our seas. What you have to do with Russia, we neither know nor care:—our concerns with that court we mean to finish as it suits ourselves, and the maxims of our laws and state-policy. If you are not the most profligate christian nation, as you are accused of being, you are undoubtedly the boldest in presumption and effrontery, in thus attempting to bring such a power as Russia to terms such as you, and some other inconsiderable christians united, fancy yourselves able to command. We know better; this conduct of yours is an imbecile as well as an audacious endeavour to dictate; which must render your councils contemptible, and your advice abroad unworthy of the wisdom or attention of any power, especially of the Porte; which, on all occasions, wherein its ministers have listened to you, has experienced evil either in your intentions or your incapacity. His Sublime Highness cannot therefore be too much on his guard against the attempts and the presumption of a state so little to be trusted, even by its own people; but it is usual with christian princes to sell their subjects to each other for money. Every peace made amongst you, as we are well informed, is most favourable to the highest briber. The Ottoman ministry has too long, and too often, given ear to European councils; and as often as they did, they were

were betrayed and sold.—Away then with your interference for the Porte with Russia.”

Mr. Gray was seconded by other speakers, whose arguments were much of the same purport as those antecedently alleged on the subject in agitation.

The principal answer to them proceeded from Mr. Dundas; who maintained with his usual dexterity, the justness of the conduct observed by ministry, in every part of their transactions; forcibly urging every argument to invalidate those that were adduced on the part of opposition. As to the paper brought forward as the production of the Grand Vizier, he treated it as a mere fabrication, visibly destitute of authenticity.

The debate closed by an adjournment of the question to the following day.

The debates on the first of March began with an observation made by Mr. Martin; which was, that wherever much secrecy prevailed, either in public or in private affairs, much fraud and deceit might be expected: pursuant to this maxim, he would vote for the motion of ministerial censure.

He was followed by Mr. Francis, who spoke sharply on the same side of the question. From his perusal of the papers, he had, he said, discovered more, he believed, than they were intended to reveal. They empowered him to demand, whether ministers were not engaged in a Prussian, rather than an English quarrel? If such were the case, the maxims they followed were very different from those that were uppermost on his first entrance into public life. Continental connections were then held in aversion, as

the bane of this country. German alliances were particularly dreaded, as attended with endless as well as unprofitable expences. But the times were alarmingly changed; and such maxims would no longer be tolerated. The English character was now, to throw aside all steadiness in politics and national pursuits, and adhere only to pecuniary speculations. The balance of Europe, he observed, had been held out by ministers, as a sufficient reason for their conduct respecting Russia:—allowing that its preservation was an indispensable duty, why should it be consigned to the care of this country, more than of the nations on the continent of Europe, who were no less deeply interested in it than ourselves? Mr. Francis concluded by remarking, that to the altercation with Russia was due an injurious delay of several commercial advantages, which might have been obtained from that power, and which were of the highest importance to the trade of this country.

Mr. Fox rose next. The question concerning the balance of Europe, was, he noticed, involved in a cloud of intricacies. The system was of so complex a nature, that it was easily disturbed and deranged: some of its parts were at such a distance from us, as to merit little of our attention, and might rather amuse our curiosity than alarm our interest. In this light the honour of Great Britain was much more deeply engaged in the business of Oczakow, than any other national concern. Its value, which in itself was nothing, had acquired importance only through the imprudence of administration; which ought therefore never to have made it

an object of contention. The ministry, it was said, had shewn a laudable deference to the public opinion, by desisting from its intended measures: but this deference might be attributed to another cause; the fear, when embarked in them, of meeting with such an opposition as would through the refusal of supplies, disable them from acting. But enough had been expended on this dishonourable transaction. It had cost the nation half a million, to no other end than to see Oczakow seized by Russia; the Turks whom we styled our friends and allies, humbled, and ourselves degraded by the conditions of a treaty, which, after compelling us to abandon them, loads us with the further ignominy of guaranteeing to Russia what she has wrested from them. No interference at all would certainly have been better than so scandalous a dereliction of those of whom we had assumed the protection. Then the reputation and welfare of a people may thus, with impunity, and by alleging frivolous excuses, be sacrificed to ill-founded projects. Well, said Mr. Fox, might the enemies to the constitution of the country avail themselves of such undeniable abuses, to bring it into disrepute, to represent it as a mere nullity, and to persuade their auditors or readers that they spoke truth.

Mr. Pitt's answer to these heavy charges, was, that the indispensable necessity of preserving the balance of Europe, was an argument of such evident propriety, that no reasonings could invalidate it. The question could only be, To what degree of exertion the strength and influence of Great Britain ought to have been carried on this occasion?

Upon this ground, which was a fair and equitable one, he would readily meet all objections to his conduct. Could any man conversant in politics, admit that the Turkish empire, if unable by its own intrinsic strength to resist the attacks of its two potent neighbours, Russia and Austria, should be abandoned by the other European powers, every one of which was so visibly interested in the preservation of its independencies? But were they either so indolent, or so impeded by untoward circumstances, as to remain inactive in its defence, could Britain neglect to assume it? Could a British ministry look on with indifference or tranquillity, while commerce in those parts was so manifestly threatened, and the maritime power of Britain, not only in the Mediterranean, but throughout the world, must receive the most fatal blow from the immense increase of shipping that would accrue to those two powers, were they to become masters of the Turkish dominions in Europe? Russia especially, already formidable at sea, must through the possession of the Archipelago, derive such an accession to the number of her seamen, as would in a short time render her in all probability the first maritime power in Europe. These were serious considerations, and authorized a British minister to act with uncommon vigilance and care, to prevent so great a calamity from befalling this country, as to lose the sovereignty of the seas; without which the immediate safety of Great Britain must necessarily become precarious. The Turks, Mr. Pitt allowed to have been the offensive aggressors; but Russia had incontestably afforded every provocation;

provocation; and the ambitious plans she had concerted against the Turkish empire were universally known, and needed no proof. Nothing at the same time was more obvious, than that if Great Britain had not assumed that hostile posture, of which opposition so unjustly complained, the primitive demands of the court of Petersburg would have been insisted on. They had been made previously to a victorious campaign; and could it be believed that so rapacious a power would have relinquished such extensive

and important provinces as Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, after conquering them, unless it had dreaded a contest with the first naval power in the world; which would have probably been attended with the annihilation of its own marine.

This discourse of Mr. Pitt terminated the debates on the interference of Great Britain between the Porte and Russia. Mr. Whitbread's motion was rejected, by two hundred and forty-four against one hundred and sixteen.

CHAP. IX.

Debates on the Treaty of Marriage between the Duke of York and the Princess of Prussia. Statement of the Finances. Petition to Parliament against Lotteries. Debates on the Slave Trade in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords.

A SUBJECT which took up much of the national and parliamentary attention, during this session, was the marriage of the Duke of York with the King of Prussia's eldest daughter. It was not the importance of the object itself, so much as the circumstances attending it, that occasioned the uncommon notice taken of this transaction. The prodigious disparity of the pecuniary advances and settlements made by the respective courts, were matters of considerable surprise to the people of this country; and gave occasion to a variety of speculations, which, though not expressive of the least disapprobation of the match itself, still indicated an opinion not favourable to the stipulations with which it was accompanied.

The portion paid by the King of Prussia, together with a nuptial

present, amounted to a sum equivalent to 22,000*l.* sterling; which, in case of the Princess's demise before the Duke, was to be returned to him; but no reversion of a like sum given on the part of England (as a counter-portion with the Duke, together with 6000*l.* as a bridal gift) had any place in the stipulation. Her private revenue was settled at 4000*l.* a year; and her jointure, in case of the Duke's decease, at 8000 a year, with a residence and establishment answerable to her rank.

These pecuniary settlements were accompanied at the same time with a solemn renunciation by the King of Great Britain, and the Duke of York and his descendants, of all right of inheritance to the crown of Prussia.

In addition to 12,000*l.* annual income, already enjoyed by the Duke, the

the further sum of 25,000 a year, was voted to him by parliament, on account of this matrimonial alliance.

The discussions that took place in the House, on this occasion, were neither warm nor interesting. Mr. Fox observed, that in a monarchical government such as England, founded on the preference given to it by the natives to all other forms, the splendor with which they were desirous to see it attended, of course required that every branch of the royal family should be maintained with suitable magnificence.

He also observed, that the freedom and personal dignity of the several personages who were a more distant part of that family, ought to be particularly consulted, by providing for them in such manner as to prevent their total dependence on the crown.

There was at the same time some difference of opinion concerning the allowance to be granted to the Duke of York on his marriage: several members deemed the revenue proposed by the minister too large; as the Duke received a very considerable one from the bishoprick of Osnaburgh, stated by some at no less than 35,000*l.* a year. But this appearing an object unfit for parliamentary discussion, the votes proposed by the ministry passed in his favour.

After the settlement of this business, which took place on the 17th of February, the House resolved itself into a committee, to consider the state of the finances. Mr. Pitt represented them in so favourable a light, that a diminution of the public burdens might reasonably be expected. The permanent taxes, from the year 1791 to the com-

mencement of 1792, had produced 16,730,000*l.* exceeding the average of the last four years about 500,000; deducting from which the total of the expenditures, amounting by the reductions proposed, to 15,811,000*l.* the permanent income would exceed the permanent expence, including the million annually appropriated to the extinction of the national debt, by no less than 400,000*l.*

The supplies wanted for the present year, would amount to 5,654,000*l.* for which the means provided amounted to a sum exceeding the former, by 37,000*l.*

From the foregoing statement, Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that the surplus of the 4000*l.* would enable government to take off such taxes as bore chiefly on the poorer classes, to the amount of one half of that sum; and to appropriate the other half to the diminution of the public debts.

By the methods projected for the redemption of this debt, 25,000,000 would be paid off in the space of fifteen years; towards which the interest of the sums annually redeemed, should be carried to the sinking fund, till the annual sum to be applied to the redemption of that debt, amounted to 4,000,000.

Having made this favourable representation of the state of finances, Mr. Pitt added to it a warm description of the actual prosperity of the nation; which, though arrived at an eminent degree, had not yet attained that summit of grandeur and felicity which lay within the reach of its industry and manifold abilities. But, to secure these happy prospects, domestic tranquillity, and peace with other nations, were indispensably required. Of both
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these blessings, however, he doubted not the long permanency. He concluded, by an earnest recommendation to the care and vigilance of those of whom it was the duty to preserve them.

After some strictures on Mr. Pitt's speech, by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox, partly sarcastic and partly serious, the House coincided with Mr. Pitt's proposal for a repeal of those taxes on some articles that were the most unpopular.

Among the various measures objected to, or censured by members in opposition, during this session, the long standing practice of raising part of the supplies by means of a lottery, underwent the severest reprobation.

In the committee of supply on the 8th of March, Mr. Pitt having proposed the raising of 812,000*l*, by means of a lottery, he was vigorously opposed by Mr. A. Taylor; who highly blamed him for having recourse, in a season of public tranquillity at home and abroad, to a method of levying money which nothing could justify but the extreme necessity and distress of the state. It was notoriously inimical to the private welfare and morals of all individuals, by instilling into them a spirit of gaming, which had unhappily diffused itself among all classes, and occasioned a variety of fatal accidents too well known and ascertained to suffer a denial. Persons in affluent circumstances had, by indulging in this pernicious practice, acquired ruinous habits of venturing more than either discretion could warrant, or the interest of their families reasonably permit; and the lower classes, by the delusive prospects of bettering their conditions, were oftentimes reduced to the worst extremes of miseries, and

driven by their sufferings to the commission of crimes to extricate themselves, for which they became amenable to courts of justice. Suicide also was sometimes the consequence of the imprudences to which this odious practice gave birth, especially among the lower classes; who possess but little to venture and to lose, and who, when stripped by unpropitious fortune of their scanty lot, often gave way to despair, and rushed into the most deplorable extremities. In proof of the justness of these allegations, several instances of general notoriety were laid before the House. Mr. Taylor concluded this invective against lotteries, by representing the minister so resolutely bent to add to the revenue by every possible method, as to consider such addition, however repugnant to good policy, as of more importance than the preservation of public or private morality.

Other members inveighed with equal warmth against the use of lotteries. Mr. Mainwaring presented, on the 3d of April, a formal petition against them from the grand jury of Middlesex, stating the divers mischiefs arising from them, and recommending to the serious consideration of the House, the propriety of obviating such evils, by a suppression of the cause from whence they originated.

This remonstrance of the grand jury was seconded with great vigour. The regulations that had been made by parliament to prevent the evils attending a lottery, were described as totally insufficient. Evasion and subterfuges were always found to elude them; as such was the rage for gaming, excited by lotteries, that they had from their first institution gradually perverted

verted the dispositions of the people, and taken numbers of them from their occupations, to their manifest injury. To convert so iniquitous a practice into a regular mode of raising money, was disgraceful to the nation. Those who gave it their countenance in parliament, seemed to have forgotten that the duty of legislators was to sacrifice every consideration to the support of public honour and virtue, instead of sacrificing these for the mere augmentation of income.

The talents of Mr. Courtney were on this occasion remarkably exerted in favour of the opposition to lotteries. He ironically represented the minister as judiciously converting private vices into public benefits, and availing himself of the multitudes that wanted wisdom, to render their folly of national utility.

Mr. Francis united with the enemies of a lottery, in condemning it as a source of many calamities; it filled the jails with unhappy individuals, both as debtors and criminals; an ignominious death, or transportation was its usual effect; and misfortune or infamy its usual concomitant.

Mr. Sheridan deprecated the use of lotteries as banes to the nation: they stripped families of their furniture, their apparel, and the most necessary appurtenances. Parents and children were daily reduced by them to every species of wretchedness; and the drawing of a lottery was always a period marked by the most deplorable incidents, and every description of domestic calamities.

Through Mr. Taylor's reiterated remonstrances, a committee was appointed to inquire into the various evils resulting to the community

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from the establishment of lotteries. A report was accordingly laid before the House; and the friends to the abolition of this mode of raising money, determined to leave no effort untried to put an end to it.

Another object of an odious nature was brought to the consideration of the House during this session: this was the slave trade; which had already been canvassed in several sessions with uncommon warmth and accuracy, and given rise to a multiplicity of regulations formed with the humane view of softening its horrors, and obviating the complaints of those who represented it as an outrage on human nature, and a disgrace to civilized people.

On the 2d of May, through the repeated endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce, who had the honour of primitively leading the way in this laudable attempt, the House went into a committee of examination into the particulars of the trade to the coast of Africa, for the purchasing of negroes for the use of the plantations in America.

That gentleman had experienced a multitude of obstacles in this attempt; but he had uniformly persisted in repeating it every session, though opposed with all the strength and art of those who disapproved of his design; which he had now brought, through his resolution and perseverance, to a maturity that his many opponents did not expect he would have been able to effect.

The more he reflected on this iniquitous branch of commerce, the more he said it appeared to deserve an immediate prohibition. It was equally inimical in its principle to public interest, and to the feelings of individuals of any rational sentiments.

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sentiments. He would not accuse those who opposed him of being deficient in humanity: there were, doubtless, many who, judging from the beneficent manner in which they treated their own slaves, that others resembled them, did not perceive the necessity of proceeding to the abolition of the trade in question. But exceptions were not rules; the number of such as treated their slaves with cruelty, was too considerable for humanity not to shudder at the permission given to individuals to provide regular supplies of unfortunate beings for the tyrannical service of men who were unworthy of any authority over them, through the barbarity with which they exercised it. Unhappily for that un-pitied species of our fellow-creatures, they often fell into the hands of masters, of whom the only respectable qualification was their property. Destitute of every other title to consideration, they valued themselves in proportion to the number of slaves it enabled them to purchase; over whom their savage dispositions led them to exercise an unfeeling authority.

Notwithstanding these urgent motives to oppose a commerce productive of so much injustice and misery, he did not however, he said, aim at an immediate suppression of this inhuman servitude, as those who were subjected to it might not be ripe for emancipation. The liberty of mankind should be progressive, and keep time with the improvement of the mind: that degree of liberty of which they were capable, ought not, in the mean time, to be denied them. They had an undoubted claim to security from cruel usage: but this was impracticable, while the laws now in force

in the plantations, disqualified them from giving legal evidence. Hence, while no white man witnessed the barbarities inflicted upon him, a slave could hope for no redress.

The prodigious increase of the numbers of negroes imported to the British islands in the West Indies, particularly Jamaica, appeared to Mr. Wilberforce pregnant with evils, which the circumstances of the times pointed out to all discerning people. This was not the season for augmenting the disproportion between the whites and the blacks, already alarming to a very serious degree. These latter amounted in that island to 300,000, and the former only to 20,000. Such ill policy had been no less justly than warmly condemned by the most judicious persons there, who all concurred in the speedy necessity of preventing any further augmentation.

The advocates for this trade had unwittingly ventured to represent it as a nursery for seamen. But the falsehood of this representation was well known to those who had accurately examined it. Out of more than 12,000 seamen, more than 2600 were computed to be lost, according to the returns made of the ships crews in their respective voyages:—a loss of men at the rate of 11 per cent. An instance had been known of only six or seven remaining alive at the end of the voyage. The decrease of our manufactures had been also represented as a probable consequence of the decrease of the slave trade; but this apprehension Mr. Wilberforce invalidated by strong reasonings. Equally erroneous was the idea that Liverpool flourished principally by this trade. Some individuals, doubtless, were gainers; but according to clear statements,

statements, the nation at large was not benefitted.

The perfidious conduct of several British traders on the coast of Africa was then laid before the House by Mr. Wilberforce; who being called upon to name the offenders, specified them accordingly, together with the enormities of which they had been guilty.

Mr. Wilberforce next adverted to the great mortality among the negroes during the passage from Africa to the American islands; which he proved by incontestable facts. The causes of this mortality, acknowledged by the captain of a trading vessel, were the grief and melancholy of the slaves, contracted through the harsh usage they suffered on board. Sometimes they refused all food; sometimes they lost their lives through stupefaction and insanity, and some were known to have drowned themselves.

The barbarous behaviour of some of those captains was notorious; they not only exercised it over the unhappy negroes, but even over their fellow-sea-men; many of whom fell the victims of the brutal usage they endured. Regulations availed little with such men: they were so radically inured to barbarity, by long practice and impunity, that they deemed it necessary in the business they followed; and looked upon mildness and good-nature as inconsistent with the very principles of the slave trade.

It had been objected, that unless other nations were prevailed upon to desist from such a commerce, it were fruitless for the British merchants to relinquish it: but such an objection, Mr. Wilberforce observed, was clearly nugatory. The trade of Great Britain on the coast of Af-

rica, for the purchase of slaves, admitted of no comparison: it far exceeded that of all Europe collectively. It was therefore our duty to set to all the European nations the example of humanity,—forbearing to continue a commerce so opposite to justice, and founded on the basest and most selfish avarice. A people far inferior to us in the commercial world, the Danes, had, notwithstanding that they could ill dispense with any diminution of their trade, still given up that for slaves.

Mr. Wilberforce concluded his elaborate discourse on this subject, by noticing that it had already been shewn that there was a sufficient stock of negroes in the islands for every desirable purpose. When no further importation was allowed, interest would induce the planters to render the lives of the negroes more comfortable; they would of course multiply far more extensively, and be found nowise deficient in number. He then formally moved for the total abolition of the slave trade.

Mr. Bailley, agent for one of the West India islands, opposed this motion, on the ground of its having given birth to dangerous ideas among the negroes. The insurrections in the French islands originated from this cause. Without the constant fear of heavy punishment; it was not practicable to keep them in any order, as they were only to be ruled by terror. The situation of the negroes, however, was not; in a variety of respects, worse than that of the British sailors and soldiers, who were often condemned to the most cruel punishments, and sometimes known to have expired under them. He appealed to the testimony of some of the most respectable officers in the British navy for the

comfortable situation of the generality of the slaves in the islands; far preferable to that of many of the labouring classes in Great Britain. He warned the House not to invalidate the characters that empowered the proprietors of estates in the plantations to enjoy the benefit of the slave trade; it was essential to their political existence. To abolish it would be to violate the compact that connected them with Great Britain; and such an attempt would infallibly be resisted by them, and possibly attended with danger. But were government to persist in abolishing it, a compensation must in equity be allowed to the planters; who certainly would suffer a material injury by this deprivative of the long established and solemnly authorized means of cultivating their possessions.

Mr. Vaughan, who spoke next, highly disapproved of the manner in which the proprietors of estates in the island was mentioned, as involved in the same degree of guilt as the captains of the slaving vessels, and the other traders in slaves. He asserted, that from his personal knowledge of the disposition and frame of mind of the blacks, they could neither with safety to the whites, nor advantage to themselves, be placed on a footing of complete freedom. The introduction of christianity among them would be preferable to emancipation, by purifying their morals, and rendering them faithful servants. He averred at the same time, that their condition was by no means unhappy. They were found in whatever they wanted: in houses, in lands, in raiment, in provisions, in medicines. They were not deterred by the fear of want from marrying and having

children; when old, they and their wives were supported; their property was never invaded; and they could not be imprisoned for debt. They lived, in short, in so much real plenty, that mendicity was unknown among them.

The true cause why more died than were born among them, was the larger importation of males than females, together with the dissoluteness of their lives. The very severe punishments occasionally inflicted upon them by their masters, were usually well merited; as, had they been delivered into the hands of public justice, they must have forfeited their lives; which by this private infliction of chastisement, were thus preserved to their owners. No tortures, in the mean time, but whipping and sitting in the stocks, were used in the British islands. The principal article of cultivation was sugar; a wholesome plant, neither noxious to man nor animals, but salutary to both in every stage of its growth, culture, and preparation.

Many improvements might, however, be made in the economy of the islands. Marriage in particular ought to be promoted among the negroes, and debauchery discouraged, as the source of most of their personal miseries. Working by a set task would encourage industry, by preventing their being oppressed by too much labour, or allowed to dissipate their strength in needless recreations. The evidence of negroes should be admitted as legal; and cruelty in their masters duly punished. The degree of correction should be proportioned to the fault committed; and masters not permitted to inflict it according to their sole discretion.

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Mr. Jenkinson and Colonel Tarleton asserted the propriety of the slave trade, from a variety of considerations. It had been long authorized by the British legislature, as indispensably necessary for the preservation of the islands. The evidence that had been produced against it, was partial and ill founded. Were it to be abolished, the nation would be a loser annually, by the diminution of six millions taken from the worth of manufactures exported, and of shipping constructed. This country was not therefore to be exposed to such a calamity, in compliance with petitions, which, however numerous, proceeded mostly from inexperienced individuals, many of whom were raw youths, and persons compelled by indigence to set their names to them, in hope of reward.

The principal objections of those who opposed the last speakers, were, that the African trade was so iniquitous in its nature, so repugnant to every principle of humanity, that it was unworthy of regulations; and the only proper treatment it deserved was absolute abolition. On the coast of Africa, in the passage to the West Indies, where they were doomed to sale and servitude, the negroes were degraded from the rank and privileges of men. It had been proposed to entitle them to bear evidence in courts of judicature: but what weight could a testimony carry that was to be appreciated by the tribunals before which they were cited, and which might either approve or invalidate at their pleasure? The negroes were not so destitute of perception as not to see the slight put upon them by such usage; and would not fail to resent it accordingly.

It was observed by Mr. Whitbread on this occasion, that the existence of slavery was particularly inimical to moral feelings. The despotic power lodged in the proprietors of slaves, naturally corrupted their hearts, by hardening it against the sensations of humanity. The dispositions of those who favoured the slave trade, testified how little value were set on those unfortunate beings whose fate it was to be brought to the market. In the sale of plantations, slaves were occasionally mentioned as damaged goods: an expression so degrading to human nature, proved at the same time how ill they had been treated, how exhausted and worn down by hard toil, and its natural effects, sickness and infirmities.

Mr. Dundas, whose opinion was solicitously waited for during the debate, declared himself no friend to the slave trade; but doubtful in what manner to proceed, in order to abolish it. He was satisfied as to its impolicy, and its being unnecessary for the well being of our plantations. The negroes there, if properly treated, were not more subject to mortality nor diseases than in their own country; and could afford a sufficient population for all purposes. But an immediate abolition of the slave trade, would certainly prove prejudicial to the planters; who were not prepared for such a measure, and would think themselves highly aggrieved, were it adopted at the present moment. A method ought therefore to be adopted, that might reconcile them to it. Habits and prejudices that had subsisted for near two centuries, were not at once to be eradicated; and the West Indian planters had been so used to the practices in question, that

that it was only by progressive regulations, enacted from time to time, that hopes could be entertained of their being at last abolished.

The methods to be adopted for this purpose, were, gradually to increase the number of native negroes in the plantations; to suppress hereditary slavery; and to better the condition of the slaves themselves. He appealed to the cool and moderate for the propriety of such a system; and he requested them to join in the formation of a plan that might reconcile the planters with the abolition proposed.

The speaker, Mr. Addington, coincided with this idea, from a persuasion that there did not now exist a sufficient stock of negroes to form the basis of such a population as the islands required for their due cultivation. The trade ought, for that reason, to be permitted for the space of about ten years; and receive, at the same time, such additional regulations as might prove satisfactory to those who demanded an abolition. One regulation, he said, appeared to him indispensable. This was to require greater duties on the proportion of males than of females. Another regulation seemed no less beneficial than humane. To make donations of money, or of lands, to those who should bring up a certain number of children; and to grant liberal rewards to those who invented or improved implements of husbandry. He could not in policy vote for the direct abolition of the trade in question; but hoped in the mean time that such prudent means would be proposed, as both himself and others who sought a due medium, would readily approve.

This declaration was not acceptable to Mr. Fox, who delivered his sentiments in the strongest terms, on the necessity of no longer delaying the suppression of the slave-trade. He could not, he said, consider, without vexation, the legal continuance of a traffic deserving of abhorrence, for any term of years; especially as that term might be prolonged, and possibly have no end. No delusive promises were admissible in the present case; and moderation itself was unworthy of men who felt as they ought for human nature. The question was, Whether the House would pass a law for the toleration of enormities in those distant dependencies, that at home would be punished with the utmost rigour, and even in some cases with death itself? Were any regulations applicable to the commission of crimes, a larger importation of females, for instance, would only contribute to a more frequent seizure of daughters from their parents, and of mothers from their children, by those hardened ruffians who made it a business to steal the natives in Africa, to sell them to the shipping. What were the considerations that could bring forward a clause for this horrid purpose, with any degree of plausibility?

It had been objected, he said, that were the British trade in Africa for slaves to be abolished, still it would be continued by other nations; from which our islands would then be necessitated to receive their usual supply of slaves: but even this, he asserted, would be preferable to the direct authorizing of such a commerce in our own people. Another objection was, that multitudes of the signatures to the petitions against

against the trade, were of indigent persons. But surely truth and poverty were not inconsistencies. Respectable names had also been adduced in favour of the slave trade; but they could only speak to the treatment of the negroes in the West Indies, and not of the trade carried on in Africa for the procuring of them; whereas the evidence of numbers of those who reprobated it, was particular and positive respecting the facts which they stated. The methods used for the obtaining of slaves in Africa, had ever been represented in such wise, as to convince any reasonable man of their fairness and equity. Those who endeavoured to palliate this shameful business, alleged that the slaves purchased by our traders, were sold for the crimes and misdemeanors they had committed in their own country; but when we adverted, said Mr. Fox, to the numbers thus sold off the coast, could such an allegation deserve the least credit? No less than 80,000 were annually exported from Africa:—could it be believed that all these were convicts? In the preceding session, the humanity of the British nation was flattered with a prospect of some mitigation of these enormities: but it proved a deception;—the business remained unaltered, and villanies of the blackest die still continued to be practised as usual in the course of this scandalous commerce.

In corroboration of what he asserted, Mr. Fox produced instances to shew, that in the purchase of individuals in Africa, the masters of ships bought, indiscriminately, all that were brought on board for sale,—the bringers themselves, in their turn, not excepted, when sub-

jected by accidents to be sold. It was not in the power of our purchasers to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. Whatsoever was offered was accepted; and no questions asked, but about the price. Thus, humanity and justice were entirely discarded from these transactions; and no attention was paid to any other object than the strength, health, and age, of the individuals offered for sale.

Mr. Pitt, on this occasion, declared himself explicitly for an immediate stop of the trade, if it were at all to be abolished. It had been productive of great evils, for which we could not atone too speedily. Having acted a principal part in this shameful commerce, we ought the more readily to give it up; and as to the danger of its falling into the hands of others, the trials ought to be made, whether they would venture to attempt what the British nation thought it the universal duty of European nations to abandon. He acknowledged the state of barbarism in which the natives of Africa were kept, by this criminal commerce; and reminded the House of the calculations that had been produced before it, to prove the practicability of supporting a due population in the West Indies, without further recourse to importations from Africa.

When the House divided on the question, it was carried by a majority of sixty-eight, that a gradual abolition only should take place at present.

The immediate abolition of the slave trade being rejected, the next object of discussion was the period at which its total cessation was to take place. On the 23d of April, the House resolved itself into a

committee, for the discussion of this business.

Mr. Dundas strongly contended, that in this matter the sentiments of the British planters ought to be consulted, and have great weight. He would also propose some regulations necessary to prepare the way for a measure of this importance; which might facilitate its accomplishment, and remove the many obstacles which would otherwise stand in its way.

That branch of the trade which was not applicable to the direct supply of the British islands, should instantly cease. In order to prevent the importation of aged negroes into the colonies, no males past the age of twenty-five, nor females exceeding twenty, should henceforwards be exported from Africa in British bottoms: the whole tonnage employed in that commerce should be limited, and strictly ascertained: the duty on negroes, when imported, should be proportioned to their size; a collateral security for their being rated according to their worth: laws should be enacted for the punishment of the white people who maltreated the blacks; and for the term of cessation, he would fix on the commencement of the approaching century; a space of eight years from the present date.

It was here noticed by Mr. Pitt, that the world in general having utterly reprobated the idea that it was just and proper to carry on the slave trade for the cultivation of the West India islands, no valid motive could be alleged for its continuation:—Jamaica excepted, no island required any addition of negroes to aid its population.

In reply to Mr. Dundas, Mr. Fox denied the consistency of his pro-

posals, and the practicability of carrying them into effect: he disapproved of any interference in the regulations which the planters had framed for their own domestic observance, and asserted, that when the importation of negroes was stopped, their interest would immediately lead them to adopt proper measures to supply this deficiency, by a more judicious and considerate treatment of their slaves.

In speaking of the barbarity exercised over the negroes, Mr. Fox quoted those sanguinary laws of Barbadoes, by which a master killing his slave in the act of chastising him, was absolved of all criminality. He concluded by representing the projects of a gradual abolition as replete with difficulties, ineffectual in its operations, and inimical to the real interest of the planters; whom it would delude into expectations of being able to prolong, and possibly to put off for ever, the term of a final cessation of the slave trade. An instant abolition was, on the contrary, a plain and positive measure; attended with no conditional limitations and intricacies; and of which the execution was simple, and could not be misconstrued. It was founded on equity and sound policy; whereas the other was manifestly a continuation of injustice, equally impolitic and indefensible.

The cause of the slave trade was warmly espoused by Lord Sheffield. He charged the friends of the abolition with credulity, and of acting with malice and precipitation towards the colonists, and those who contended for the necessity of their enjoying the benefits of that trade.

Colonel Tarlton, who spoke on
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the same side, insisted on the support which was derived from that traffic to our shipping and manufactures of every denomination. No fewer than 120 vessels of considerable dimensions, and each of them manned upon an average with thirty-five seamen, sailed annually from Liverpool to the coast of Africa, laden with all manner of goods for the prosecution of that commerce. Sheffield, Birmingham, Manchester, and other manufacturing towns, depended in a great measure on that trade, for the vending of the various articles of their fabrication.

This debate ended by the adjournment of the question to the 25th of April; when Mr. Dundas moved that the importation of negroes to the British colonies, should cease on the 1st day of the year 1800.

Lord Sheffield took this occasion to avow his satisfaction at the hope of getting rid of the discussion on the slave trade. He formerly questioned the right of parliament to suppress this trade. He shewed the fallacy of comparing the negroes to cattle driven to market, which it were absurd to doubt the right of man to slaughter: he reprobated the petitions, as obtained through the mediums of associations; to which he had always professed himself an enemy.

Lord Mornington, in contradiction to Lord Sheffield, rejoiced in the blow given to the slave trade. This trade, however modified, was, in his opinion, entitled to no longer existence. Modifications of right or of wrong, were, in the nature of things, inadmissible; and the true question was, Whether we could, in strict justice, permit the duration for any space of time, however

short, of a commerce acknowledged to be repugnant to every principle of equity?

The slave trade, as actually exercised, was in direct violation of the law by which the merchants traded on the coast of Africa. That law strictly prohibited them, under the penalty of a hundred pound for each offence, "from taking or procuring any African slave through force, violence, fraud, or any indirect means whatever." Such were the words of the statute, pleaded in favour of the slave trade. But who that knew in what manner that trade was carried on, would dare to assert that statute was not continually violated? Could such a traffic therefore claim the sanction of legislature, in defiance of which it broke through the most essential restrictions laid upon it? He concluded therefore by moving, that instead of 1800, the total cessation should take place on the 1st day of January of the ensuing year.

This motion was warmly supported by the friends to such a measure. Mr. Ryder declared himself convinced by the arguments he had heard, that he was bound to oppose the trade; adding emphatically, that he "could not hold a balance, with gold in one scale, and blood in the other."

To those who pleaded the detriment that would ensue to the commercial and manufacturing interest of this country from an immediate abolition, it was answered, that the capitals vested in that trade by the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, might with facility be converted to other commercial pursuits, as beneficial at least, and much more salubrious for the seamen employed in them; whom

it was impossible to send abroad upon more dangerous voyages than that to the coast of Africa.

The allegation that the negroes were in their own country bred for sale, was treated as equally false and absurd; it having been proved, from the most competent evidence, that war and rapine were the principal means of procuring negroes for the shipping employed in the slave trade. Good morals and sound politics were mutually subservient to each other; and it was therefore the interest, as well as the duty of the British legislature, to put a final stop to a traffic evidently accompanied with the most flagrant injustice and barbarity.

The two main arguments for a gradual abolition, were, it was said, that supplies of negroes were still necessary, for extending and improving the cultivation of the West India islands, and to preserve at the same time the present stock of slaves. But these pretensions were so untrue, that it appeared from authentic documents laid before the House, that only 200 negroes had been brought to Barbadoes, in the course of six years, before the present business had been agitated in parliament. In some of the other islands there had been no importation at all; and into Jamaica negroes had been imported, not to preserve the population, but solely for the purpose of extending agriculture: at all events, it was deserving of a fair trial, whether the importation, so much insisted on, was really necessary for the support of the colonies. A suspension of the trade for the short term of five years, would determine whether it ought to be followed by a total abolition, or

the trade entitled to an immediate resumption.

The opponents to these reasonings were Colonel Phipps, Mr. Estwick, and Mr. Dundas: the former two contended that the petitioners for the abolition consisted chiefly of ignorant people, enthusiastically inclined; and that in case a measure of this kind was to be adopted, the colonists would have a just claim to a compensation, which must fall heavily upon the public, already loaded with a multiplicity of burdens.

Mr. Dundas frankly allowed there was no contradicting the arguments drawn from the inhumanity of the slave trade; but he also maintained, that by a gradual abolition all ends would be answered; the rights of humanity would be consulted, and the interest of the planters would be guarded, by putting it in their powers to make a timely provision for the period held out to them for a final abolition of the trade in question. The use of the plough, and of other utensils, would progressively be introduced, and render the cultivation of land by manual labour unnecessary. Improvements of this nature being adopted, would by degrees lessen their present aversion to the alterations proposed; which would finally be established without murmurs, and with a peaceable conviction of their superior utility to the modes now in practice.

Should, on the contrary, a precipitate abolition be resolved upon, the abruptness of such a measure would certainly exasperate the colonists, and drive them into expedients highly inimical to the interest of this country. Supplies of
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negroes they would procure, in despite of all our prohibitions; their neighbours would not be tardy in serving them; and all our vigilance would not suffice to prevent a clandestine trade between our islands and the others in their neighbourhood.

Another argument against the abolition, was the situation in which the planters might be placed in regard to their creditors, through any sudden and unexpected deprivation of their usual methods of settling their mutual accounts:—a difficulty that would be obviated by the gradual progress of the habits and usages that would be introduced by the measures and regulations proposed.

The issue of this debate was a majority of forty-nine votes in favour of Mr. Dundas's motion. But this tedious affair was not finally settled in the House of Commons till the twenty-seventh of April; when, on the motion of Sir Edward Knatchbull, a compromise was proposed, and accepted by both parties; in consequence of which the term of the abolition was fixed for the 1st of January, 1796.

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Dundas were, on the 1st of May, laid before the House, with some slight alterations by Mr. Pitt; and being approved of, were carried up to the House of Lords.

But here the friends of the immediate abolition of the slave trade were fewer, in proportion, than among the commons. The opposition to the schemes of those who determined to promote its continuance, was weak, and soon overpowered by the weight of a numerous majority. It was observed, that a prince of the blood spoke on

this occasion with marked disapprobation of the attempt to set aside the slave trade.

The advocates in its favour, unwilling totally to oppose its adversaries, consented to the appointment of a committee for the hearing of evidence at the bar of the House. This was vigorously opposed by Lord Grenville, the Bishop of London, Lord Portchester, Earls Stanhope, and Lord Rawdon, who befriended the abolition, and exerted themselves strenuously for an upstairs committee, knowing it would answer much more effectually than the examination of witnesses at the bar. But those who proposed this measure were so powerfully seconded, that it was adopted against the repeated arguments and remonstrances of their opponents. Those who took the principal part in frustrating the intentions and endeavours of the afore-mentioned noblemen, were the Duke of Clarence, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of St. David's, Lord Stormont, and Lord Hawkesbury.

In this manner the most powerful effort ever made, not only in this country, but in all Europe, to abolish a branch of commerce which, however justified by those who consult barely what they deem of utility to the state, has constantly met with the general disapprobation of mankind, was defeated. — Whether the reiterated endeavours of Mr. Wilberforce, and his associates in this business, meet ultimately with success or disapprobation, no doubts can be entertained of the purity of his motives; and the indefatigable pains he has taken in this tedious affair, will always entitle him to praise and respect.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Police Bill for Westminster. New Forest Bill. Trial of Mr. Rose, for interfering in the Westminster Election. Petition from the Scotch Burghs. Society of Friends to the People. Debates on a Motion introduced by Mr. Gray, for a Parliamentary Reform. The King's Proclamation. Debates on the Riots at Birmingham. The Adherents to Episcopacy in Scotland relieved. Mr. Fox's Motion in favour of the Unitarians rejected. Debates on the Libel Bill, in both Houses. Lord Rarodon's Bill, concerning Debtors and Creditors. Mr. Dundas's Account of the Finances and Situation of India. Close of the Session.

THE disorders and misdemeanors committed by those numerous individuals in the lower classes, whom want of sufficient employment, or an idle disposition, lead into habits of dissipation, had long been complained of as incorrigible by the ordinary means in use for the repression of such evils. A variety of schemes had been proposed, and some adopted, for the more effectual removal of those complaints; but none had been found adequately efficient for the purposes of prevention; and punishment alone, though it might deter the ill inclined, could not redress the mischief already perpetrated. In order, therefore, to obviate the cause of evil, many consultations were held by magistrates, and other persons of experience, in the execution of those laws that regulate the common transactions of society, and are framed with the view of maintaining peace and good order among the inferior parts of the community.

The strictest regulations were become requisite in a metropolis of such immense magnitude as London, consisting in fact of three cities, once at a distance, but now conjoined by an increase of buildings into one city, and still daily increasing. Its prodigious population,

exceeding that of any European capital, if not that of any seat of empire, ancient or modern, requires, no doubt, a degree of inspection and vigilance over the morals and conduct of its inhabitants, far more extensive and rigid than over any other city now extant. According to authentic accounts, more disorderly people are to be found within its precincts than would furnish a population equal to that of any other city in the kingdom.

Facts of this kind, the reality of which was unquestionable, naturally excited great alarm in those persons whom either duty or interest rendered anxious for the welfare and safety of the inhabitants. They well knew that a multiplicity of rules and ordinances had been enacted at divers periods and different occasions, but had experimentally proved unequal to the ends proposed, for want of sufficient powers being lodged in the magistracy and its agents, to discover and suppress in a summary and expeditious manner, whatever had a visible tendency to disturb the public tranquillity.

The ancient and respectable office of justice of the peace, in former times, answered most of the purposes for which it had been instituted:

stituted: the simplicity of life and manners prevailing among our ancestors, did not afford that complication of misbehaviour and of transgressions, for which such a multiplicity of laws have been provided; add to this, that the execution of the moderate number of laws in our more early periods, was committed to persons of rank, who discharged, with more ease to themselves, the functions of their office, than could be done at present, amidst the great variety of cases perpetually arising from the numberless manners of infringing the law. Hence the once venerable office of justice of the peace became at last too tedious and burdensome for people of opulence and distinction. Their unwillingness to accept of so heavy a charge, obliged the ruling powers to apply to individuals of inferior character; who, in accepting it, had an eye to the profits and emoluments arising from the exercise of the judicial powers entrusted to them.

From the period when that honourable and weighty office was thus degraded, it lost by degrees the reverence in which it had been held: venal and mercenary individuals were appointed; whose base practices became so notorious, that they drew general odium and contempt both upon themselves and their functions. Hence the vilifying appellation of a *trading justice* was at last applied with too much reason to many of those who exercised that office.

Such was the general opinion attached to a considerable proportion of those who were in the commission of the peace in the city of London and its vicinity. It was to rectify the abuses imputed to

them, and to place the office itself on a footing of respectability, that, in the beginning of March, a bill was introduced, with the countenance and approbation of government, into the lower House. The plan of this bill was, to open five different offices in the metropolis, at a convenient distance from each other, for the prompt administration of those parts of justice within the cognizance of justices of the peace. Three justices were to sit in each of these offices, with a salary of 300*l.* a year to each of them. They were to be prohibited from the taking of fees individually; and the money from the fees, paid into all the offices, was to be collected and applied to the payment of their salaries and official expences. In order, at the same time, wholly to suppress the name and business of a trading justice, no fees were henceforward to be taken by any one in the commission of the peace within the London district.

Notwithstanding the apparent fairness of such an establishment, the jealousy of freedom was alarmed at some clauses in the act of its institution. Many were the disapprovers of the influence arising to government from its appointing officers, of which the authority extended over the whole metropolis. No less disapprobation was expressed at the power vested in constables, to apprehend people who did not give a satisfactory account of themselves, and empowering the justices to commit them as vagabonds. This appeared a dangerous novelty in administering the law, which had always of old refrained from such an infringement on personal liberty: it conferred a sway, which

which, in the hands of injudicious and violent men, might be converted to the most arbitrary purposes: it was pointed chiefly to the poorer sorts, who had not, however oppressed, the means of procuring redress. Its aim was to hunt after people, merely suspected to live by knavery and depredation; it was founded on the unjustifiable principle of punishing men, not for their actual offences, but for those which they might propose to commit: it was, in fact, a law made by the rich against the poor: it added a double severity to a statute, already too severe; that against vagrants, which was well known to be occasionally an instrument of extreme oppression. As to the appeal which persons aggrieved might make to the quarter sessions, it was an insult offered by the powerful to the wretched. Could the ill treatment, could the sufferings these had endured, be annulled by a quarter sessions? It was alleged, that the apprehender of a suspected knave was compelled to make oath, that the party apprehended was justly suspected. But was this a justification for harsh usage? — Another aggravation, equally barbarous and unconstitutional, was, that a magistrate, without the intervention of a jury, might condemn to punishment a man whom a jury would have acquitted.

Resting on these premises, was it equitable to invest individuals, appointed and paid by the ministry, and under its immediate influence, with such an extensive authority? Was it not taking such a step to arbitrary power over the community, as was evidently incompatible

with the system of government established in this country?

Those, on the other hand, who argued for the necessity of this bill, grounded it on the visible and long-complained-of defects of the police in so large and populous a capital; which, from that circumstance, required the most rigid watchfulness over that immense number of its inhabitants whose means of living were fluctuating and uncertain, and who, from their wants, and no less from their ill conduct, rose in the morning from their places of rest without any fixed prospect of provision for the day. The severest police was required to counteract the manifold evils that were hourly threatened to the community, by conniving at the danger in which it stood, from the enormous numbers and iniquitous dispositions of mankind under such trying circumstances.

The appointment of justices was the constitutional right of the crown. The principal intent of the bill was to place such persons in the commission of the peace as might enable government to answer for their conduct, by making them responsible to its immediate authority: this was the readiest method of supplying the public with upright magistrates:—they could have no pretext for exacting money, while they were paid regularly for their trouble; and no inducement to act oppressively, while they stood in fear of instant deprivation for any proved misconduct. The labour attending the office of justice in the metropolis, was in the mean time so heavy, that persons of opulence could not be prevailed upon to undertake it.

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Was it unreasonable, therefore, to bestow a competent reward on those who were employed in so laborious a business?

Neither was the power lodged in a constable, to apprehend people notoriously of ill characters, any way improper. This was a practice of long standing, and fully authorised by the law: it was undoubtedly for the benefit of society not only to keep a strict eye on all its members, but to compel them, when justly suspected, to clear their characters, or to give security for their honest demeanor.

Nor was a constable authorised to act solely at his own private discretion: unless proper witnesses deposed against an individual character, no constable could lay hands upon him; and if, upon due examination, the charges against him appeared to be unfounded, he was instantly to be set at liberty; and if either the constable or the justice had treated him improperly, he was entitled to recover damages from them.

But the particular circumstance which proved the laudable intent of the bill, was the limited space of its duration; it was meant as an experiment, necessary in the present circumstances of the metropolis: if it was found beneficial, it ought, doubtless, to remain; if otherwise, parliament would either amend its deficiencies, or annul it. The majority insisting on the propriety of these reasonings, the bill was passed accordingly.

The principal speakers on this occasion, in its favour, were Mr. Dundas, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Burton, in the lower House: and in the upper, the Lord Chancellor, and Lords Grenville, Kenyon, and Sydney. Its chief opposers were

Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Sheridan, and the Lords Loughborough and Rawdon.

But the dissatisfaction it gave to the nation at large was remarkable: the influence of ministry was, in the general opinion, the main object sought for in the framing of this bill. Abuses had been undoubtedly committed by the many justices who had made their duty a mere trade; and it was the business of parliament to put a stop to their scandalous practices: but this, it was said, should have been done without strengthening the influence of ministry, by enabling them to add salaries to appointments, placed already too much in their dependence. Whoever filled them would have a double motive for being devoted to his patrons, the office bestowed upon him, and the certain income attending it.

The next object that took up the consideration of parliament was, a bill for inclosing several parts of that extensive track of land in Hampshire, known by the name of the New Forest, in order to promote the growth of timber. The reasons alleged for this measure were, that the commissioners of the revenue arising from crown lands, had recommended a serious attention to the necessity of promoting a sufficient quantity of timber for the use of the navy.

But this idea was not reputed the real motive for the bill by those who opposed it. They condemned it with the most pointed severity, as merely calculated for the private benefit of Mr. Rose, Secretary to the Treasury. The profits he had derived from the many sinecures he had already obtained, and the lucrative places, of which the

the long possession had produced him such immense wealth, were mentioned on this occasion, as sufficient to satisfy the desires of any man that sought after either wealth or influence. The crown, it was alleged, would be materially injured, were such a bill permitted to pass; and it deserved no other appellation than that of a Job, to bring such a proposal into parliament.

The public was still more incensed at this attempt to add to the opulence of an individual, who had acquired so much property at the expense of the nation. Such was the language of the generality. In consequence of this marked disapprobation of the bill from so many persons, both in and out of parliament, it was withdrawn; not, however, without an intimation that the general principle of the bill was, from its national utility, deserving of further consideration; and that the personality of the motives, attributed to the measure proposed, ought not to prevent an attentive investigation of the measure itself.

It was again the fate of Mr. Rose, a few days after, to be involved in a complaint against ministry, of a very serious nature. He had, in the course of the preceding summer, been prosecuted in a court of law, by a publican in Westminster, of the name of Smith. From some incidents in that trial, an application was made to the lower House, on the 13th of March, for an inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Rose.

It was stated by Mr. Thomson, who made the appeal, that from the evidence produced on that trial, Mr. Rose had unduly inter-

fered in the late election of a member for Westminster. Mr. Smith had been fined in fifty pounds for an offence against the excise laws; but for services done in the business of that election, part of that fine was remitted to him, through the intercession of Mr. Rose. In proof of this, Mr. Thomson mentioned the particulars of a conversation between Mr. Rose and that publican, who was employed by the former in that election; in consideration of which, a jury had given a verdict for him, to the full amount of his bill.

Mr. Thomson enlarged, with great force of argument, on the heinousness of such a conduct in a Secretary of the Treasury, and on the injury the public must sustain from this employment of their money, in forwarding the very worst of corruption, the purchasing of mens votes for the iniquitous purpose of packing a parliament. He moved, in consequence, that the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to enquire into the abuses of which persons in office had been guilty in the election of a member for Westminster, in the summer of 1788.

This motion was supported by Mr. Lambton; who stated another transaction of the same nature. One Hoskins being at that time in prison for trespassing against the lottery act, informed the solicitor for that department, that he would, on condition of being admitted to bail, procure fifty or sixty votes for Lord Hood. The man's request being granted, he produced such individuals for his bail, that altho' they came recommended by the solicitor, so wretched was their appearance, that they were rejected.

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Means, however, being found to get their bail accepted, Hoskins kept his promise, and procured sixty voters for Lord Hood: since which, no mention had been made of Hoskins or his bail. If such proceedings were connived at, said Mr. Lambton; if the laws could be thus eluded or suspended at pleasure by private individuals, to what end were they enacted?

The defence made by Mr. Rose was, that Smith had been fined for brewing small beer for the use of his own family: the vestry of his parish had consented to remit their share of the penalty; but the Board, to which Mr. Rose had referred his petition, for a like indulgence, refused it: a sufficient proof, added Mr. Rose, how unavailing his own interposition had proved.

It was acknowledged, at the same time, by Mr. Rose, that during the last general election, Smith had proposed to open his house; and informed him that he could discover a great number of illegal votes given for Lord Townsend. On Mr. Rose's assent, Smith detected the illegal voters, and applied for a reward to Mr. Rose, who referred him to Lord Hood's committee: this not satisfying Smith, he sued Mr. Rose in a court of law, and won his cause.

This defence did not silence Mr. Rose's antagonists. They produced a letter from that gentleman to Smith, inviting him to his house, in order to meet Mr. Vivian, the solicitor to the excise, on the business in question:—a circumstance, they insisted, that shewed that he had interested himself in this affair more than he was willing to acknowledge.

As to the affair of Hoskins, he

was under arrest for penalties, to the amount of 700 pounds. The solicitor to the lottery informed him, on his application, that higher authority than his own must be resorted to for his deliverance. It was just, therefore, to enquire who was meant by his higher authority, which could thus controul the laws.

The issue of this contest was, that Mr. Thomson's appeal to the House was dismissed, on the ground that no direct accusation could in this business be brought against any public officer.

These two subjects of parliamentary debate, though apparently of little moment in themselves, yet when the circumstances attending them were considered, appeared of much more importance to the public than many others, ostensibly of more consequence. The manner in which the representatives of the nation obtained seats in the House, was doubtless an object of the most weighty consideration to the people at large. It behoved them to discover the means employed to impose upon them; and the intrigues by which individuals were brought into parliament, who but for them would never have been elected. Those incidents were for that reason canvassed by the public with the utmost freedom of discourse. Notwithstanding the community was duly convinced that a multiplicity of base and underhand methods were used in parliamentary elections, they were glad of an opportunity of pointing their censure and indignation at those who had long been reputed some of the principal agents in those fraudulent and scandalous proceedings.

An object evidently deserving the fullest attention of Parliament, was shortly after brought before the House by Mr. Sheridan. On the 18th of April he moved for an enquiry into the grievances complained of and petitioned against by the royal burghs in Scotland. The number of those burghs was sixty-six, and fifty of them had petitioned Parliament for redress. They complained of infringements on their rights, and on their property, through the unlawful authority of magistrates who were self-elected, and against whose usurpation of power no formal law had provided a remedy. The grievances complained of were allowed in reality to be extremely oppressive, even by those who opposed the petition; but they required proof before the complainants demanded redress.

The main grievance stated by Mr. Sheridan, was, the self-election of the magistrates in these burghs; of which he required an abolition.

It had been objected to him, that abuses of the same sort existed in England; but this he answered was no argument to justify abuses in either country. Courts in Scotland might, it was also said, be resorted to for a remedy; but on consulting those who were masters of the subject, there were none.

It had of late been usual, he said, to speak disparagingly of whatever bore the appearance of reform. Such a disposition implied a determination to support all abuses, however tyrannical: but it ought to be recollected, that the British constitution had been produced through the gradual reform of abuses during a course of centuries. He well knew that numbers were deterred, by what had happened in

France, from countenancing changes in government; but the French revolution, considered in itself, and abstracted from the disturbances which its enemies had occasioned, was an event beneficial both to France and England. The French were delivered from despotism; and if they acted with prudence and moderation, might be a flourishing people:—the English were freed from the fatal effects of the ambitious government of that kingdom while under an absolute monarchy. These were advantages which none but the prejudiced and the undiscerning would deny or undervalue. We were, through this revolution, at leisure to take in hand the reformation of the many abuses that had through apathy and negligence crept into our own constitution; and which, if not redressed through this auspicious opportunity, would probably become so enormous as to defy all other methods of redress but those of violence, and leave us to repent the neglect of those mild and pacific means that were at present in our power.

The Lord Advocate for Scotland denied the charges of dilapidation and illegality objected to magistrates of those burghs. He allowed, however, the deficiency of a tribunal to judge of the propriety of their account, offering to join with Mr. Sheridan in the establishment of one, provided the system of the Scotch burghs remained untouched, and conformable to the constitutional plans long settled in Scotland.

As to the power of self-election, as it was termed, the Lord Advocate protested he would never countenance its abolishment; and he asserted the accusation of unlawful exactions of taxes, to be entirely

tirely erroneous. Were any magistrate guilty of such irregularities, he was liable to be indicted before the court of session, and punished accordingly.

Mr. Fox represented these assertions of the Lord Advocate as weak and futile evasions of the enquiry demanded. When facts were stated contradictory to each other, Parliament was in duty bound to an enquiry, in order to prove their truth, or to detect their falsehood; as mere denial of them was inadmissible on the part of those who might disapprove the redress of abuses of which they approved the continuance. The danger apprehended to the peace of Scotland from such an investigation, was so ill founded, that it was, on the contrary, from the discontent of the generality of the Scotch at the present system of proceedings in these boroughs, that any breach in the peace in that country was to be apprehended.

As to the allegation that England itself afforded precedents of the like proceedings in some of its boroughs, it was an absurd exhortation to people who thought themselves aggrieved, to imitate the pitiful example of others.

The enemies to the petitioning boroughs still continued to maintain the falsity of their representations, alleging that no real grievance had ever passed unredressed; and challenging them to produce an instance to the contrary. A gentleman of that party solemnly declared that he would always oppose every motion for any reform, of whatever nature it might be.

On the division for referring the petitions to a committee, the question was negatived by sixty-nine.

While the parliamentary opposition was thus continually defeated in all its attacks upon ministry, an opposition of a more alarming nature was forming out of doors. In the spring of this year an association took place among several persons of consequence in and out of Parliament; the purpose of whose uniting was to obtain a reform in the representation of the people. The appellation by which they chose to design themselves was, the Friends of the People. It soon counted among its members some of the most conspicuous characters, among the merchants and literary men, throughout the kingdom. They published their sentiments and resolutions with great spirit and freedom; and determined in the ensuing session to make a formal motion for a reform in the parliamentary representation.

Conformably to the plan proposed, Mr. Grey gave notice, on the 30th of April, that he intended in the following session to carry into execution the design proposed by the society. He founded its propriety on the opinion of the leading men in the House. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt had both declared themselves unequivocally on this matter, and the majority of the nation was of the same opinion. The critical state of the times had induced those who saw the necessity of obviating the probable consequences of the general discontents throughout the great body of the people, to frame such a system of representing them as might, by its equitableness, put an end to their incessant complaints of being what they justly styled misrepresented, and made the instruments of ministerial projects, in which
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their interests were sacrificed to the ambitious views of their superiors.

This declaration called up Mr. Pitt, who inveighed with uncommon warmth against the designs of the society. This was not a time, he said, for moving questions that involved the peace and safety of the nation, and endangered the constitution of the kingdom. He was no enemy to a reform obtained peaceably by a general concurrence; but he thought the present time highly improper, and decidedly inimical to such an attempt. He had, it was true, at the conclusion of the American war thought a reform immediately necessary to quiet the clamours and confusion that had arisen from the dread of an approaching bankruptcy, and to unite both Parliament and people in the most cordial endeavours to prevent so dreadful an evil. But however he might have been once inclined to promote schemes of reform, experience had taught him the danger of altering the established forms of government. The circumstances of this country were not such as to require so violent a remedy:—those who demanded reform were not all of the same mind: many, doubtless, aimed no further than a reformation of real abuses; but others there were who harboured the darkest designs. It was not reform; it was the entire subversion of the constitution itself which they had in view; they were inveterate foes to monarchy, and intended to destroy it, and to substitute in its place a republican government. Such intentions he would oppose through every danger that might attend him, and would abandon all hope of the reforms he once had in view, sooner than sub-

mit to such a one as was now proposed.

Mr. Fox professed, in answer to Mr. Pitt, to have long been convinced that the interest of the nation required a reform of Parliament. The frequent opposition of sentiments between the people and their representatives, proved that the nation was not fairly represented; otherwise there would seldom, if ever, exist such extreme variances between them. The society entitled the Friends of the People, consisted of as respectable individuals as any that supported the ministry. True, there were among the former some violent republicans; but there were among the ministerialists, what was still worse, decided adherents to arbitrary power. These were the true authors of innovations, as they termed them; as if the constitution of this country were not erected upon perpetual changes of bad for good, and of good for better. But improvements were not to be confounded with innovations; the meaning of which word was always odious, and conveyed an idea of alterations for the worse.

The discourse pronounced by Mr. Burke on this occasion, was full of warmth and vehemence. He reprobated in the severest language the project entertained by the reformers, whom he compared to quacks, who offered preventive remedies when no disease was apprehended. He warned the Friends of the People to beware of reforms of which, when began, none could tell the issue. The kingdom, he said, was full of factious people, who, deluded by visionary speculations, longed to realize them at any cost; and would readily plunge the
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nation into blood and confusion, for the sake of establishing the systems of government with which they were enamoured.

Mr. Wyndham seconded Mr. Burke, observing that when reforms were proposed, grievances ought also to be justly weighed; and if the remedy appeared worse than the disease, it ought, in common prudence, to be rejected.

Mr. Sheridan, among other arguments for reform, noticed that about seventy peerages had been conferred upon individuals, who had not a single meritorious deed to shew for the service of their country; and for no other abilities but that of returning members to Parliament for the boroughs in their possession. The minister, he said, ought not to forget how zealous he had formerly appeared for reform: no causes had since intervened to justify his change of conduct; and the public had still a right to expect he would gratify the desires of the majority, by acting consistently with the promise he had once made to promote a parliamentary reformation.

In the mean time the violence of the respective parties in Parliament, and the fervour which was expressed by the friends of opposition in all parts of the realm, induced the ministry to exert themselves, in order, if possible, to reduce these latter to silence. Various publications had gone forth, not only adverse to ministry, but professing hostility to the government itself. It was for that reason thought necessary to publish a proclamation against seditious writings and associations, enjoining the magistrates to oppose and suppress them by all legal means, and ex-

horting the people to obedience and submission to government.

The public was greatly divided in its opinion on this measure. Some warmly approved it, as a timely exertion of authority in a turbulent season, replete with danger to the peace of the nation and the constitution of the state; and indispenably requisite to contain within limits that effervescent spirit which was daily manifesting itself in all classes, and threatening to subvert the external order of things.

Those who disapproved of the proclamation, alleged that it was calculated only to shew the importance of government; which, instead of using such means of enforcing its authority, ought to have prosecuted the authors of such publications as were evidently seditious, and to have opposed by sound arguments those that were worded in such a manner as to obviate the danger of a prosecution.

The celebrated composition of Mr. Thomas Payne was visibly the object at which the proclamation chiefly pointed; but far from preventing it from being read, the sale became more extensive and rapid than ever. It was circulated with the utmost speed and success through every part of the three kingdoms, and made an incredible number of proselytes to the maxims which it contained; and these were at the same time uncommonly active in propagating them.

On the 25th of May an address being moved to the King, in consequence of the proclamation, extracts from that publication were presented to the House, tending to shew its enmity to kingly government, and that it was written with

a professed intent to set subjects at variance with their sovereigns, and to incite them to abjure all sentiments of loyalty.

It was observed, on the other side, that twelve months had elapsed since this book had made its first appearance. If it contained the poison of which it was accused, ministers were highly culpable for neglecting to bring the author to condign punishment; and their present conduct left the world to conjecture what could have been their motives for having so long delayed so indispensable a performance of their duty. This tardiness, however, might not proceed from any other cause than a persuasion that works of this nature should stand or fall on their own worth or demerit; but the present zeal, so officiously displayed in order to discourage the reading of them, and to discover the abettors and publishers of seditious writings, was probably the effect of a settled design to let loose among the community a set of spies over the conduct and actions of individuals who should, by keeping them in constant alarm, render them diffident of each other, and loosen all those bonds of friendship and intimacy that unite men together, and encourage them to act a resolute and manly part on such occasions as require it.

Much of what had been spoken in former debates was repeated in the present; which consisted entirely of the opposite sentiments on the transactions of the times, entertained by the friends and foes of administration; the first contending for the rectitude, and the other for the impropriety of its conduct; and supporting their re-

spective opinions by the same arguments, and almost in the same words that had already been used for those purposes.

That particular commotion which was chiefly adverted to during this contest, was the riot at Birmingham, and of the outrages of which the people of that place had been guilty towards the dissenters. The magistrates of that town had, it was said, basely connived at the barbarities committed by the populace, and even instigated them to their perpetration. This infamous behaviour was the natural consequence of the illiberal ideas concerning the dissenters from the religious establishment of the kingdom, industriously disseminated among the vulgar by the enemies to toleration; who, under the pretence of being the ardent friends of government, laboured to cast an odium upon all those who differed from them in spiritual matters. It was seriously to be lamented that persons of all descriptions were implicated in these scandalous proceedings. Not only the ignorant among the laity, but individuals of consideration among the clergy, gave way to this intolerant spirit; represented the dissenters in such colours, as necessarily rendered them odious to their fellow-subjects; and exposed them continually to ill treatment.

No fewer than thirty-six affidavits were produced by Mr. Whitbread, in corroboration of the negligent behaviour of the magistrates of Birmingham during the riots. According to those depositions they even went further than bare neglect: they encouraged the licentiousness and fury of the mob, by speeches tending manifestly to encourage them to mischief, and
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by joining with them in their vociferations of Church and King. Other particulars of the like tendency appeared in those affidavits, which laid open altogether a scene highly disgraceful to the character of those who might and ought to have prevented, or at least to have put a stop to the enormities committed on that occasion by a lawless and infuriated populace. But these, it appeared, were in many respects no other than the instruments of their superiors; who, being conscious of the ignominy they must have incurred by acting personally in so shameful a business, were glad of an opportunity to devolve both the direct guilt and shame upon inferior agents.

Lord Rawdon, though he supported the address, did not speak in adverse terms of the general desire of the nation to obtain a reformation of abuses. In expressing his fears of the danger that might attend a parliamentary reform, he strongly recommended as the most effectual preservatives of national tranquillity, a real and unfeigned attention in Parliament to the voice of the people at large. By paying a due regard to the general opinion of the nation, its rulers could not fail to secure its attachment and respect, at the same time that they discharged a duty which they owed to the great body; of which the sentiments and the interests ought in justice to be equally consulted by government, if it meant to preserve public tranquillity, and obviate all causes of discontent. Such a conduct would be both equitable and popular; it would raise them in the esteem and affection of the public, and prove more forcible in suppressing murmurs, and silencing

the seditious writings and discourses now so prevalent in the multitude, and so heinously complained of by administration, than all the threats and warnings contained in any proclamations that might be issued at a season of such discontent and turbulence as the present.

After a variety of arguments and altercations on the various subjects that arose in the debates occasioned by the motions for an address, it was carried in both Houses in favour of the ministerial sense of the matter.

While the dissensions on civil and religious objects occupied the attention of the public in England, that portion of the people in Scotland which adhered to the episcopalian tenets, came to a resolution of petitioning for a more ample and unrestricted toleration of their principles and practice in religious concerns than had hitherto been allowed them. The former motives for laying them under legal discouragements, subsisted no longer: the house of Stuart, to which their attachment was known, was extinct; and their fidelity to the actual government was not liable, on that account, to be suspected. The bill for granting the relief they requested was brought into the House of Lords, where it was favourably received. The Commons concurring with them, it was passed accordingly, to the great satisfaction of the unprejudiced part of the Scottish nation.

The dissenting interest in England was encouraged by the lenity shewn to the dissidents from the established church of Scotland, to apply to Parliament for a similar toleration. Herein they were patronized by Mr. Fox, who endeavoured

voured to procure the repeal of those statutes in particular, that were levelled at the Unitarians.

This sect was remarkably odious at the time when these statutes were enacted; which was towards the close of the last century. The people of that persuasion were then not numerous; but since that period, their number had been gradually increasing. Favoured by the general spirit of religious tolerance daily gaining ground in the enlightened world, they ventured to avow their doctrines more openly, and to claim that indulgence which was granted to other persuasions in this country.

But the opinion which they maintained of the incommunicable essence of the Deity, and of his absolute unity in every respect, raised an alarm in the rigid professors and defenders of the Trinitarian doctrine, that incited them and their adherents to treat those persons who were not of that belief, with all manner of indignation and obloquy. A prelate of the church of England represented them as the worst of heretics; asserting with a violence and temerity unworthy of a man of any liberality of sentiments, that however they might serve God, live in charity with mankind, and relieve the distressed, all this was sinful, on account of their heresy.

These particulars were strongly enforced by Mr. Fox, in a motion he made in their favour, on the 11th of May. He shewed the impropriety of continuing to keep useless statutes in existence, and insisted on the propriety of committing to the flames obsolete acts of parliament, framed in the days of bigotry and persecution, and obnoxious to every person of understanding and humanity.

He was answered by Mr. Burke and Mr. Pitt; who contended that no bad consequences could result from these statutes remaining unrepealed, in a country where the mildness of the government would always restrain their severity. Much caution was requisite in matters wherein religion was concerned; and policy did not call for the abolition of a statute which was not put in force while the general idea of its tendency carried no longer any terror. Some restraints were necessary as well on religious as on political innovations. The Unitarians especially were not free from the imputation of being secret enemies to the actual constitution of the kingdom; and in that light it would not be safe nor prudent to grant them any particular marks of favour.

In consequence of these arguments, the motion in their favour was rejected by a large majority.

The disapprobation expressed by the legislature on various occasions, of the attempts made in order to extend the benefit of universal toleration to all sects of christians, was not generally approved of by the great and daily increasing numbers of those who looked upon all restraints on religious opinions as inconsistent with true liberty, and repugnant to the interest of the community; which they maintained ought not to be fettered in their conscience, while they willingly submitted to all the injunctions in civil affairs, laid upon them by government. Severity of this kind tended infallibly to indispose them against their rulers, and no less against the religion these endeavoured to extend the profession of by such coercive methods. Persecution, it was alleged, was of two kinds;

kinds; the one positive, the other negative: the latter did not deal in blood and torments, as the former, but acted perhaps more effectually, as its operation was perpetual and uninterrupted; whereas the other was so revolting and manifestly barbarous, that the most violent and sanguinary, often from shame and compunction, desisted at intervals, and yielded to the casual impulse of humanity. But England, of all countries, ought to set the example of the most unrestricted liberty of conscience. It was the seat of the best regulated freedom in all civil affairs; why therefore should the profession of any religious opinion, unconnected with state matters, and no way inimical to the loyalty and obedience due to government, be excepted from this system of freedom? Good subjects were found in all religions; and it might be shrewdly suspected, that the encouragers of interference, when not actuated by bigotry, were prompted by worldly motives to persecute dissenters. The principal movers on these occasions were individuals of the ecclesiastical order. If they acted under the impulse of superstitious notions, it was the duty of the civil power to restrain them: if lust of dominion and of wealth engaged them to maltreat those who avowed other doctrines than theirs, it then became all men of humanity and discretion to set their faces against such tyranny. But all these inconveniences and mischiefs would be fully obviated by throwing open the widest doors of toleration, and calling no man to account for his modes of belief and worship, who did not arraign or disturb the settled religion of the country. Whoever was free from imputations of this sort,

ought in justice to be entitled to every right and privilege enjoyed by all other members of the state, without exception.

Such were the sentiments diffusively current at this time among the majority of the people. In proof of their rectitude, the example of Great Britain itself was quoted against the unreasonableness of making distinctions among men, on account of their spiritual tenets. In England the established form of religion was episcopacy; in Scotland, presbyterianism. Would any man have the audacity to condemn either of these forms? Were not the inhabitants of both countries equally attached to the constitution of the kingdom; and yet what a wide difference between the respective opinions of the English and Scotch in all the points relating to church-discipline, and in many of those concerning the doctrines inculcated as necessary to believe!

This shewed the absurdity of a partial indulgence to any form of religion in preference to another. It shewed also what no less interested mankind to be convinced of, the inutility (if one might not indeed style it the futility) of religious differences and disputations; and, what was of more importance than all other considerations, it taught man the necessity of observing towards each other that fundamental article of true christianity, reciprocal forbearance and charity.

After settling the various concerns of religion, it now remained to come to the final conclusion of a business wherein all subjects indiscriminately were more deeply interested than in any other.

This was the celebrated bill concerning libels; which, though lost

in the House of Lords during the preceding session, was now brought again before parliament, and supported by the whole strength of the friends to constitutional liberty and safety of every subject.

It is a profound observation, that the perversion of the greatest good becomes the greatest evil*. The extreme licentiousness of the press in this land of liberty, had excited, on many occasions, great disturbances and tumults, and on some, almost shook the fabric of government. The crown-lawyers became jealous of that powerful engine of good and evil; and, running on their part to the opposite extreme, attempted to control and intimidate all writers of journals, pamphlets, and books, from declaring their opinions with freedom on the subject of public affairs and characters, or on the conduct and character of persons in private stations. A maxim laid down by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, that "the greater the truth the greater the libel," was universally established in courts of justice; and juries were not allowed to decide in cases of libels on the whole question at issue, but confined to the single point of such or such words or sentences being spoken, printed, or published by such or such persons. The meaning, the intention of the words, was determined not by juries, but judges. And as the doctrine of libels was vague and indefinite, a great latitude of interpretation was left to the breasts of the judges; who, from their situations and views, have generally a strong bias to the prerogatives of the crown. The result of prosecutions depended very much on the temper and disposition of the judge, whose sway over the juries was al-

most omnipotent. And the doctrine of libels was a great engine of terror in the hands of government.

A bill was therefore brought into Parliament by Mr. Fox, for declaring the power of juries to decide upon the law, as well as the fact, in trials for libels. Mr. Fox, on this occasion, displayed not only his usual eloquence and manly sense, but, as the subject required, great grammatical, logical, and legal acuteness.

The decision of this important question turned not a little on a critical observation of Mr. Fox's, on the word *meaning*, which is used in all indictments for libels. The term *to mean*, he observed, might be taken in two different senses: one in which it may be understood to imply a proposition, according to strict grammatical and logical construction; another, in which it may be taken to express the intention of the writer and speaker. It was in the former sense exclusively, that it had been for many years past taken by the judges; but it was in the latter that it ought to be taken by an impartial and candid English jury; who were not to determine whether the words might not, possibly, in grammatical and logical construction be made to bear the interpretation implied in the indictment, but what was *bona fide* the intention and *quo animo* with which they were used, all circumstances considered. And this, Mr. Fox justly contended, did not exceed the province of juries, since the intention of the accused party was in reality a part of the fact to be proved or disproved.

On the 24th of April, the day fixed for its discussion in the upper House, Lord Kenyon proposed several questions touching the bill to the judges; their decision on which

* *Corruptio optimi fit pessima. Bacon.*

requiring

requiring time and deliberation, it was not till the month of May that their answer was delivered; nor till the 18th that the question came ultimately before the House. Their decision however did not prove satisfactory to the friends of the bill, who thought they had not expressed themselves with perspicuity; and treated their decision with severity.

The rights of juries alone to decide on the question of libels, was vigorously maintained by Lord Camden. He laid open in the clearest manner the necessity of uniting the matter of law with the matter of fact, in the trial for publishing a libel. They were no less united than action and intent were the consideration of all other criminal proceedings. As without imputed malice a man could not be found guilty of murder, so an evil intention constituted the guilt of a libel; and if the jury was denied the right of judging of its intention and tendency, the right of judging of the fact of publication might as well be denied; for both were so connected that there was no judging of the one without passing judgment at the same time on the other. He recapitulated a series of cases from the time of the celebrated Judge Bracton, who lived five hundred years ago; in proof that, in all the charges to juries, they were to judge of the intention and tendency of the alleged libel. Judge Jeffries himself, notwithstanding his devotion to an arbitrary court, had been of this opinion. To whom should the judging of libels be confided? or, to speak with more propriety, who were to guard the liberty of the press? The judges or the people of England? The jury were evidently that people. The judges,

it might be said, were independent: but were they beyond the reach of influence? They certainly were not. Juries, on the other hand, were much less liable to corruption. Were the press once delivered up to the discretion of the judges, soon must its freedom be utterly destroyed, and that strongest bulwark of English liberty be overthrown.

These arguments were ably seconded by several other Lords. It was remarked by Lord Lansdown, that the act by which the judges had been declared independent of the crown, was a mere illusion: they were, it was true, independent of the people; but they had much to depend on from the crown and ministry. A chief justice, for instance, might be the leader of a party as well as any other Lord in that house, and no less actuated by hopes and expectations than any other courtier. What impartiality could, in the nature of things, be relied on from a person heated with rage at the party in opposition to him, and presiding on a trial for a libel written in contradiction to his sentiments, and levelled at himself in common with his partizans?

Twelve reasonable and conscientious men were, he firmly believed, as competent to pronounce judgment on a matter of law and fact as the judges themselves. But the profession of the law filled men with presumption and arrogance: they thought themselves entitled to universal deference from all other classes; and ambitiously sought to domineer over society. Could that ennobled member of the law who presided at the King's Bench, overthrow the bill in question, he would, added Lord Lansdown, become Lord Paramount of England.

The

The bill was opposed on the principle of its being an innovation in the laws of the kingdom, which was at the present period too agitated by the communication of those dangerous maxims that were embroiling our neighbours, to suffer the introduction of novelties into our political or civil administration.

But this argument, on which principally the opposition to the bill rested, appeared too feeble for preponderance against the reasoning in its favour; and it was carried by a considerable majority.

Thus terminated a business esteemed by the public at large of more importance than any that had been discussed during the present session. The bill had passed in the House of Commons without opposition, to the great satisfaction of the people, who sincerely rejoiced to see their representatives concur so readily in a measure evidently requisite for the personal security of every individual.

In order to form a just estimate of the service which Mr. Fox (on whose arguments, adopted and echoed by all the other speakers on the same side, the decision of the question was founded) performed on this occasion to his country, it is necessary to attend to two circumstances; the one of a general nature, the other peculiar to the times in which the bill was brought before Parliament.

It is the nature of every profession to bring as much as possible within the precincts of its own province. The profession of the law, in particular, constantly attempts to draw every thing into its own vortex; and in times of extreme artificiality and refinement, with too much success. The overgrowing

multiplicity of taxes and laws, and the various tenures and transferences of property, continually springing up in so great, commercial, and rich an empire, give the lawyers an influence and a degree of controul in human affairs, which is often used as an engine of oppression; and is, in truth, one of the greatest evils, if not the greatest, in social life. There was a time when this, like other countries, was trod upon by military chiefs. After this there came a period when we were priest-ridden; and now it may be said that we are in danger of being law-ridden. It is not in every character that we find an union of all the talents and virtues necessary for the purpose effected, chiefly, by the exertions of Mr. Fox;—courage and perseverance in opposing a formidable phalanx, and subtlety and precision to attack them with their own weapons. We proceed to state the other circumstance alluded to, respecting the service done to the public by the bill relating to libels, at the particular time when it was drawn up and passed into a law.

Mr. Burke's celebrated publication on the revolution in France, had produced, as a kind of reaction, Mr. Paine's "Rights of Man;" being an answer to Mr. Burke's "Attack on the French Revolution." The avidity with which this work, followed by a second part of the Rights of Man, combining principle and practice, was read by the middle and lower classes of the people, as already observed, particularly those in the great manufacturing towns both in England and Scotland, is incredible. The only reply, however, made to these popular publications, by Mr. Burke, was,
"that

“that they deserved no other than the refutation of criminal justice*. It is probable that it was, by the instigation of Mr. Burke, who had become by this time a great favourite both at the court and with ministry, that the Attorney General was directed to file an information against him for his libellous publication: which was accordingly done in Easter term; and in order to dispose the minds of the nation to these acts, necessary for the public tranquillity and safety, the proclamation already noticed, was issued on the 21st of May, against the publication and sale of seditious writings, with strong injunctions to all persons to inform against all those who should be guilty of such daring attempts. At a time when an attempt was made with very great success to turn the tide of popular animosity and passion, against both the French nation and French principles, there was a danger of the multitude running as usual from extreme to extreme; and now, embarked in a common cause with the court and the law, might become the instruments of harrassing and preventing literary efforts that might be necessary for securing liberty. In such circumstances, it was a great and important service, finally to establish by the libel-bill, the right of juries to decide upon the whole question at issue.

It is with great satisfaction that we are to record in the history of the present session of parliament, an act of a disinterested and generous nature, on the part of a minister of the crown, as well as on that of a popular character in opposition to government. It is well known that sailors are a class of people, equally thoughtless and ignorant of business, and extremely liable to be

imposed upon by designing persons, under pretence of assisting them to recover their property. For the benefit of this meritorious class of men, although they never dreamt either of opposing government, or of influencing elections, Mr. Dundas, treasurer of the navy, brought in a bill, which was passed into a law, for removing the difficulties which seamen, marines, and their respective heirs experienced in recovering the wages to which they were entitled for their services. A printed account of the spirit and tendency of this act, in favour of seamen, was very humanely and considerately sent by Mr. Dundas to all the parochial clergy in Britain, to be read from the pulpits: which was quickly followed by the happiest consequences.

Another attempt, of a humane nature, was made shortly after the passing of Mr. Fox's bill, by Lord Rawdon; who moved on the 11th of June, as he had done on sundry occasions before, for a revision of the laws relating to debtors and creditors, in order to procure such regulations as might mitigate the severity with which persons in debt were liable to be treated; but owing to the lateness of the season, and the necessity of giving a large portion of attention to a subject of so much importance, it was, at the instance of the law Lords, withdrawn for the present. The same grateful admiration that has just been bestowed on Mr. Fox, is due to Lord Rawdon for similar virtues and talents, exerted in similar services.

The annual statement of the income and expenditure in the British settlements in India, was next laid before the House, on the 5th of June, by Mr. Dundas, as usual.

He

* See Burke's Appeal, &c. page 95.

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He took notice, that by the accounts produced in the preceding session, the surplus, after deducting all charges, was 1,409,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the Company's debt, and to the purchase of an investment. The actual revenues of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, he stated at 7,350,000*l.* The sum remaining, together with that arising from the sale of impost goods, amounted to 591,000*l.* from which, deducting the interest paid at Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, making 588,000, the surplus of the whole was between three and 400,000*l.*

Mr. Dundas next entered into an elaborate account of India debt; the summary result of which was, that on the 30th of April, 1790, the debt in India amounted to 7,056,600 and odd pounds; on the 30th of April, 1791, to 8,150,900 and odd pounds; the increase of debt in India being altogether 1,094,284*l.*

By Mr. Dundas's statement, it appeared that the expences of the war, and the interest of debt, had almost exhausted the whole revenue of India, and the profit arising from sales; and that a debt had been contracted of 1,782,328*l.* arising from the purchase of investments.

Notwithstanding the increase of the India debt, Mr. Dundas stated the affairs of the Company to be on no worse a footing at the commencement of 1792, than at the commencement of 1791, by the amount of this debt. They had been improved at home, by the payment of debts to the amount of 964,000*l.* and by an increase of money in their treasury, amounting to 541,400*l.* Thus, after a war of eighteen months, the Company's finances were only the worse by 276,000*l.*

The surplus revenue of Bengal,

after deducting the interest of debt and supplies to Madras and Bencoolen, would leave more than a million for the supply of Bombay: a much larger sum than could have been expected.

Bengal had not, in Mr. Dundas's opinion, suffered by the war: bullion, to the amount of a million, had been remitted thither by the directors within one year. This prevented the interruption of commerce, from a drain of specie for the use of the army. He concluded, by repeating the expectation he had antecedently expressed, that India would more probably be assisting to this country, than require its assistance.

Mr. Francis, in an answer to Mr. Dundas, declined any investigation of the statements he had made out. He differed wholly from him respecting the prosperous situation of Bengal. In proof of the contrary, he appealed to the newspapers of that country; which were continually full of advertisements for the sale of lands, seized for not paying the revenue. Two of them he held in his hand. One advertised the sale of seventeen, the other of forty-two villages. He appealed to the testimony of Lord Cornwallis himself, whose very words in one of his minutes were, that one third of the Company's territory in Indostan was inhabited by wild beasts. Great Britain, added Mr. Francis, formerly received large quantities of money from Bengal,—but our own specie is now sent thither. Mr. Dundas himself has confessed that a million had been sent in the course of the very last year.

Thus ended the principal part of the discussion on the affairs of India. The opposite opinions of those who were esteemed the best acquainted

evainted with the government, finances, trade, and the other circumstances of those distant possessions, have often proved an object of surprize to those who think, that unless the foreign settlements of any nation are not unquestionable, and beyond all dispute or

doubt beneficial, they cannot be worth possessing.

After issuing, on the 7th of June, orders respecting the navigable canals, aqueducts, and navigation of rivers, the King on the 15th came to the House, and put an end to the session.

CHAP XI.

Observations on his Majesty's Speech on the Prorogation of Parliament. On the Main Subject on which it turned, the National Debt-Bill. Impolicy of the British Government, in not availing itself of its Naval and Military Preparations to mediate in Time, in the Questions at Issue between the Rulers of France and of Germany. The Minister wisely marking the Spirit of the Age, and the Current of Affairs, seeks Popularity, by Endeavours to protect Public Credit, and opens new Channels of Commerce. Embassy to China.

THE prospect of a general peace, announced in his Majesty's speech from the throne, on the 1st of January, was supposed to justify military reductions, and those other measures of relief to public credit, that were brought under the attention of the British parliament. As a strong opposition, both in and out of parliament, had been made to the expensive armaments to which the disputes with the courts of Petersburg and Madrid had given birth, in the preceding year, the ministry were disposed to dwell on the pacific aspect of affairs with apparent confidence. These armaments had cost the nation a sum not less than 2,000,000*l.* and though the Spaniards had been obliged to relinquish their pretensions to an exclusive right of making settlements in Nootka Sound, Oczakow, which the British government had threatened to secure by force to the Porte, was left in possession of the imperious Empress of Russia. Mr. Pitt, therefore, in his statement of the finances for the cur-

rent year, very ingeniously endeavoured to divert the public mind from such unpleasing retrospects, by displaying the prosperous state of the revenue, and the grounds on which he hoped to lighten, and finally to remove the heavy incumbrance of the national debt. He declared, in the House of Commons, that the intricacy and mystery of finance no longer existed; and enforced, with the most splendid eloquence, the circumstances from which he concluded, that there would be a permanent surplus over the expenditure in the public revenue. Those reasons would have been satisfactory, if the peaceable and happy millenium had actually commenced, as was in reality supposed by a very ingenious divine and philosopher, as we have already noticed; who is generally understood to have assisted the minister in his arithmetical calculations. But, while the blessings of peace were thus announced, the political atmosphere foreboded a storm:—the ruins of the ancient government of France

France were still in agitation. The French people, to the number of 3,000,000 were in arms, and without controul. The expatriated princes and nobles were rousing foreign nations to become parties in their cause; and all Europe was in a state either of anxious expectation, or real apprehension. There were other considerations of general interest, that were deeply involved in the origin and progress of the French revolution; and which precluded Great Britain from security and peace; while the people of France were involved in arms, in confusion, and distress. But, above all, the sinews of the French revolution were drawn from the overthrow of that system, or those laws of property and of nations which had hitherto sustained the order of the political world. This circumstance was of itself too striking not to excite alarms in the breasts of all who had studied the commercial, as well as the political constitution of Europe. The balance of power was, at all events, likely to be affected by the fall of one of its counterpoises and pillars. It was therefore evident that, although the differences between the courts of London and Madrid had been settled; and though the projects of ambition, which Catherine and Joseph had concerted, were sufficiently counteracted, there was every reason to dread that the duration of any lasting or general peace was incompatible with the circumstances of the times. For these reasons, it was hardly possible to suppose that the minister was sincere, or at least very ardent in his expectations of long continued peace; and it was observed, by not a few men of sense and reflection,

that he began to talk of military and naval reductions at the very moment when (and not sooner) it would have been sound policy to equip both fleets and armies, had they been wanting, for giving due weight to a necessary, decided, prompt, and timely interference in the affairs of the continent. And it was particularly regretted, that the British government did not avail itself of its military preparations at the time, as well as of its commanding influence, to mediate in the questions which were at issue between the actual rulers of France and the German states, and to endeavour by all means, in concert with other powers, to restrain within the limits of France the convulsions that had overthrown her monarchy, for the purpose, not of aggrandizement, but merely of self-defence,—according to the wise system of the Emperor Leopold. The views of the British government, however, appear to have been wholly pacific so late as the middle of June; as appears from his Majesty's speech from the throne, on the 15th of that month, to both Houses of Parliament:—"I have observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the measures which you have adopted for the diminution of the public burthens, while you have made additional provision for the reduction of the present national debt; and established a permanent system for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future." His Majesty declared, in a very emphatic manner, that it would be his principal care to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of peace; which he had reason to expect, from the assurances of a peaceable

peaceable disposition towards this country, which he had received from all the neighbouring powers:— and then prorogued the parliament to the 30th day of the ensuing August.

The marked praise bestowed by the speech from the throne on the bill for reducing the national debt, were supposed by some to have been an expression of triumph, on the part of the minister, over the Chancellor Thurlow, who always treated that favourite measure, as well as some other plans of administration, with severe animadversion. Frequent bickerings had taken place between Mr. Pitt and Lord Thurlow for a long time; and on the prorogation of the parliament, as there was no immediate necessity for his services in the House of Peers, the great seal of England was committed to the custody of three commissioners, Sir James Eyre, Sir William Ashurst, and Sir John Wilton.

From the usual spirit, enterprise, and large capitals of our manufacturers and merchants, and from the peculiar circumstances of the times, the commerce of this country had for several years far exceeded the utmost extent of its prosperity in any former period. In one week, in the month of May, the actual increase of the revenue exceeded that of the corresponding week, in the preceding year, by the sum of 118,034l. 6s. It would be as absurd to lay this extraordinary influx of national wealth to the account of the minister for the time being, as it would be unjust to charge him with those political convulsions on the continent that have involved us in public expences, in

comparison of which all the savings made by the national debt bill, if indeed any be made, are as a drop in the bucket. But the minister, dexterously, and we do not say improperly, availed himself of the situation of affairs, and the commercial spirit of the age, to acquire popularity, by appearing to direct the current on which he, in fact, with all the world was irresistibly borne: he failed with the tide and wind. When commerce and public credit were in a state of great elevation, the interference and management of the minister appeared to vulgar apprehension to be their great support; and, from his exertions, very general expectations were entertained that they would both be raised still higher. He not only applied the surplus revenue for the diminution of the public debt, by the establishment of a sinking fund, to be held sacred and inviolable, for that sole and exclusive purpose, but stood forth as a friend and patron of various plans for the extension of commerce.

Measures had been taken for establishing a trade in furs, and eventually in other articles on the north-west coast of America. The seeds of future commerce had been sown in the islands in the South Seas; and new channels were about to be opened for the exportation of British manufactures in India. If a free commercial intercourse could be settled with China and Japan, the broad zone of British commerce would encircle and invest the globe.

There is at this day in the vast empire of China, as there was of old in Egypt, and other ancient states and kingdoms, a great jealousy of foreigners,* who are not admit-

* In the ideal republic of Plato, it is a part of his system to exclude all foreigners not professed by an early education in the laws of the state.

ted into the Chinese dominions, but under such restrictions as preclude all thorough exploration, and render it extremely difficult to obtain a thorough acquaintance with the country and state of society. The courage and zeal, with other respectable qualities and virtues of the catholic missionaries, sent out from Rome by the College for Propagating Christian Faith, opened to the Portuguese an admission to a limited commerce with the coast of China, above two hundred years ago. The missionaries not only gained proselytes to their religion, but gave a favourable impression of the countries from whence they came; nor were they backward, by personal solicitations, to serve the cause of such of their countrymen, particularly those of the catholic faith, as were engaged in pursuits of commerce in any of the Chinese ports. And the Dutch, though professing the doctrines of the protestants, about the middle of the last century acquired much favour at the court of Peking, by assisting the first Emperor of the Man-chow race of Tartars, to subdue the pirate Coslinga, whose fleets infested the eastern coast of China: but the English had no opportunity of rendering themselves acceptable by public services; nor had they any other means of securing respect for their character, or protection for their trade.

The English adventurers who first attempted to trade with China, under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1599, were led into disputes, and hurried by the passion and precipitation incident to uncultivated but brave seamen, to commit acts of hostility against the natives. Those adventurers did not possess the advantage of having been

preceded by any traveller from their own country, who might announce, at least, the name of his country to some advantage; which continued to be so little known, even after the English had begun to traffic at Canton, that they were long distinguished only by a contemptuous appellation, importing literally, "The carrotty-pated race." They were not avowed by any power; they did not appear to belong to any nation; and they were deceived and misrepresented by the Portuguese and Spaniards, on whose friendship they had confided. When the vast increase of the English shipping at Canton, and their victories in India, and conquest of the Philippine Islands, in 1763, attracted, as they must have done, the attention of the court of Peking, and excited a curiosity to know their history,—the answers made to their enquires by the missionaries, the only Europeans to whom they could be addressed, partook, it may be supposed, of national and religious prejudices.

Though individuals in China have been very considerable gainers by foreign commerce, yet the body of the people is taught to believe that commerce with foreigners is admitted, not on the ground of deriving advantage from it, but agreeably to the precepts inculcated by Confucius and other moralists, from the mere compassion to strangers, who come from the distant and inhospitable regions, to seek for the comforts of life in the favoured land of China.

The government of China, entertaining such an opinion of foreign trade, rather suffered than sought for it. One port only was left open for foreign ships; and when the season came for their departure, every

every European was compelled to embark with them, or leave at least the Chinese territories; abandoning his factory and unfinished concerns, until the return of the ships the following year. It was seldom, and with the utmost difficulty, that foreigners could, in any case obtain justice. The English at Canton, especially, who were not in the possession of any means of defending their own cause on the spot, were subjected to much oppression, and even many personal insults. They did not, however, ascribe such treatment to the Emperor, nor even suppose that it was known to him; and therefore several of the East India Company's agents, employed in the Chinese trade, suggested the propriety of an embassy to His Imperial Majesty, to represent their grievances, in the hope that he might issue orders for redress. The trade between the subjects of the two countries amounted annually to several millions sterling; and might be extended to almost an indefinite extent. Every motive of policy or commerce, it was supposed by the sanguine patrons of an embassy to China, that led to the maintenance of ministers from Great Britain at European courts, and even in Turkey, might be applied with equal force to a similar establishment, if practicable at Peking. A succession of British subjects residing in a dignified station at Peking, whose cautious conduct and courteous manners would be calculated to gain the esteem of the upper and the respect of the lower classes of the Chinese, might by dispelling their prejudices, and conciliating their good-will, produce the confidence necessary to an alliance. It was true, that a British subject in

the service of the East India Company, who had acquired the language of the country, was punished by express orders from Peking, for having attempted to penetrate to that capital, for the purpose of presenting, in obedience to his superiors, a memorial of grievances from the British factory. But it was presumed that better success might attend an envoy of rank, invested with a royal commission, which commands respect in every civilized society; and accordingly the late Colonel Cathcart, a gentleman of noble birth and distinguished merit, in 1787, undertook to make the experiment; but the expedition was interrupted by his premature decease in the course of the voyage outward: an event, however, which, though it retarded, did not finally prevent the enterprise originally intended.

The conduct of the expedition, or the embassy to China, was now entrusted to Lord Macartney, who had, at an early period of his life, been employed as envoy to the court of Petersburg; and at different periods since, held a government in one of the British West India islands, and that of Madras in the East Indies. Sir George Staunton, who had been private secretary to his Lordship, both in the West and East Indies, was promoted to the station of his Britannic Majesty's secretary of legation, and eventual successor to the Ambassador. A sixty-four gun ship, the *Lion*, was fixed on to carry the Ambassador out and home. A military guard also was allowed, according to the manner of the east, to attend the Ambassador; not numerous, but consisting of picked men from the infantry, as well as from the artillery, with light field-

pieces; the rapid exercise of which, agreeably to the recent improvements, together with the various evolutions of the men, might, in these respects, convey some idea of the European art of war. The embassy was also provided with a physician, and two persons conversant in astronomy and mechanics, artificers of every kind, musicians, and a proper retinue of servants. Mr. Henry Baring, lately appointed a writer in the service of the East India Company, was allowed to attend the embassy to Pekin, as being qualified to improve his residence there, for the purpose of becoming afterwards serviceable to his employers at Canton. From the college at Naples, for educating young Chinese, for the propagation of christianity, two young men, of amiable manners, and of virtuous and candid dispositions, and well acquainted with their native language, as well as the Latin or Italian, were procured by the zeal and address of the secretary of legation, who went to Italy for that purpose, to act as interpreters. They began early to be of use in suggesting, from what they knew and recollected of their own country, some of the fittest preparations for an expedition thither; such as extraordinary pieces of ingenious mechanism, set in frames of precious metal, studded with jewels; and, by means of internal springs and wheels, producing movements, apparently spontaneous. But toys of this kind, to an enormous amount and value, had already made their way into the palaces of the Emperor and his ministers; having been transmitted to them by the mandarins (to whom, for the purpose of obtaining their protection, they had been given as presents) in the hope of securing, in their turn, the favour of their superiors. It would have been vain to think of surpassing, in public presents of this kind, either as to workmanship or cost, what had been already conveyed to China, through private channels; and it was to be hoped, that the momentary gratification produced by those gaudy trifles, had been satiated by the accumulation of them. But it was thought, that whatever tended to illustrate science, or promote the arts, would give more solid and permanent satisfaction to a prince, whose time of life would naturally lead him to seek, in every object, the utility of which it was susceptible:—as instruments of astronomy; and, above all, specimens of the best British manufactures, and all the late inventions for adding to the conveniences and comforts of life; which might serve the double purpose of gratifying those to whom they were to be presented, and of exciting a more general demand for the purchase of similar articles. The East India Company appointed a large and commodious ship to carry out those presents, together with such persons belonging to the embassy as could not conveniently be accommodated on board the *Lion*. A small vessel was also provided as a tender.—As intelligence of these preparations could not fail of reaching the ports of China, it became proper to take an early opportunity of announcing the embassy regularly to the Chinese government, lest the undertaking, through error or design, should be made to assume a warlike or suspicious appearance; and the Ambassador's reception be thereby rendered

rendered dubious. The mission of Lord Macartney was, therefore, announced in proper time, and with due solemnity, by a letter from Sir Francis Baring, at that time chairman of the court of directors, to the Viceroy of Canton;—and a communication of the intended embassy was at the same time made to the republic of the United Provinces, then in alliance with Great Britain; with offers of service to be performed by the Ambassador, in case that any circumstance in the commercial position of the Dutch factory at Canton should call for his particular interposition.

The general scope of this embassy is explained by his Majesty's instructions to Lord Macartney; in which it is observed, that "a greater number of his subjects than of any other Europeans, had been trading, for a considerable time past, in China; that the commercial intercourse between several other nations and that great empire had been preceded, accompanied, or followed, by special communications with its sovereign. Others had the support of missionaries, who, from their eminence in science, or ingenuity in the arts, had been frequently admitted to the familiarity of a curious and polished court; and which missionaries, in the midst of their cares for the propagation of their faith, were not supposed to have been unmindful of the views and interest of their country; while the English traders remained unaided, and, as it were, unavowed, at a distance so remote as to admit of a misrepresentation of the national character and importance; and where, too, their occupation was not held in that esteem which might be necessary to procure them safe-

ty and respect;" that, "under these circumstances, it became the dignity and character of his Majesty to extend his paternal regard to these his distant subjects, even if the commerce and prosperity of the nation were not concerned in their success; and to claim the Emperor of China's protection for them, with that weight which is due to the requisition of one great sovereign from another;" that, "a free communication with a people, perhaps the most singular upon the globe, among whom civilization had existed, and the arts had been cultivated, through a long series of ages, with fewer interruptions than elsewhere, was well worthy also of being sought by the British nation, which saw with pleasure, and with gratitude applauded, the several voyages undertaken already by his Majesty's command, and at the public expence, in the pursuit of knowledge, and for the discovery and observation of distant countries and manners;" but that, "in seeking to improve a connexion with China, no views were entertained except those of the general interests of humanity, the mutual benefit of both nations, and the protection of commerce under the Chinese government."

In the same spirit, it is said in his Majesty's letter to the Emperor of China, that, "the natural disposition of a great and benevolent sovereign, such as his Imperial Majesty, whom Providence had seated upon the throne for the good of mankind, was, to watch over the peace and security of his dominions; and to take pains for disseminating happiness, virtue, and knowledge among his subjects; extending the same beneficence,

with all the peaceful arts, as far as he was able, to the whole human race." That his Britannic Majesty, "impressed with such sentiments from the very beginning of his reign, when he found his people engaged in war, had granted to his enemies, after obtaining victories over them in the four quarters of the world, the blessings of peace, upon the most equitable conditions;" that, "since that period, not satisfied with promoting the prosperity of his own subjects, in every respect, and beyond the example of all former times, he had taken various opportunities of fitting out ships, and sending in them some of the most wise and learned of his own people, for the discovery of distant and unknown regions; not for the purpose of conquest, or of enlarging his dominions, which were already sufficiently extensive for all his wishes, nor for the purpose of acquiring wealth, nor even for favouring the commerce of his subjects,—but for the sake of increasing the knowledge of the habitable globe, of finding out the various productions of the earth, and for communicating the arts and comforts of life to those parts where they had hitherto been little known; and" that "he had since sent vessels, with animals and vegetables most useful to man, to islands and places where, it appeared, they had been wanting;" that "he had been still more anxious to enquire into the arts and manners of countries where civilization had been improved by the wise ordinances and virtuous examples of their sovereigns, through a long series of ages; and felt, above all, an ardent wish to become acquainted with

those celebrated institutions of his (Chinese) Majesty's populous and extensive empire, which had carried its prosperity to such a height, as to be the admiration of all surrounding nations." That "his Britannic Majesty being then at peace with all the world, no time could be so propitious for extending the bounds of friendship and benevolence, and for proposing to communicate and receive the benefits which must result from an unreserved and amicable intercourse between such great and civilized nations as China and Great Britain."

The Lion and Hindostan, having on board the Ambassador and his suite, with the Jackall tender, set sail from Portsmouth on the 26th of September, 1792;—and took their last departure out of England on the 1st of October. In May 1793, the ships moored in Turon-Bay, in Cochin China, where the company met with great hospitality, and received various proofs of kindness and friendship from the sovereign of Turon. The squadron sailed from Turon on the 16th of June, for Tien-sing, on the Pei-ho river, that falls into the Gulf of Peking; but touched at one of the Ladrone islands, opposite to Macao, for the purpose of sending letters to Europe, by any conveyance from that settlement at Canton; but more particularly to receive any intelligence that might be interesting to the embassy. Through the English East India Company's commissioners, the Ambassador had information that his Imperial Majesty's disposition to afford a reception to the embassy suitable to its dignity, had been testified by his repeated instructions on that subject

to the different governments on the coast. He had given orders to mandarins to await his Excellency's arrival, and pilots to be properly stationed, to take charge of his Majesty's ships, to conduct them in safety to Tien-sing, as well as to prepare for receiving the Ambassador, and conveying him and his suite to Pekin; concluding his commands with these remarkable words, "that as a great mandarin had come so far to visit him, he must be received in a distinguished manner, and answerable to the occasion." His Majesty's intentions were most faithfully and fully carried into execution. Ships, with persons of distinction on board, were stationed at different places on the coast of China, to find out and welcome the Ambassador. After his landing, he was waited on and treated with the most elegant and profuse hospitality at every town; and wherever he stopped, by mandarins and viceroys, and at the imperial courts, both at Pekin, where it resides during the winter, and at Zhe-hol in Tartary, its summer residence. The whole suite of the Ambassador, soldiers, servants, and other attendants, were entertained in the most sumptuous manner, at the expence of the Emperor, from the moment they approached the shores of the Gulf of Pekin, to that of their departure.

The Squadron entered the Yellow Sea on Tuesday, the 9th of July. On the 17th, the ships and brigs, some of which had held different tracks, all joined on that day: they perceived two head-lands or capes, which, together with an island to the north-east, are likely to be the first lands made by ships navigating

directly from the southward towards the Gulf of Pekin. It was thought, therefore, desirable to ascertain their situation with exactness, and to give each a name. They are all of them situated within a few minutes of the 37th degree of north latitude and the 122d degree, and from ten to twenty minutes east longitude. It was agreed that they should be called Cape Macartney, Cape Gower, and Staunton's Island. Through the straits of Mi-a-tau, the Squadron proceeded to Ta-coo, within the mouth of the Pei-ho, just mentioned; where the Ambassador was furnished with yachts for his suite, and provisions, and also boats for carrying the baggage to Tien-sing. To these vessels were added such others as were to carry the mandarins of various ranks, and other Chinese appointed to attend the embassy, in number, at least equal to that of the Europeans who composed it. At Tien-sing, the citadel of Marco Paolo, where they arrived on the 10th of August, the Ambassador was received, as soon as he went on shore, by the viceroy, and a deputy from the Emperor. Behind the Ambassador, attended with all his officers, artists, servants, musicians, and guards, a body of Chinese troops were drawn up, in great military parade. The viceroy conducted the Ambassador, with some of the principal people about him, through a triumphal arch, into a pavilion; at the upper end of which was a darkened recess, or sanctuary, where the Majesty of the Emperor was supposed constantly to reside. And, to that Majesty it was signified that a respectful obeisance should be paid; which was accordingly performed

by a profound inclination of the body. After tea, sweetmeats, and other refreshments were served, and mutual civilities had passed, it was announced by a legate to the Ambassador, that the Emperor was at his country residence, at Zhe-hol in Tartary, where, on the 17th of September, the Emperor intended to celebrate the anniversary of his birth-day. The embassy, it was added, after reaching Tong-shoo by water, within twelve miles of Pekin, would proceed by land directly for Zhe-hol, together with all the presents. The English engaged in this expedition, had scarcely seen a cloud moving in the sky since their arrival in China; nor was there a hillock on any side between them and the horizon, until the 4th day of their departure from Tien-sing, when some high blue mountains were seen rising from the north-west. They indicated the approach to Pekin, beyond which they were situated. Two days afterwards, on the 16th of August, the yachts came to anchor within twelve miles of that great capital; beyond which, the Pei-ho was no longer navigable, unless for boats; so that the company travelled about twelve miles by land, and the greater part on foot, or in waggons. There is in the vicinity of Pekin an autumnal palace, belonging to the Emperor, called Yuen-min-yuen, or garden of perpetual verdure, where such of the presents as could not with safety be transported to Zhe-hol, were to be deposited; and close to which, at Hoong-ya-yuen, an imperial villa, the Ambassador and his suite were to be accommodated; while preparations were made for the journey into Tartary. On a calculation of the necessary

means for conveying all the baggage and presents from Tong-choo-foo to Hoong-ya-yuen, the mandarins were obliged to order near ninety small waggons, forty hand-carts, or wheel-barrows, upwards of 200 horses, and within a very few of 3000 labouring men, to serve in different capacities. Such of the presents as were liable to be injured by the rough movement of carriages without springs, were entrusted to men only. As the road to Hoong-ya-yuen lay through Pekin, the travellers had a glimpse of the celebrated capital of China. From so slight and cursory a view, they could not, they confessed to one another, form a judgment of it; but what they saw, except the imperial palace, did not come up to the idea they had formed of Pekin: and they imagined that a Chinese, could he be impartial, would feel a greater satisfaction in the sight of the ships, the bridges, the squares, several of the public buildings, and the display of wealth in the capital of Great Britain. Pekin is merely the seat of the government of the empire. It is neither a port, nor a place of inland trade nor manufactures; yet its population, on a moderate calculation, amounts to 3,000,000. On the flags, pendant from the land carriages, as well as the yachts that carried the embassy, there was written, in large Chinese characters, **AMBASSADOR BEARING TRIBUTE FROM THE COUNTRY OF ENGLAND.**

From Hoong-ya-yuen the Ambassador was permitted to remove to Pekin, where preparations might be made with more convenience for the journey to Zhe-hol. The articles to be carried into Tartary were brought from Hoong-

ya-yuen to Pekin, as well as the baggage of the embassy. Among the former were six small brass field-pieces, fixed on light carriages, and each firing several times in a minute. The deputy, or legate from the Emperor, gave it as his opinion, that the field-pieces should be left behind, as the Emperor was to return soon to Pekin; yet the same man had before shewn great anxiety that all the presents should accompany the Emperor to Zhe-hol. The gunpowder too, of which there were as many small barrels as might be used occasionally in salutes, and in exercising the field-pieces and musquetry of the guard, had become an object of suspicion. He desired that it might be given up; which was immediately done. His whole conduct seemed to indicate an apprehension lest the Chinese should entertain a higher idea of the prowess of the English nation than of his own.

The Ambassador, attended by the usual number of Chinese, and most of his European suite, set out from Pekin on the 2d of September, 1793, and proceeded to Zhe-hol; where he was received with military honours, amidst a crowd of spectators on horseback and foot. The suite of edifices destined for the embassy, was situated near the southern extremity of the town of Zhe-hol, which lay betwixt it and the palace-gates. The Ambassador was desirous that the ceremony of reception should be explained and settled before it might be necessary for him to make his appearance at the palace; while the Grand Vizier of China, or Colao, wished to see him there without delay, that he might learn from him the purport of his Majesty's

letter to the Emperor. His Excellency, in these circumstances, determined to send the secretary of the embassy in his room, with a copy of the King's letter, and a memorial relating to the business of reception at court. The etiquette of the Chinese court not permitting the secretary to hold, in that capacity, any conversation with the prime minister, nor even to sit down in his presence, it became necessary to make use of the commission of Minister Plenipotentiary, which his Majesty had granted to him, to act in case of the Ambassador's absence or indisposition. — It was announced to the Ambassador, that his Imperial Majesty would be satisfied with the same form of respectful obeisance from the English, which they had been accustomed to pay to their own sovereign; and the day before the birthday of the Emperor, the 17th of September, was appointed for the reception of the British embassy. In the interval, such of the presents as had been brought to Zhe-hol were carried to the palace; and very civil messages, implying the satisfaction they gave to his Imperial Majesty, were conveyed to the Ambassador. His Excellency now paid a private visit to the Colao, who received him with frankness and affability; but he found it necessary to use great tenderness, as well as very qualified expressions in conveying any idea that a connection between Great Britain and China could be of any importance to the latter. Such were the real or affected notions entertained by the Chinese government of the superiority and independence of the empire, that no transaction with foreigners was admissible by it, on the ground of reciprocal advantage; but,

France were still in agitation. The French people, to the number of 3,000,000 were in arms, and without controul. The expatriated princes and nobles were rousing foreign nations to become parties in their cause; and all Europe was in a state either of anxious expectation, or real apprehension. There were other considerations of general interest, that were deeply involved in the origin and progress of the French revolution; and which precluded Great Britain from security and peace; while the people of France were involved in arms, in confusion, and distress. But, above all, the sinews of the French revolution were drawn from the overthrow of that system, or those laws of property and of nations which had hitherto sustained the order of the political world. This circumstance was of itself too striking not to excite alarms in the breasts of all who had studied the commercial, as well as the political constitution of Europe. The balance of power was, at all events, likely to be affected by the fall of one of its counterpoises and pillars. It was therefore evident that, although the differences between the courts of London and Madrid had been settled; and though the projects of ambition, which Catherine and Joseph had concerted, were sufficiently counteracted, there was every reason to dread that the duration of any lasting or general peace was incompatible with the circumstances of the times. For these reasons, it was hardly possible to suppose that the minister was sincere, or at least very ardent in his expectations of long continued peace; and it was observed, by not a few men of sense and reflection,

that he began to talk of military and naval reductions at the very moment when (and not sooner) it would have been sound policy to equip both fleets and armies, had they been wanting, for giving due weight to a necessary, decided, prompt, and timely interference in the affairs of the continent. And it was particularly regretted, that the British government did not avail itself of its military preparations at the time, as well as of its commanding influence, to mediate in the questions which were at issue between the actual rulers of France and the German states, and to endeavour by all means, in concert with other powers, to restrain within the limits of France the convulsions that had overthrown her monarchy, for the purpose, not of aggrandizement, but merely of self-defence,—according to the wise system of the Emperor Leopold. The views of the British government, however, appear to have been wholly pacific so late as the middle of June; as appears from his Majesty's speech from the throne, on the 15th of that month, to both Houses of Parliament:—"I have observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the measures which you have adopted for the diminution of the public burthens, while you have made additional provision for the reduction of the present national debt; and established a permanent system for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future." His Majesty declared, in a very emphatic manner, that it would be his principal care to preserve to his people the uninterrupted blessings of peace; which he had reason to expect, from the assurances of a peaceable

peaceable disposition towards this country, which he had received from all the neighbouring powers:— and then prorogued the parliament to the 30th day of the ensuing August.

The marked praise bestowed by the speech from the throne on the bill for reducing the national debt, were supposed by some to have been an expression of triumph, on the part of the minister, over the Chancellor Thurlow, who always treated that favourite measure, as well as some other plans of administration, with severe animadversion. Frequent bickerings had taken place between Mr. Pitt and Lord Thurlow for a long time; and on the prorogation of the parliament, as there was no immediate necessity for his services in the House of Peers, the great seal of England was committed to the custody of three commissioners, Sir James Eyre, Sir William Ashurst, and Sir John Wilson.

From the usual spirit, enterprize, and large capitals of our manufacturers and merchants, and from the peculiar circumstances of the times, the commerce of this country had for several years far exceeded the utmost extent of its prosperity in any former period. In one week, in the month of May, the actual increase of the revenue exceeded that of the corresponding week, in the preceding year, by the sum of 118,034*l.* 6*s.* It would be as absurd to lay this extraordinary influx of national wealth to the account of the minister for the time being, as it would be unjust to charge him with those political convulsions on the continent that have involved us in public expences, in

comparison of which all the savings made by the national debt bill, if indeed any be made, are as a drop in the bucket. But the minister, dexterously, and we do not say improperly, availed himself of the situation of affairs, and the commercial spirit of the age, to acquire popularity, by appearing to direct the current on which he, in fact, with all the world was irresistibly borne: he sailed with the tide and wind. When commerce and public credit were in a state of great elevation, the interference and management of the minister appeared to vulgar apprehension to be their great support; and, from his exertions, very general expectations were entertained that they would both be raised still higher. He not only applied the surplus revenue for the diminution of the public debt, by the establishment of a sinking fund, to be held sacred and inviolable, for that sole and exclusive purpose, but stood forth as a friend and patron of various plans for the extension of commerce.

Measures had been taken for establishing a trade in furs, and eventually in other articles on the north-west coast of America. The seeds of future commerce had been sown in the islands in the South Seas; and new channels were about to be opened for the exportation of British manufactures in India. If a free commercial intercourse could be settled with China and Japan, the broad zone of British commerce would encircle and invest the globe.

There is at this day in the vast empire of China, as there was of old in Egypt, and other ancient states and kingdoms, a great jealousy of foreigners,* who are not admit-

* In the ideal republic of Plato, it is a part of his system to exclude all foreigners not profited by an early education in the laws of the state.

turbans, among their enemies; European troops and European discipline; and those Europeans they supposed to be English. The new French principles, too, were nowhere more detested and dreaded than in China. These coming, as well as the embassy from the west, rendered the government averse to any extension of intercourse with that quarter of the world. In these circumstances, the allusions to the power of Great Britain, in the letter of his Britannic Majesty, and in the memorials and conferences between the British Ambassador and the Chinese minister, as well as the samples exhibited of our military discipline and art, may be supposed to have contributed to the counteraction of the design they were intended to promote.

Soon after the return of the court to Peking, the Ambassador received an invitation from the Grand Colao to Yuen-min-yuen; where he had a conversation with him on the subject of the embassy. The Colao being informed of the intended departure of the Lion, said "He hoped that ship was not yet gone, but would wait to carry back the embassy;—that the Emperor upon first hearing of the Ambassador's illness, and the loss of some persons of his suite, by death, since his arrival in China, had remarked how much foreigners were liable to suffer from the severe winters of Peking; and being apprehensive that the present visitors would run great risks of injuring their healths materially by continuing there, thought it might be desirable for them to set out before the rivers and canals were frozen, which sometimes took place very early, and on a sudden; as the route by land was necessarily fatiguing and inconvenient." The

Colao added, on his part, "that as to the feast of the new year, for which he supposed his Excellency might wish to wait, it was nothing more than a repetition of what he had seen already at Zhe-hol."

If the real meaning of this affected solicitude for the health of the Ambassador could have been misunderstood, it would have been sufficiently illustrated by the intimation that the Emperor's letter to the King of England would be presented to the Ambassador next day; with a hint, at the same time, that this was a signal for departure. On the evening of the same day the Emperor's answer was brought in state to the Ambassador's hotel. On the morning of the 7th of October the prime minister, with other Colaos, came to a pavilion within the gates of Peking, to go through the ceremonies of parting with the Ambassador. They communicated to him the most gracious expressions, and, together with a list of presents to the King of England, inclosed in a number of chests, an answer to the demands which had been lately made by the Ambassador. The nature of this answer, though not announced by the Colao, was evident from his total silence on the subject. Among the presents sent to the King of England, was a copy of verses composed by his Imperial Majesty, fraught with moral and political truths, and conceived with much taste and fancy; and some curious and precious gems, which he particularly valued from their having been for eight centuries in his family; and which he now gave as an earnest of perpetual friendship.

The Ambassador, after parting with the Emperor's ministers, attended by his former retinue of English

English and Chinese, passed through one of the eastern gates of Pekin, where he was saluted with the usual honours, and proceeded directly towards Tong-choo-foo, in order to re-embark on the Pei-ho, on his return to Britain.

It is superfluous to inform our readers, that in this account we have chiefly followed that composed by Sir George Staunton, Secretary to the Embassy, published at an expence, and with a magnificence corresponding with the splendor of the embassy; and representing all things in the most favourable point of view in which they can be considered; compared and somewhat modified by the narrative of Mr. Anderson, steward to the embassy; which sometimes notices certain humiliating circumstances not recorded in the other; but both concurring in their account of all that is of importance. From the testimony of these respectable writers, sufficient of itself, if it were not supported by the collateral evidence of others engaged in the same expedition, the history of Lord Macartney's embassy to China appears to be briefly this:—That the Ambassador and his suite were received with the utmost politeness; treated with the utmost hospitality; watched, not to say confined, with the utmost vigilance; and dismissed with the utmost civility.

Though it be not probable that any embassy will be sent in future from London to Pekin for commercial purposes, it is not impossible that embassies of another kind may one day arise out of the constant approximation of the Chinese and British territories and dependencies in India, on the side of Tibet.

In the contest above mentioned,

between the Emperor of China, on the part of the Grand Lama and the Rajah of Napan, the Chinese General had at first threatened to exterminate the Rajah's race, and to add his dominions to those of China; which would have brought the Chinese frontiers into immediate contact with those of Hindostan. But dreading, very probably, opposition from the English, he affected to procure a pardon from the Emperor to the Rajah, on the score of his country's being of small extent, and its inhabitants of a foreign tribe, on his consenting to pay a fixed tribute, and other conditions. But over the Soobah, or country of Lessa, which he came to protect for the spiritual chief, he placed a temporal governor, to whom he committed the care of all affairs, civil and political; alleging, "that the territory of Lessa had, for a great length of time, been in the possession of the imperial throne, and so should always remain;" so that it would seem that religious faith, and a respect to the inheritance of popes, has greatly declined in China as well as in Europe.

Between the advanced frontier of the Chinese empire and that of the British possessions in Hindostan, there now intervenes only a narrow territory, about one degree of latitude, part of which constitutes Napan. Should an interference take place in future, it is observed by Sir George Staunton, on the part of his Imperial Majesty, in the dissensions which frequently arise between the princes possessing the countries lying along the eastern limits of Hindostan, as has happened of late with regard to its northern neighbours, there may be occasion for not a little discussion and explanation between the governments of Great Britain and China.

CHAP. XII.

Political State of India at the Peace of Mangalore. Power and Ambition of Tippoo. Hatred borne him by all his Neighbours. Proceedings of the different States of Hindostan, from 1784 to 1788. Tippoo descends the Ghauts to the Kingdom of Travancore. Returns upon a Remonstrance from the English. The Rajah purchases from the Dutch the Forts of Cranganore and Jacottah. Indignation of Tippoo. He attacks the Lines of Travancore. Is repulsed. The Government of Madras interferes. The Rajah still obstinate. Is driven from the Lines, and loses almost all his Kingdom. The English prepare for War. Arguments for and against the Justice of it. Operations of General Meadows. He takes Caroor, Darapooram, Coimbatore, and Dindigul. Expedition of Colonel Floyd to Sattimungulam. He is surprized by Tippoo. His Masterly retreat. Movements of the Sultan. Junction of the Grand and Carnatic Armies. Tippoo, to prevent the Invasion of Mysore, marches for the Carnatic. Eludes the Pursuit of the British Army. Lays Siege to Tiagar. Takes several Forts and lays waste the Country with Fire and Sword. Transactions on the Malabar Coast. General Meadows takes Cannanore, Baleapattam, &c. Brilliant Success of Colonel Hartley. Arrival of Lord Cornwallis at Madras. Plan of the ensuing Campaign. Siege and Capture of Bangalore. The Army marches to the North. Is joined by a large Body of Cavalry from the Nizam. Returns to Bangalore. Lord Cornwallis determines to march to Seringapatam. Defeats Tippoo in a pitched Battle before the City. Distress of the Army. A sudden Swelling of the Cavery prevents the Junction of General Abercrombie. Lord Cornwallis returns towards Bangalore, and finds it necessary to abandon the Siege of Seringapatam till the following Season. Junction of the Mahrattas at Mulgottah. The allied Armies arrive at Bangalore. They separate. Capture of Aulsoor and Kayacottah. A large Convoy arrives from the Carnatic. Capture of Nundydroog, and the Forts north-east of Bangalore. Conduct of Tippoo. His Troops repulsed from Coimbatore. He sends against it Cummer Ud D. en Caron, who takes it, after a vigorous Siege. Lord Cornwallis detaches Colonel Maxwell to scour the Baramaul, and to protect the Convoys then expected. He takes Penagra, and is repulsed from Kistnagheri. Siege and Capture of Sarvendroog. Capture of Outre Droog. Transactions of the Allies. Inactivity of the Nizam's General. Successes of Purseram Bhow. His Imprudence. The British Army again arrives before Seringapatam. Description of Tippoo's fortified Camp. Lord Cornwallis resolves to attack it. Plan of the Attack. Its Success. Tippoo shuts himself up within the Fort. Preparations for the Siege. Tippoo attempts the Life of Lord Cornwallis. Junction of General Abercrombie. The Trenches are opened. General Abercrombie invests the remaining Side of the Fort. Certain Prospect of Success. Termination of Hostilities. Preliminary Articles of Peace. Arrival in the English Camp of the Sultan's two Sons. His Reluctance to accede to the Demands of the Allies. Re- commencement of the Siege. The definitive Treaty is concluded.

THE pacification of 1784 was expedient and necessary, both to the English and the Sultan of Mysore: but was not calculated to secure permanent tranquillity. The principles and passions which had involved the preceding war, remained; and the exhaustion that had reduced the aggressor to terms of peace, had been repaired by prudence and by the natural progress of things in the course of time. The power that preponderated in the peninsula of Hindostan, had

had been checked, but not subdued, nor even humbled.

The dominions of Mysore extended over a track of country 500 miles in length and 350 in breadth;—by nature the strongest, the most fertile, and populous in the peninsula, enjoying a most temperate climate; everywhere intersected with rivers and streams, and abounding in fortifications, seemingly impregnable. This kingdom was not like the states which surrounded it, ruled by an ignorant, weak, and effeminate Rajah; but by one of the greatest princes who had appeared in the east for several ages; brave, enterprising, prudent, and politic. He was, at the same time, ferocious and cruel; a fanatic in the Mahometan religion;—a zealous adversary to all Europeans, or christians, and a bitter and sworn foe to the English; so that, on the whole, from several points of resemblance, he has been called the Modern Hannibal. The hatred he bore to the British race, whom he considered as the determined enemies to his throne, he extended to the Mahratta states, and the Nizam of the Deccan, on account of their desertion during the war*, in which they had engaged as allies of Hyder. He recruited his strength, by a wise improvement of some years of peace, and considered his present possessions merely as a foundation for future conquests.

With this view, he appointed faithful and vigilant governors over his provinces; introduced admirable order into his finances, and ap-

plied himself with great industry and success to the encouragement of both agriculture and manufactures. But his principal attention was directed to the increase and discipline of his troops, and the strengthening of his fortifications: large bodies of soldiers were raised, and kept on foot throughout the whole of his compacted empire; the forming of which, the Sultan superintended himself, with unremitting ardour. By largesses and promises, he allured into his service many European officers; and the natives he preferred according to their merit;—so that his army was uniformly well appointed, and not ill acquainted with modern tactics. Amidst all these military concerns, his favourite pursuit was, the fortification of his dominions. But as an engineer himself, we are well assured, he is very defective. Nor will he always be advised by able engineers from Europe; but in some instances follows his own miserable plans, in contradiction to the very first principles of fortification. As the grand means of promoting all his ends, he was indefatigable in collecting money, provisions, and military stores. His annual revenue amounted to about 5,000,000 sterling; the value of which is not to be calculated by the quantity of labour that a like sum can command in Europe, but in a much higher proportion. His expenditure, great as it was, did not exhaust this income: the overplus he reserved as the instrument of future greatness. Nor did he affect to keep his antipathy to the

* The address of Mr. Hastings, in drawing off these powers from the confederacy (against the English) at that time, saved our power in the east from ruin.

English a secret:—being high spirited and impetuous, he was at little pains to disguise his views of future aggrandizement. In 1787, he sent a splendid embassy to the court of France (his hatred to the christian religion bending on this occasion under his livelier animosity towards the British nation) to solicit an alliance with her, for the purpose of expelling the tyrants of Calcutta. A confederation, which would probably have taken place notwithstanding the repugnance of Louis XVI.* and been strengthened too, by the accession of the republic of the Seven United Provinces, had it not been prevented by the troubles that began to ferment about this time in France, and the revolution that was effected in 1789, by the Prussian army, under the Duke of Brunswick, in favour of the Stadtholder.

Of the character and conduct of this renowned prince, whose ca-

reer of ambition is not yet probably closed, and which unite, as is often the case, great ability with great weakness, a more particular account may afford a gratification to our readers, and may not be thought unworthy of a place in this annual record of European affairs in every quarter of the world. The following particulars relating to Tippoo, are extracted from a late publication, by a very intelligent, as well as brave and active officer, who served both in the last, and the preceding war with Tippoo†.

“It is only the Mahomedan subjects of the Sultan who seem to enjoy his protection. Assuming the character of his prophet, he sometimes wantonly, and in cold blood, destroys such of the people, though in the natural possession of the country, as refuse to assume that of Mahomed; and I declare that I have myself witnessed a sight of barbarity unknown in any civilized

* We are informed by Bertrand de Moleville, minister of the marine department, and at that time very much in the confidence of the royal family, that, “Early in 1791, a secret message was received by the King of France, from Tippoo Saib, who demanded of the King 6000 French Troops; offering to pay their transportation, clothing, and maintenance. He was convinced, that with this assistance, he could destroy the English army and settlements in India, and ensure the possession to France. That nothing might transpire of this affair, Tippoo had not mentioned it in his council; and had secretly negotiated the business with M. de Fresne, governor of Pondicherry, through the means of M. Leger, *administrateur civil* of France, in India, who understood the Persian language, and who wrote the dispatches, dictated by Tippoo, relative to this embassy. M. Leger himself came from India to France with this message; and, in order to conceal the real object of his voyage, some time before he set out, he had declared that his private affairs would oblige him to return immediately to France.

As M. Leger was directed to the minister of marine, I informed the King of Tippoo Saib's proposals: but notwithstanding its advantages, and although the insurrection of the negroes of St Domingo rendered it necessary to send a considerable force there, under the pretence of which it would have been easy to have sent to the East Indies the 6000 men demanded by Tippoo, without raising the suspicion of the English government, the natural sobriety of the King's mind would not permit him to adopt this measure. “This resembles,” said he, “the affair of America, which I never think of without regret. My youth was taken advantage of at that time, and we suffer for it now:—the lesson is too severe to be forgotten.”

† Major Taylor. See Travels over Land to India.

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nation, where the unfortunate Hindoos have been hanged by dozens on trees by the road-side, or suspended on hedge-rows, as they were caught in the vain attempt of eluding their sanguinary pursuers: a scene only to be equalled by the ferocious Buccaneers, in the act of hunting the timid Indians with blood-hounds and maitiffs.

"These horrible cruelties serve to keep in awe his subjects of a lower class; but policy induces him to attach the principal officers, military and civil; and where his interest is concerned, no man is more liberal of either reward or promotion. Under the eye of Tippoo, his army fight with courage and alacrity; but his detachments have uniformly given way with little opposition, and still less conduct.

"His troops are hired by the month; but his month is arbitrary. Thirty, forty, and even fifty days, constitute their duration; and the state of his treasury, or his own whim, regulates the calendar.

"His numerous bodies of cavalry have been wonderfully exaggerated. His cirars, or stable-horse, are the first in point of discipline and bravery; the men are well paid, and uniformly clothed; and the horses, to the number of 5 or 6000, are the property of government.

"The next in degree of estimation are cavalry, collected from all parts of India, where the horse is the property of the rider, and perhaps constitutes his fortune. For horses killed in action, no compensation is allowed; and the horseman is obliged to serve on foot till he can save or plunder money enough to resume his former situation. When this loss at once deprives the soldier of the prospect of promo-

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tion, and the means of his livelihood, he can have little inducement to risk the loss of a favourite animal.

"The third class are the Looties, or plunderers. These dastardly marauders serve without pay, and entirely subsist on the plunder of the enemy's country. They burn and destroy whatever they cannot carry off, and mark their steps with blood and desolation. Their horses are diminutive, and but little for the purposes of war. The men are clothed with little more than a turban, and a cloth tied about their middle, perhaps without a saddle; and their arms consist of a scimitar, or pike. It is to these wretches, during the war with Hyder, that the Carnatic owed its destruction. Under their hands the finest countries in India became little better than a desert: whole villages were swept away; and our manufacturers, with their families, carried to Mysore; while the labourers became the Coolies, to transport what was formerly their own: and where defence was attempted, they neither spared age nor sex.

"The foot-soldiers may be divided into two classes, the regular and the irregulars; besides which he has Golandars, or artillery, and a small body of Europeans, renegadoes, and deserters. A part of the regulars are clothed in uniform, somewhat in the manner of the English sepoy; but by far the greatest number have only uniform turbans and cummer-bands, with white jackets and short breeches. Their arms are French muskets, or the English ones taken in the course of the war of 1780. To discipline and command these battalions, he has a certain number of foreigners,

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and a considerable proportion of the native officers belonging to our troops, that became prisoners of war, and were forced into the service. They are slovenly, and unsteady in their exercise and duty, and little acquainted with any evolutions. The irregulars are an unmilitary rabble, variously armed, with old muskets, match-locks, pikes, and scimitars. Little dependence can be placed in such a multifarious collection, who principally depend for their subsistence on plunder.

"From such an army what is to be apprehended, when opposed to a body of gallant troops, many of whom are veterans in the service, and commanded by British officers of experience and abilities?"

"Yet, to despise an enemy is the greatest fault which an officer can commit; as it puts him from his guard, and renders him open to their assault. Let it, therefore, not be supposed that exertion is unnecessary against so respectable an opponent. Some excellencies must prevail in Tippoo's army to render it in general respectable, and, since the commencement of the present war, in the opinion of our ablest officers. But the advantages which he possesses are easily counteracted; and when placed in competition with regular system and exact discipline, must at all times be overcome, if followed up with discretion and perseverance.

"In the mode of carrying his provisions, and of transporting his cannon and stores, an evident superiority is discernible. The attention he has paid to the artillery department, evinces a knowledge of its utility; which would not disgrace

the tactics of the present day. In carrying provisions for his army, Tippoo's advantages are material; preserving a system of warfare in the midst of profound peace. His bullocks are always trained for either draught or carriage; and his extraordinary demands are supplied from his Banjara bullocks, employed in transporting merchandize through his country, or carrying salt from the sea-coast. In these different services, not less than one hundred thousand are employed.

"The surprise of his army, or the loss of a detachment, is attended with consequences of no moment to the general interest of the war.

"The bazar of either is generally ten miles in the rear, and encamped on an open road, where their retreat is attended without difficulty or danger. As the army retires or advances, the motions of the bazar are accordingly regulated. His superiority in cavalry, and the necessity there is for the English troops to preserve a connected body, and the smallness of our numbers, which prevents our detaching, tends to preserve the supplies of the enemy, and to render our means of procuring them more difficult and precarious.

"In transporting his cannon, and in cutting roads to facilitate their conveyance, his means are abundant. To a small gun he attaches one elephant, to a larger two, and to those of a greater caliber, three and four. By the assistance of a regular and well-appointed corps of bildaurs, or pioneers, 100 pieces of ordnance are moved at a rate not easily to be conceived, and far superior to our best conducted attempts. His guns are drawn by the

the strongest and most active bullocks produced in the country, the elephants being only intended for occasional assistance; to which is added the unremitting exertions of excellent drivers.

"The Nabob's artillery are both larger and longer than ours, which enables him to commence a cannonade either on our baggage or line, before our guns can be used with effect, and when it would only be an unnecessary expence of ammunition to return his fire. In cases of disorder, or when advantage on his side occurs, his cavalry are very ready to seize the opportunity.

"The velocity with which his large bodies of cavalry change their situation, and the general rapidity with which his whole movements are executed from one place to another, operate strongly in his favour. Unable to ascertain his position, it is dangerous for us to detach from the main body. His principal object is to attack us in detail, whether in conveying provisions or stores, or foraging in the neighbourhood of our encampment; and in this huzzar mode of warfare he generally succeeds.

"In his artillery he places his greatest confidence and dependence: that corps is the best appointed in his service, and very far superior to those of any other native power in India.

"His intelligence is an object of particular consideration: he spares no expence to accomplish his end; and the most cruel and exemplary punishments are immediately inflicted, should false information at any time be delivered. He does not depend on the word of a single individual, but employs several

on the same occasion; examines them apart, and whether they agree or differ in the tale, they are all detained close prisoners till the truth is disclosed; and to the man who is found in an error, no lenity is shewn. The families of the spies are in the possession of the Nabob; and he attaches them to him by the most liberal rewards: by this means he finds his way into our camps, and perhaps, by dint of money, and the collusion of the native servants of officers of rank, he obtains the knowledge of our secret resolutions.

"His bildaurs are the stoutest and best working men in his country: a certain proportion are attached to every gun; and it is astonishing, from the number that compose that corps, with what celerity roads are cut through the thickest jungle, or the most rugged country.

The elephants belonging to Tippoo, to the amount of near 400, perform wonders in dragging his cannon along heavy roads, in crossing rivers, and in carrying his camp-equipage and stores.

"The rocket-boys are daring, especially when intoxicated with bang: they advance near to our line of march, covered by the cavalry, and attempt to throw our troops into confusion. The rocket discharged horizontally is more dangerous than those fired perpendicularly; and in open and level ground they are, although uncertain in their direction, very destructive and galling to our men."

It was impossible that the English East India Company could hear of the preparations of Tippoo, with indifference; or that the British government should neglect to take measures for guarding against his

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croachments. In 1786, Lord Cornwallis was sent out to Bengal in the double capacity of Governor General and Commander in Chief. The accumulated difficulties of immense military and civil arrears, naturally arising from a long and expensive war, had been surmounted through the sage œconomy adopted by his predecessor in the government of Bengal, Sir John Macpherson. A reform was effected in the public expenditure, which, according to the ministerial reports in parliament, of the state of our affairs in India, saved upwards of a million sterling per annum. Questions of great nicety, relative to the interpretation of certain articles in the treaty of 1784, had been adjusted pacifically with the French government in India, which counteracted the plans of new aggression that France had in contemplation there, and which have since been developed by the memoirs of the Marquis de Bouillé. The native states of Asia had been conciliated to the establishment of British power, and left to their own internal intrigues and contests: and the plan of Mr. Pitt's new administration under the Board of Control, had been accommodated without much opposition to the prejudices and habits of the Company's servants: so that Lord Cornwallis, on his accession to the chair of India, in September 1786, found the different presidencies in rising prosperity. He availed himself with moderation, firmness, and temper, of the best arrangements of his predecessors, and introduced several new regulations that contributed farther to the public welfare.

About the same time that Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the

highest military and civil offices in Bengal, Sir Archibald Campbell was invested with similar powers in the presidency of Madras. The revenues of both provinces were greatly augmented without any new impositions on the subjects of the government. That of Madras rose from 900,000*l.* a year, to 1,400,000 a year. The fortifications were everywhere strengthened, and the troops brought into the highest state of discipline.

But, from the machinations of Tippoo most was to be apprehended for the Carnatic. If a war should break out, it was here that the troops must assemble; and from hence that they must receive the necessary supplies. Here, accordingly, the preparations for defence were most extensive and most vigorous. Granaries were established on the frontiers and other stations, containing supplies for more than 30,000 men for twelve months. A complete train of battering and of field-artillery was prepared, far surpassing any thing that had ever been seen upon the coast. A store of camp-equipage was provided for an army of more than 20,000 men. The principal forts were repaired, and more amply supplied with guns and stores. The cavalry were with infinite difficulty completed to their full establishment, and a general uniformity in discipline and movement was established in the cavalry, the infantry, and the artillery.

In 1787, four regiments of infantry had been raised in Britain, and sent out to India; so that there were now at least, 9000 Europeans in the country, in addition to the Company's establishment. Every thing wore a pleasing aspect.

The states north of Myfore, too, were

were obliged by the threatening aspect of affairs to take measures for their safety. Of these, the two most considerable were the Mahrattas and the Nizam; and though there existed an hereditary enmity betwixt the two; altho' they differed in laws, in institutions, and in religion,—urged by the common danger, they forgot or suspended their quarrels, and joined in the closest alliance.

The confederates, confident from their union and their strength, hoped to humble the power of Mysore, and were probably by no means averse to a rupture. They were not, however, under a necessity of seeking an occasion and pretext for the commencement of hostilities.

In the summer of 1788, Tippoo marched his army down the Ghauts towards the Malabar coast, evidently with hostile designs against the Rajah of Travancore. He first attempted to detach him from the alliance of the English, and to persuade him to throw himself under his protection. "Who", said he, "ever formed good faith in Europeans!" He then encouraged the Rajah of Cochin, one of his tributaries, to lay claim, upon some antiquated pretence, to part of the ground upon which the lines are built to defend Travancore on the north, the only quarter on which it is accessible to an invading army. It appeared that he was fired with the design of getting possession of the kingdom; which would have made him absolute master of the whole Malabar coast; and enabled him at any time, with ease, to invade the Carnatic.

Alarmed at his danger, the Rajah dispatched a messenger to Madras, to inform the English government of the movements of Tippoo. Sir Archibald Campbell sent some

troops to his assistance, and declared, that if Tippoo should attack the lines of Travancore, it would be considered on the part of the English as paramount to a declaration of war. These steps were approved by the supreme government of Bengal; and Tippoo, awed by this steady opposition, withdrew his troops and returned to Seringapatam.

The following summer, however, produced a plausible pretence for executing his scheme, and spread the flames of war all over India. The Dutch, from the vicinity of Cochin to Mysore, trembled for their most valuable possession. They had in the last century conquered from the Portuguese two ports, Cranganore and Jacottah, which lay betwixt Cochin and Mysore. These they offered in sale to the Rajah of Travancore, foreseeing that, if he should be so foolish as to accept the offer, they would thus guard their possessions with the British Ægis. The Rajah, thinking that they would strengthen his barrier to the sea, rashly concluded the bargain. Tippoo was, or pretended to be, highly incensed at this transaction. He asserted that he was feudal sovereign of that part of the Malabar coast, and that of course no transfer could be made of the property without his leave first asked and obtained: and upon the Rajah's refusal to relinquish the purchase, he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of Travancore. The kingdom of Travancore, by nature, on the north, is extremely defenceless; but, about fifty years ago, strong lines were constructed for its defence. They consist of a ditch 16 feet broad, and 20 deep, with a thick bamboo hedge inserted in the middle of it; a slight parapet, a good rampart, and bastions nearly

flanking each other. Tippoo, determined to strike a sudden blow at the root of the Rajah's power, on the 29th of December attacked the eastern extremity of the lines, and attempted to take them by storm. He at first carried every thing before him; but the fortune of the day soon changed: the Travancore troops, who had fled at his approach, rallied from their confusion, and the Mysorean army was repulsed with great slaughter. The Sultan himself made a narrow escape. In the retreat he was thrown from his horse into the ditch, where he was severely bruised. Galled at his disappointment and disgrace, he is said to have made a vow never again to wear his turban till he had taken the lines of Travancore. Accordingly he sent to Myfore for supplies of troops and battering-guns, and prepared to besiege them by regular approach.

As soon as these transactions were known to the government of Madras, the conduct of the Rajah in making the purchase on so precarious and invidious a title, was censured in the severest terms; and Mr. Holland, the president, warned him to desist from his ambitious designs. At the same time the government remonstrated with Tippoo against the impropriety of his proceedings in thus attacking their friend and ally, whom they were bound to defend. They proposed that the difference should be settled betwixt him and the Rajah in an amicable manner; and offered to send commissioners to meet an equal number appointed by him, whose decision should be final to both parties. Tippoo returned a polite answer; saying, that he should be very happy to have a personal conference with an English commissioner; and

that he had no doubt of being able completely to make good his title, and to justify his conduct.

But though both parties seemed thus amicably inclined, both were bent upon war. The time had now come, which they had so eagerly longed for, when each might hope to realize his views. Tippoo had a fair pretext for beginning his scheme of conquest, and a fair prospect of going on in a victorious career. Travancore he considered already as his own. From that kingdom he might easily cross over to the Coromandel coast, drive the English from the Carnatic, pursue them from Bengal, and extirpate them from India. The juncture was still more favourable to the views of his enemies. The English had formed a close alliance with the Mahratta states and the Nizam of the Deccan. Their own affairs were in a state of unexampled prosperity. At any former period they would have met with powerful opposition from France in their designs upon Tippoo. Now they had nothing to fear from that quarter, as she was sufficiently employed in attempts to regulate her internal concerns.

Little progress was therefore made in negotiating a reconciliation; but vigorous preparations for war were carried on all over India.

During the spring of 1789, the Rajah of Travancore, though of himself completely unable to cope with the power of Myfore, shewed no disposition to yield,—being probably encouraged to persevere by the government of Bengal, and assured of protection and support. He even went so far, in the beginning of May, as to make an attack upon Tippoo's camp. He was beat back with loss; and the Mysoreans next day commenced offensive operations.

operations against the lines. After a siege of a few weeks, a breach was effected, and Tippoo instantly led on his troops to the storm. Having entered the fortification, he met with little resistance: — the troops of the Rajah fled in every direction, and were slaughtered by thousands. The whole extent of the lines was evacuated; and Tippoo became master of the key of the kingdom of Travancore. He then proceeded to the attack of Cranganore; which he took after a vigorous siege. Jacottah, Paroor, and Curiapilly successively surrendered to his arms; and not a fort in the northern part of his dominions remained in the possession of the unfortunate Rajah. He was obliged to remain an inactive spectator of the devastations of Tippoo, who now laid waste the whole country with fire and sword. But the triumphs of Tippoo were but of short duration. The war which he thus successfully began, was to terminate in his defeat and disgrace, in the loss of his dominions, and nearly in the extinction of his power.

War against Mysore was now publicly declared by the supreme government of Bengal. Whether we were justified in this step, and who was the aggressor, it is not easy to determine. On one side, it may be said, that by the treaty of Mangalore we guaranteed the possessions of the Rajah of Travancore, and that we were bound in justice and honour to defend him when attacked. It may be said that the ambitious views of Tippoo were so boundless and so avowed, that we were justified on the strong plea of political necessity, in taking measures for their frustration. It may be said that Tippoo had no right to the ports of Cranganore and Jacot-

tah; that if he had been allowed to seize these, he would soon have invaded the Carnatic; and that he was evidently the aggressor, in breaking through the existing treaties. On the other hand, it was contended that as the forts lay within the Rajahship of Cochin, which is tributary to Tippoo, by the immemorial custom of Hindoostan he was their feudal superior, and had a right to object to their sale. That, at any rate, the English had no right to interfere, as they only engaged to protect the dominions which the Rajah held in 1784; and that, as in their treaties with the Mahrattas and the Nizam, there was no mention of Travancore, — their only object in entering into the war, was, to enrich themselves by the spoils of the vanquished.

The justice and necessity of the war might be problematical; but no doubt was entertained with regard to its policy; and accordingly the English prepared in all their settlements to prosecute it with the utmost vigour. Bengal, from its great distance from the scene of action, could do little more than furnish supplies of money and military stores. An army of 15,000 men was formed in the Carnatic, and near half that number in the presidency of Bombay. The command of the first was entrusted to Major General Meadows; that of the last, to Major General Abercrombie; both officers of distinguished merit. A plan was laid down for the campaign. It was resolved that the Bombay army should act against Tippoo's possessions, west of the Ghauts; that the safety of the Carnatic should be entrusted to a small body of troops under Colonel Kelly; and that the grand army should march towards Coimbatore, gain possession,

possession of that country, and from thence penetrate into the kingdom of Mysore. The Mahratta states, and the Nizam of the Deccan, promised a cordial co-operation; and engaged with all their forces to make a powerful diversion on the north.

Tippoo, daunted by these vigorous measures, and alarmed at the storm which was gathering in every direction, made offers of submission; but all his offers were treated with disdain. "The English, equally incapable of offering an insult, as of submitting to one," said General Meadows to him, in reply, "have always looked upon war as declared from the moment that you attacked their ally, the King of Travancore. God does not always give the battle to the strong, nor the race to the swift; but generally success to those whose cause is just:—on that we depend." The Sultan, about the end of May, had left Travancore with precipitation, and returned to Seringapatam, to take measures for defeating the designs of this powerful confederacy. He collected an immense force under his own immediate command; he stationed his Generals, with considerable armies, on the most exposed situations; and dispatched large bodies of Looties, or irregular cavalry, all over his frontiers.

The grand Carnatic army assembled, and was embodied about the beginning of June, in the plains of Trichinopoly; and General Meadows commenced his operations on the 15th of the month. He directed his march towards the Gujelhatty pass, intending first to attack all the forts, and to secure the country to the south-east of the Ghauts, that he might prevent Tippoo from drawing supplies from

this fertile quarter; that he might establish a safe communication betwixt the pass and the Coromandel coast; and thus render the invasion of Mysore easy and secure. Sahid Saheb, one of the Sultan's ablest generals, was stationed in this country, in the neighbourhood of Damocottah; but, his force being inconsiderable, he was obliged to retire at the approach of the British army. For several weeks General Meadows heard of no other hostile army, and met with no opposition in his progress, except from bodies of Looties, who at times harassed his march. During this time he made himself master of Caroor, Daraporam, Coimbatore, and several forts of less note, with little difficulty or loss, having either found them evacuated, or having met with a feeble resistance.

At Coimbatore he determined to take up his quarters for some time, there to form a depot, and to send out detachments from his army to reduce the neighbouring forts. Of these, by far the strongest and most important is Dindigul, which is situated to the south-east of Coimbatore, about half way betwixt the Malabar and Coromandel coasts. It was then strongly fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and commanded by one of the ablest and most faithful officers in the Mysorean service. A large detachment was sent against Dindigul, headed by Colonel Stuart; but as the English were unacquainted with its situation and its strength, Captain Aram, who was then returning from Madura to the camp, was ordered first to make an attempt upon it, and to try what could be done by surprise, stratagem, or negotiation. Upon reconnoitring the fort, however, he found

found that an attack would be fruitless; and, having in vain tampered with the fidelity of the governor, who threatened to shoot a second messenger, if he should be sent, from the mouth of a cannon, he was obliged to await the arrival of Colonel Stuart.

As soon as guns were procured, and other things necessary for carrying on a siege, batteries were opened, and the place heavily cannonaded for two days. On the evening of the second, a breach, deemed practicable, was made, and a storm was instantly determined on. Never was there a greater display of gallantry. The assailants led on the attack with the most determined bravery; they were received by the garrison with equal spirit; they were obliged to retreat, but again returned to the charge: attack succeeded attack, but still without success; they were finally repulsed with great slaughter, and obliged to return to their tents. But the victory proved fatal to the victors: the garrison and the works had suffered so severely during the night, that next morning the governor was obliged to capitulate.

From Dindigul Colonel Stuart moved westwards to Palicaudchery, a place of considerable importance, which he summoned to surrender. The governor resolutely refused; but the fort was soon reduced, after a feeble resistance. Colonel Stuart having left garrisons in the places he had taken, then rejoined the grand army at Coimbatore.

About the same time Erood and several smaller forts had fallen to a detachment under Colonel Aldham: and now the possession of a chain of posts, betwixt the Ghauts and the coast of Coromandel, and the collection of a large store of

supplies, seemed to announce a speedy invasion of Mysore. One obstacle only remained; the fort of Sattimungulum, situated close by the Gujelhatty pass, through which the British army was to enter, was still in the possession of the Sultan. Against this important fortress Colonel Floyd was detached with the King's regiment, and sixteen squadrons of native cavalry, the thirty-sixth regiment, and four battalions of native infantry, attended by eleven pieces of cannon, served by the Bengal artillery. Colonel Floyd having come upon Sattimungulum unexpectedly, the surprised garrison, without striking a blow, surrendered at discretion. He placed in it a battalion of sepoys for its defence, and encamped with the rest of his army on the south side of the Bouanni. He there expected to be joined by General Meadows, and to penetrate northwards with him without interruption; and he had reason to expect this, although he was cruelly disappointed. He knew that Sahid Saheb was posted at the bottom of the pass; but his force was inconsiderable in point of numbers, and still more so in point of discipline. These irregular troops had been repeatedly routed by the English already, and now would not stand to the charge. Colonel Floyd had spies and scouts all round the country, yet had heard of no other enemy being near.

But the antagonists of Tippoo had not to trust to the common calculations of war. Tippoo, active, dexterous, and subtle, flew from one country to another with a celerity that anticipated all intelligence of his designs. He had now actually descended the Ghauts in great force, and had advanced with-

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in a few miles of the British encampment before his approach was known.

On the night of September the 12th, Colonel Floyd had sent a reconnoitring party up the south side of the river, and in a short time heard that it was completely surrounded by a hostile force. He immediately marched out with all his cavalry to its assistance, routed the enemy, killed 400 of them, and returned to camp. Still he thought it was only Sahid Saheb who had been reinforced; but early on the 13th the camp was attacked by an immense body of cavalry and foot, with a numerous train of artillery. A heavy cannonading was kept up through the whole day, and towards evening the engagement became general and close. The English gallantly kept their ground against such superior force, and obliged the Myforeans to withdraw; yet they suffered severely in officers and men; and the bullocks, which are as necessary to an Indian army as guns and ammunition, were completely destroyed.

The greatest consternation now prevailed in the British camp. It was now apparent that the Sultan was present in person with a mighty army; and the probability was, that they would be all cut to pieces, or taken prisoners of war; and to be a prisoner of war to Tippoo was considered as worse than death. A council of war was called during the night, when it was resolved, as the only hope of escape, to abandon Sattimungulom, to hurry southwards, and to attempt a junction with General Meadows. Accordingly the garrison was withdrawn from the fort, and the whole army began to march before day on the 14th, having abandoned several guns for want of conveyance. As

soon as their movement was observed by Tippoo, he crossed the Bonanni, and closely pursued them. The English had gained upon him so much, that he was not able to overtake them before mid-day. His cavalry then pressed upon them so close, that they were obliged to abandon a great part of their baggage, and the rest of their artillery: but still they kept their ranks unbroken, in spite of the utmost efforts of the enemy. About five o'clock, the British army had reached Shooroor; when Colonel Floyd, seeing the main body of Tippoo's army approach, and finding that to proceed was impossible, ordered his troops to halt, and drew them up in order of battle. The Indians now considered the English as ruined, and, setting up a dreadful shout, rushed forwards to victory. They met with an unexpected reception. The British troops had retained their fire till this instant, and each officer had occupied a most advantageous station. The cavalry flew from place to place at the nod of their General: The infantry remained unbroken, and yielded not a foot of ground. After an obstinate engagement, which lasted till dusk, the Myforeans were obliged to retire with immense loss. Among the killed was Burha Ud Deen Cawn, brother-in-law to the Sultan. In the battle of Shooroor the British suffered severely; but by it they secured their retreat. They recommenced their journey soon after midnight, and reached Velladi the following evening, without farther molestation. No success, however great, could be more brilliant, or reflect greater glory on the victors.

General Meadows, on hearing of Tippoo's passage through the Ghauts,

Ghatts, had become extremely apprehensive for the safety of the detachment under Colonel Floyd, and instantly marched northwards to his support; but from want of information passed him on the road, and went on nearly as far as Damiacottah. As soon as he learned the glad tidings of his having taken post at Velladi, without searching after Tippoo, he instantly faced about, joined him there, and returned to Coimbatore.

Tippoo, conscious of our superiority in the field, judged it most prudent to avoid a general engagement; to watch the motions of the enemy; to cut off their supplies; to elude their pursuit; yet to be ready to take advantage of every favourable circumstance, and to exhaust our strength and resources by delay and procrastination. Accordingly, on the approach of the grand army under General Meadows, he recrossed the Bouanni, and took up a strong position on its northern bank. He then disencumbered himself of his heavy baggage, and great part of his artillery, by sending them up the Gужelhatty pass; and got a fresh supply of bullocks and elephants: in which articles he was before superior to our army. Having made these arrangements, and hearing that a large convoy of provisions was proceeding to Coimbatore, under the command of Major Young, he bent his march towards Caroor, in hopes of intercepting it. In this he was disappointed; for General Meadows, contrarily to custom, having gained intelligence of his movements, left Coimbatore, and by forced marches joined Major Young.

The British commander, as the only probable way of finishing the campaign with success, now deter-

mined to use all his efforts to bring Tippoo to action. He was by this time no great distance from his camp, which he approached, but found to be evacuated. He closely pursued him for several days, till at last he lost his track. Tippoo having eluded his pursuit, left him on the right, turned westwards, and laid siege to Daraporam; which, being unprovided with cannon, immediately surrendered. Coimbatore, the most important fort in our possession, he in all probability would have likewise taken, had not Colonel Hartley, who had been detached from the Bombay army, at this critical period thrown into it considerable reinforcements.

A more important object now engaged the attention of the Sultan. He heard a rumour that a junction was intended betwixt the central army left in the Carnatic, under Colonel Kelly, and the grand army commanded by General Meadows. This it was his interest to prevent: he therefore hastened eastward, and encamped on a strong position betwixt Sattimungulum and the Cavery: which if he could maintain, the plan could never be executed. He had been correct in his information, as such a scheme was really in agitation. The British General becoming alarmed at the increasing power of Tippoo, had come to the resolution of concentrating his force. The Carnatic army, having through the summer reduced several forts in the Baramaul Valley, was now on its march to join him in the neighbourhood of Poolamputti; and he himself was now marching to that place to meet Colonel Maxwell, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Kelly.

Upon the approach of General Meadows,

Meadows, Tippoo abandoned his advantageous position; but he did not relinquish his design: for he marched in the most probable direction to fall in with the Carnatic army. His intelligence had been extensive, or good-fortune uncommon, for he actually discovered it on his road. His hopes, however, were instantly quashed on a nearer approach, as he found Colonel Maxwell so advantageously posted, that he could not attack him with any probability of success. He offered him battle three successive days, which, on account of his great superiority, was declined; so that he was obliged, without effecting any thing, to trace back his steps. Meanwhile General Meadows, his object being the same, had followed in the same track without knowing that Tippoo had gone before him. He had made such expedition to join Colonel Maxwell, that the march had been extremely fatiguing to the army. They at last conceived that their labour was at an end, as they came in sight of a large encampment; but on firing three guns, the appointed signal, the colours were hauled down, the tents were struck, and the whole army marched off with precipitation towards the Ghauts. We need not inform the reader that this was Tippoo's army on its return. The two English armies joined soon after, without opposition.

The time seemed now at last to have certainly arrived for the invasion of Myfore. Every preparation was made; a decided superiority was established in the field. Tippoo averted the impending storm by one of those daring measures which are characteristic of his inventive genius, as well as of his bold and

intrepid mind. He turned to the southward, and marched directly towards the Carnatic; thus drawing our attention from conquests in his dominions, by alarming us for the safety of our own. He was closely pursued by the British General; and, notwithstanding the celerity of his motions, the rear of his army was overtaken at the pass of Tapoor, and vigorously attacked. By means of his cavalry, however, he escaped with inconsiderable loss, and soon after distanced his adversary. Having been disappointed in an attempt upon Trichinopoly by the sudden swelling of the river, and the approach of the British army, he marched eastward into the Carnatic, laying it waste with fire and sword. He at length invested Tiagar: a fort belonging to the Company. For seventeen days he pushed his operations against it with the utmost vigour; but the garrison baffled all his attempts, and he was forced to raise the siege in disgrace. From thence he made a circuit of devastation through the Carnatic by Trincomalé, Chitteput, Wandewash, and Permacoil; and having taken several forts, and committed the most dreadful ravages wherever he went, he took up his quarters at the foot of the Eastern Ghauts. General Meadows long followed in Tippoo's track, without being able to overtake him. When he reached Tiagar, where he expected to find him, he discovered that Tippoo had left it for nine days. At Trincomalé he gave up the pursuit in despair. From thence he proceeded to Arnee, where he left General Musgrave with the left wing of the army, the sick, and the heavy guns; and he returned himself, with the right, to the neighbourhood

hood of Madras in the end of December.

While these events passed on the east side of the peninsula, the British army was by no means inactive on the west. Early in the season General Abercrombie detached a considerable force under Colonel Hartley, to the assistance of the Rajah of Travancore. By their united exertions the Mysoreans were soon completely expelled from the country, and the Rajah re-established in his kingdom. Colonel Hartley having performed this important service, marched across to Coimbatore; saved it, as we have seen, by introducing timely supplies, and then joined the grand army at Velladi.

On the retreat of Colonel Floyd from Sattimungulum, and the events which followed it, it was thought that much good might be done by a diversion upon the Malabar coast. General Abercrombie therefore embarked at Bombay with all the forces he could collect, and arrived at Tellicherry on the 5th of December. His first enterprize was the siege of Cananore. Being joined by several neighbouring Rajahs with about 2000 Circars, who immediately on his appearance threw off the yoke of Tippoo, the line marched on the 14th to the attack of Cananore. The enemy were strongly posted on the heights in the neighbourhood of the town; but after an obstinate engagement were obliged to fall back, and shut themselves up in it. The fort itself was next morning vigorously assailed, the defences were taken, and the following day it surrendered at discretion. Balliapatam and Nurcarrow followed the example of Cananore, and 34 stand of colours, 68 pieces of cannon, and

5000 stand of arms, fell into the hands of the victors. When General Meadows followed Tippoo into the Carnatic, he left Colonel Hartley at Palicaudchery, with orders to keep open the communication between the eastern and western coasts. He at first found considerable difficulty in executing this commission, being opposed by an army of 10,000 men; yet he at last gained a signal victory over them, at the village of Terrannungary, and succeeded in completely routing and dispersing them. He then commenced offensive operations, and reduced successively the forts of Trincalore, Turuckabad, Barragurry and Cootaphore; so that in a few weeks the whole of the Malabar coast was cleared of the enemy, from the river Keway to Cape Comorin.

Of the transactions of our allies during this season, we have little to relate. Always dilatory in their motions, and slow in fulfilling their engagements, they did not take the field till late in the year, and then performed nothing of consequence. The Mahratta army, assisted by a detachment of British troops from Bombay, invested Derwar, a strong fortification on the northern frontier of Mysore; which did not surrender till the following summer, after an obstinate siege of many months. The Nizam's troops took some inconsiderable forts on that part of Tippoo's dominions which is opposite to his own.

These were the principal occurrences of the first campaign against Tippoo Sultan, which upon the whole was successful, though it did not answer the expectations of some sanguine politicians, who calculated on nothing less than a total annihilation of the power of Mysore.

Myfore. Our troops had been successful in every engagement with the Sultan's, however inferior their numbers; and there was reason to hope that in another campaign all his cunning, finesse, and subtlety would not avail to save him from destruction.

After the reverse of fortune which the British arms experienced, Lord Cornwallis determined, contrarily to his first intentions, to leave Calcutta, and to take the command of the army in person. Accordingly he embarked in the *Vestal* frigate, at Diamond-Harbour; and, after a prosperous voyage, reached Fort St. George on the 13th of December.

His attention was for some time directed to the inspection of the army, the examination of the state of the magazines, and to acquiring information of the enemy's country. He then settled the plan of the ensuing campaign. He gave up all idea of penetrating into Myfore in a southern direction; but determined to make directly across from Madras, and to attempt some of the passes about the middle of the Carnatic. Having thus gained the heart of the enemy's country, he resolved to proceed at once to Bangalore, the second place of consequence in the empire; and, having taken it, to turn to the north, and lay siege to Seringapatam. He ordered General Abercrombie to conduct his army to Trincomale, and there to form it into two divisions; to send one of them, as lightly equipped as possible, to his immediate assistance; to penetrate himself with the other into the Myfore, and to join him in the neighbourhood of the capital.

No sooner was this plan formed than he began its execution. About

the end of January, 1790, having completed his stores of provisions, ammunition, and battering-guns, he marched towards the Baramaul Valley, with a seeming intention of passing through it: but this proved only to be a feint; for, having reached Vellore, he turned suddenly to the right, and directed his march to the Mugglee Pass. This manœuvre proved successful: no enemy appeared to the English till they had made good their passage; but incredible were the obstacles opposed to them by nature. Mountain rose above mountain, steep and rugged; deep ravines and valleys were sunk between. Having halted a few days to refresh his army, he pushed on to Bangalore, distant about 110 miles, which he reached in five days, without having encountered in his march any opposition, save from flying squadrons of horse, who were employed in carrying off, or burning the forage, and laying waste the country before him. The forts of Molwagle, Colar, and Ouscottah, surrendered at his approach. The Sultan, alarmed at this daring invasion into the very heart of his country, and apprehensive for the fate of Bangalore, left his position on the frontier, hurried thither with all his forces, and arrived in the neighbourhood the very same day with Lord Cornwallis. The following morning witnessed an action of considerable importance between the two armies. The cavalry of the English army had been employed in reconnoitring the fort; they fell in with the rear of the enemy, considerably detached from the main body, attacked it, put it to flight, imprudently pursued it, were met by a far superior force, and put to flight in their turn.

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However, they soon rallied, and, having received large reinforcements from the camp, they succeeded in finally repulsing the enemy, and gained the honour of the day. Preparatorily to an attack on the fort, Lord Cornwallis, on the 7th of February assaulted and carried the pettah, or town, in which he found a very great quantity of forage and provisions: a most fortunate circumstance, as the desolated state of the surrounding country presented the alarming prospect of approaching famine. The rejoicing on this occasion was damped by the loss of Lieut. Col. Moorhouse, who fell in the assault: an officer of distinguished military talents, and universally beloved. From this important post Tippoo twice attempted to dislodge the English; and, though assisted by a ally from the fort, returned both times to his camp unsuccessful: the tide of fortune having now turned strongly against him. From a piece of barbarous policy which he is said about this time to have committed, it would appear that he himself had become extremely apprehensive of personal danger. Contrarily to the conditions of the peace of Mangalore, he had retained several prisoners in his possession since the last war. He had constantly denied the charge; and left, being found, they should discover his perfidy, he now ordered them all to be put to death.

After the taking of the pettah, the English were incessantly employed in erecting batteries against the fort, which, from the shelter they enjoyed, they were able to do with great safety and convenience. On the 14th the batteries opened and played incessantly till the 21st, when a practicable breach

was effected. Lord Cornwallis resolved to storm the place that very night; but, to prevent all possibility of Tippoo learning his intentions, he did not communicate the plan to the troops till the very moment when he ordered its execution. The assault began about eleven at night, and was crowned with most ample success. In two hours the British standard floated from the ramparts. The troops entered the breach in three divisions, each of which took a different direction; and, having carried every thing before them, met at the opposite gate, where they commenced a dreadful (we hope an unavoidable) carnage upon the panick-struck, unresisting, flying garrison. The passage was choaked by their numbers and impetuosity; and they fell by hundreds under the bayonets of the British. Had they not been thus disposed of, perhaps they might have rallied and retaken the fort. The loss on our part was fifty killed and wounded: above 1000 Mysoreans were killed. Among the latter was the brave killidar, or governor. Lord Cornwallis made an offer of his body to the Sultan. His answer was magnanimous: "I consider," said he, "the spot of ground which a soldier covers when he falls in the execution of his duty, as the most honourable that can be chosen for his grave." There were found in Bangalore immense quantities of provisions, 124 pieces of ordnance, and more gunpowder than could be used during the war.

Lord Cornwallis, having left the 74th regiment and three battalions of sepoys under the command of Colonel Duff, to garrison his new conquest, now marched northwards,

wards, with the rest of his army, to join a large body of cavalry, which were now coming from the Nizam to his assistance, under the command of Raja Feijee Wunt. On the first day of his march he fell in with the rear of Tippoo's army, which he put to flight, and obliged the Sultan to abandon the plan which he had formed to prevent the intended junction. After a pleasant journey for several days, in which he was unmolested by the enemy, and superabundantly supplied with provisions by the friendly Polygars, his Lordship was at last joined by the Nizam's cavalry, to the number of 15,000, little distinguished however by order, discipline, or skill. A large force had been left to the southward when General Meadows left Trichinopoly. This had been ordered to proceed to Amboor, and to join the grand army without delay. Lord Cornwallis, becoming anxious for its fate, now hastened upon its route, and had the pleasure to find it in safety at the edge of the Ghauts. Having thus succeeded in every thing to his mind, he returned to Bangalore. — And here prudence would have directed him to remain. The season was far advanced; the monsoon might be expected to set in before he could have any reasonable hopes of completing his plan; he had not made any proper arrangements for being regularly supplied with provisions; numberless strong forts remained untaken on his rear: however, anxious lest things should take an unfavourable turn; alarmed at the fluctuating state of politics in Europe; eager, on account of the Company's finances, to bring the war to a speedy termination; wishing to maintain the favourable

impression which had been made upon the allies by the capture of Bangalore; expecting to be speedily joined by the Bombay and the Mahratta armies, and to be liberally supplied by them, — Lord Cornwallis set forward about the beginning of May for the enemy's capital.

Unfortunately, at this period, there happened a very heavy fall of rain, a thing at this season extremely rare, which rendered the roads, rugged by nature, deep, heavy, and almost impassable. After a difficult, laborious, and fatiguing march of ten days, in which a great part of the bullocks died, and the ordnance and entrenching-tools were obliged to be drawn chiefly by the troops, the army arrived at Arakerry, a village about nine miles from Seringapatam. Tippoo, guessing the purpose of Lord Cornwallis, had returned to his capital four days before, and was now posted, with his army, betwixt him and the town, at the foot of the hills which rise on the north bank of the Cavery. The British General wished to attack him; but a track of swampy ground, intersected with deep ravines, extended between the two armies; and the command of this passage, naturally so difficult, Tippoo had secured by the erection of several strong batteries. Still he must be dislodged; and as the only means, Lord Cornwallis having left the baggage, artillery, &c. in the camp, with a *corps de reserve*, set out with the rest of the army himself, soon after dark, intending to make a circuit round the hills on the right, and to fall unexpectedly on the enemy's camp at day-break. It rained violently all night, and the cattle were exhausted with drawing the guns along

along the front of our lines, so that when day broke, Lord Cornwallis had the mortification to find that his troops had made but small progress in their journey. However, he persevered in his intention to attack, although darkness no longer concealed his motions: and he had the good fortune to arrive within a small distance of the enemy before they had any notice of his approach. A hill which was unoccupied, seemed to command Tippoo's left flank. The first brigade, which headed our column, pushed on to gain this important station; but upon descending a height, which had for some time concealed it from their view, they saw it taken possession of by a detachment which the Sultan had sent for that purpose, the moment he discovered the English army. Our troops were some time dreadfully annoyed by some guns which were opened upon them from the hill; and had it not been for the shelter afforded them by a ledge of rocks, they would have been completely enfiladed. The whole army having at last come up, and being properly arranged, Colonel Maxwell was dispatched with the 52d and 71st regiments, and Major Langley's Brigade, to storm the height. The troops ascended with rapidity and steadiness, under a dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry. Not a Mysorean offered to turn his back till he was within a few yards of the British bayonets. The charge was made with such spirit, that they were, at length, all obliged to fly, and to abandon their guns. The whole army then advanced to the attack, and the battle became general. Greater bravery, or more steady discipline, could not have been displayed by the troops of any European potent-

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tate than by the Indians, under Tippoo, on the 15th of May. However, nothing could resist the efforts of British valour; they were obliged to yield on every side; they were driven from rock to rock, and from mountain to mountain: at each they made a fresh stand while their cannon were drawing off, but were constantly beat back, and were at length obliged to seek shelter under the guns of the capital. Glorious was the view which the setting sun displayed to the victorious English: the proud capital of Mysore rising upon an island in all the grandeur of eastern magnificence, adorned with splendid buildings, defended by immense fortifications, and skirted with the most superb gardens;—the rapid Caverry winding round its walls, everywhere lined with forts and filled with crowds of the flying enemy. The noble prize seemed now within their reach: but in the hour of victory they found it necessary to retreat, and a course of disasters which followed, threatened to snatch it from them for ever.

Scarcity began to appear in the camp; and a covering army was necessary while carrying on the operations of the siege. Lord Cornwallis, when he set out on this expedition, had trusted to the co-operation of the Mahrattas. He had for some time daily expected their arrival, in vain, and now gave up all hopes of their assistance. One resource still remained. General Abercrombie, agreeably to his instructions, had proceeded early in the spring from the neighbourhood of Cananore; had occupied a strong position at the entry of the Poodichieram pass by the 1st of March, after a diffi-

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cult and fatiguing march over a woody mountainous country; had now reached Periapatam, and had, with infinite labour, brought along with him large stores of provision, and a numerous battering train. His force was not sufficiently considerable to enable him to march boldly down the open country to Seringapatam; and Lord Cornwallis, as the only way to save his own army, or to do any thing against Tippoo, left his present advantageous position, and marched up the Cavery, with an intention to join him. When he had reached Canniambaddy, most unfortunately, the river suddenly swelled to an uncommon size, and rendered a junction impossible. It was here that the hardships and distresses of the army began. An epidemic disorder prevailed among the cattle, which carried off the most of them, and rendered those which remained of little service. The scarcity of grain was such, that rice was worth nearly its weight in gold; and the lower class of followers was obliged to subsist upon the putrid flesh of the deceased bullocks;—and, to crown this scene of distress, the small pox malignantly raged in the camp.

It was thus found absolutely necessary to give up all idea of making an attempt upon Seringapatam this season. A messenger was dispatched to Periapatam, desiring General Abercrombie to return to the Malabar coast; who reluctantly began his retreat. Part of his battering train was destroyed; and his army, who thought they had surmounted all their difficulties, had the mortification to find their exertions of no utility, and had to return, worn down with sickness and fatigue, and exposed to

the incessant rains which at that season deluge the western coast of the peninsula.

Lord Cornwallis remained some days at Canniambaddy, to cover the retreat of the Bombay army. Having then burst the greatest number of his battering guns, he began his mortifying retreat towards Bangalore. The army had not completed the first day's march, but dreary and tedious march of six miles, when the greatest alarm was given by a party of horse suddenly riding in on the baggage-flank. But though their appearance was hostile, they turned out to be friends; they constituted the advanced guard of the long expected Mahratta army. Joy now sparkled in every eye. The main body of the Mahrattas was at no great distance. The unremitting diligence of Tippoo, in intercepting intelligence, was the cause that they were thus themselves the first messengers of their approach.

All fear of want being now removed, the army again encamped before Seringapatam on the French rocks; the station which Tippoo had occupied before the battle of the 15th of May. But as the monsoon might be expected to set in in a few weeks, Lord Cornwallis thought that it would be more advisable to return northwards, and to leave the siege of the enemy's capital as the object of another campaign. The Sultan, who had made great rejoicings on the first retreat of the English, now became extremely uneasy, and made offers of peace; but as this seemed only a plan to sow jealousy betwixt us and our allies, his offers were rejected.

At Milgottah Lord Cornwallis was joined by the Mahratta army, consisting

consisting of two divisions; one of twenty thousand horse and foot; the other of twelve. The first was commanded by Purieram Bhow, a celebrated Mahratta warrior; the other by Hurry Punt, a Brahmin of the highest rank, who was likewise meant to act as minister plenipotentiary of the nation. They expressed great satisfaction at this meeting, and made many apologies for their past conduct. From Milgottah the confederate armies proceeded to Nangimungulum: they then turned eastward, took the fort of Hooleadroog, and reached Bangalore about the beginning of July. The Mahrattas immediately separated company with our army, and marched to Sera, a fertile district, where they might more easily be supported. The English troops, upon their return to Bangalore, had been extremely sickly and dispirited; but they were now plentifully supplied with every convenience; and they soon regained their health and spirits. Captain Read had collected from the banjarries 10 or 12,000 bullocks loaded with grain; the confidence of the natives becoming great in their new masters, they everywhere again cultivated their fields; the communication was open with the Carnatic; and hundreds of sutlers every day arrived in camp from Madras. Lord Cornwallis having made the necessary arrangements for being properly supplied with provisions the ensuing campaign, and for having his battering train renewed, — and the troops being rested and refreshed, determined to remain no longer inactive.

The first object which engaged his attention, was, the establishment of a safe and easy communication with the Carnatic, by which the

supplies which he had ordered might be conveyed to him. The Mugglee pass, through which he himself had come, was greatly too far to the north. The only one, by which a train of artillery could be conveniently conducted to Bangalore, was that by Polycode; and, unfortunately, this was commanded by several strong forts, which were in the possession of the enemy. However, it was determined to lay open this passage; and about the middle of July the army marched to the attack of Aufsoor, which stands at the head of it.

The country through which they passed was beautiful, fertile, and in the highest state of cultivation. Indeed, notwithstanding the religious tyranny of Tippoo, his dominions were everywhere found flourishing, his subjects opulent and happy, and the condition of every class of inhabitants far superior to that in Bengal, or any of the Company's possessions. Aufsoor is naturally strong; and Tippoo, sensible of its importance, had sent his chief engineer regularly to fortify it. The war broke out before the fortifications were finished, and luckily the weakest part had been left to be fortified last. Still it might have stood a considerable siege; but the garrison, intimidated at the approach of the British army, judged it untenable; and, having blown up one of the bastions, basely abandoned it. The guns were spiked; but a large quantity of provisions and military stores was found in the fort.

To the south-east of Aufsoor, farther down the Polycode pass, stands Rayacottah, a hill-fort of immense strength. From this, flying squadrons of horse might have been sent to intercept our con-

voys; Lord Cornwallis, therefore, wished to get possession of it; but, as if resolutely defended, it was nearly impregnable, he detached Major Gowdie, with a small force, to make an attempt upon it; having ordered him, if it did not yield at the first attack, instantly to return to the army. Upon his arrival, Major Gowdie sent in a flag of truce, with a summons; and the killidar refusing to surrender, prepared to storm the pettah next morning. The most brilliant success attended the assault: not only was the pettah taken, but, the assailants mingling with the fugitives, a lodgement was made in some of the outworks of the fort. Encouraged by this success, and having reason to believe that the garrison was intimidated, Major Gowdie requested leave to continue the attack. A reinforcement was sent to join his brigade; and his spirited measures were enforced by a movement of the army towards Rayacottah. A breach was soon made in the upper wall,—the killidar beat a parley, and agreed to surrender the fort, on condition of security to private property, and his being allowed to go with his family to reside in the Carnatic. It was found amply supplied with guns, ammunition, and provisions; and, as there were several tanks filled with water within the walls, it might have bid defiance to every thing but a tedious blockade. Intimidated by the fall of Rayacottah, the hill-forts of Anctitydurgum, Neclagheri, Rutnagheri, Oodeadurgum, and Chenraydurgum, gave up on being summoned, or were taken after a slight resistance.

The Polycote pass was now completely open; and the important convoy which had been for some

months collecting at Amboor, was ordered instantly to proceed by this route. It left Amboor on the 2d of August, and by eight easy marches joined the army on the 10th, then encamped near Auffoor. One hundred elephants marching two abreast into camp, all laden with treasure, on the foremost of which was displayed the British standard, were a sight fit to have graced an eastern triumph; and accompanied by six thousand bullocks, all laden with grain, and many hundreds of coolies with baskets of private supplies, formed such a convoy as never before joined an army in India.

About this time Tippoo, a second time, made some advances to a general pacification. But the vakeel whom he sent, being a Mahratta by birth, and highly odious to that nation, Lord Cornwallis was obliged to appoint a guard upon his person to preserve him from outrage. Having made some demands which were inadmissible, he was ordered to depart.

The next object which engaged the attention of the British General, was, to open a communication with the country of the Nizam; from which important supplies might be obtained. He therefore marched with the army to the north-east of Bangalore, and sent a strong body of troops, with several guns and mortars, to reduce the forts which lay in that quarter. The command was again deputed to Major Gowdie. His first efforts were directed against Raymanghur; which, after a vigorous siege of a few days, surrendered at discretion. At the same time Ambagee-Durgum and Chittum-Cotha submitted to a detachment under Captain Read.

The following enterprise afforded a more ample field for the display

play of military talents. Nundydroog, the capital of a large and valuable district, is built on the summit of a mountain, 1,700 feet in height, three-fourths of its circumference being absolutely inaccessible; and the only side which can be ascended, protected by two excellent walls and a strong outwork which covered the gateway, and afforded a formidable flank fire. Before this fortress Major Gowdie arrived on the 1st of October, with the seemingly romantic design of besieging it. With infinite labour he formed a road up the side of a neighbouring mountain, and erected a battery upon the top of it; when he had the mortification to find that the distance was so great, that the battery was not effectual even in taking off the defences of the fort. There was no alternative, but either to abandon the enterprize, or work up to within breaching distance on the face of the droog itself: and rather than leave a place of such consequence in possession of the enemy, and thus shew that we could be foiled in an attack upon a fortified place, this undertaking was adopted. The fatigue and danger of the troops for a fortnight were inconceivable; but the batteries were at length opened, and the two breaches made in the outer wall. These being reported practicable, Lord Cornwallis approached with the army, and detached the 36th and 71st regiments to lead the assault. General Meadows gallantly went as a volunteer at their head. The attack was made a little before midnight, on the 21st. The approach of our troops was soon perceived by the vigilant garrison, and the fort immediately illuminated with blue lights. A dreadful fire of cannon and musquetry was opened, and quantities of large stones were

thrown down; which bounding from precipice to precipice, and acquiring prodigious velocity in their flight, committed the most horrible devastation. But in spite of all their efforts, the assailants steadily ascended; the breaches were stormed, the inner wall was crossed by escalade, the place was taken, and the British standard was displayed from the ramparts. Thus was Nundydroog taken by regular approach in three weeks; which, when in a weaker state of defence, the Mahrattas did not yield to Hyder Ally till after a tedious blockade of three years!

Lord Cornwallis then hastened eastward to the passes, to cover some convoys which were coming from the Carnatic. He had become apprehensive for their safety, from some rumours which had reached him, of a strong hostile army being then in the Baramaul.

What Tippoo's views had been during the autumn, it is not easy to conjecture; but he remained rather inactive. He probably did not wish to run the risk of a general engagement, on which he would have staked his crown, and trusted to the strength of his capital for defeating the designs of his enemies. He confined himself chiefly to strengthening the works of Seringapatam, and drawing supplies from the small portion of his dominions which was yet in his possession. He once marched a considerable way to the north, with a seeming intention to attack Purseram Bhow; but he returned as soon as he had covered a large convoy which was then coming to him from Bednore.

The only offensive enterprize in which he engaged, was against Coimbatore; in which Lieutenant Chalmers had been left with a small force at the end of the first campaign.

paign. About the beginning of July, Tippoo sent a large body of troops to recover the provinces ravished from him on the south.

They first laid siege to Coimbatore. The place was resolutely defended with very unequal means, by Lieutenant Chalmers; and tho' after a three weeks siege, a breach was stormed, the assailants were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. A detachment from Major Cuppage, who was stationed in the neighbourhood at Palicaudchery, completed their route; and the shattered remains of the army, without accomplishing any thing, were obliged to reascend the Ghauts.

Perseverance or obstinacy, as it is spoken of by his friends or his enemies, is a striking feature in the character of Tippoo. Determined not to be baffled in his intentions on Coimbatore, he sent Cumber Ud Deen Cawn, his second in command, with a numerous army to retrieve the disgrace which his arms had sustained. The Cawn arrived before this wretched but gallantly defended fort, about the end of October. Lieutenant Chalmers, with his handful of men, remained undaunted at the view of this mighty host. For three weeks they baffled every effort of the Cawn to make an impression on the place. At length, being reduced to extremities, their ammunition being exhausted, every thing that was eatable being consumed, and Major Cuppage having failed in an attempt to relieve them, they agreed to capitulate, upon condition that they should be allowed to march out with military honours; that their property should be secure, and that they should be sent to the Carnatic, upon their parole not to serve against Tippoo during the war. All these conditions were violated;

and they were led prisoners to Seringapatam.

The Sultan had other objects in view, in this expedition to the countries below the Ghauts. A party of horse, having separated from Cumer Ud Deen, at Demiacottah, crossed the Cavery, came through the Tapoor pass, and, with great secrecy and rapidity, conducted a killidar in whom he had perfect confidence, with a reinforcement to Kistnagheri, the only place of consequence he now possessed betwixt Bangalore and the Carnatic.

Having performed this service, one half of them returned to Tippoo, with some tribute which had been collected in that quarter; while the other began to ravage the Baramaul, and to threaten interruption to our convoys.

It was a rumour of the depredations of this detachment which reached Lord Cornwallis while encamped before Nundydroog, and, which was greatly exaggerated, that made him hasten towards Aufsoor. The whole army could not have acted to advantage amidst high mountains and narrow defiles; he, therefore, detached Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell, with the 74th regiment and three battalions of sepoy, to scour the Baramaul of these marauders. As Colonel Maxwell advanced, he learnt that their number was inconsiderable, and that they harboured chiefly about Benagra, a strong mud fort, about the south end of the valley. He therefore hastened thither by forced marches, and arrived before it on the 31st of October. The governor fired upon the flag of truce, which was sent to summon him to surrender. The fort was immediately assaulted, the walls were mounted

mounted by scaling ladders, and the gates burst open. The garrison now hung out a white flag—it was too late; they had violated the rules of war; and out of 300, the whole number, 150 were put to the sword. Colonel Maxwell then returned towards Caveripatam, and encamped on the 7th of November in the neighbourhood of Kistnageri; having received orders to attack the lower fort, and to destroy the pettah, in order to leave as little cover and encouragement as possible for predatory parties of the enemy to remain in that quarter. To give the enemy no time for preparation, he marched from his camp on this hazardous expedition, at ten o'clock the same night. The pettah was carried, after a feeble resistance, and even some works which form a kind of intermediate fort betwixt the other two; and all would have been well, had not the British troops, flushed with their success, followed the flying garrison, and made an attack upon the upper fort itself. During the course of the war, greater gallantry was not displayed than in this unfortunate enterprize. The only possible way of getting at the wall, was by a narrow passage commanded by several guns. Forward into this, a party rushed with scaling ladders; but a clear moonlight discovering their motions, they were mowed down by a discharge of grape-shot. Another and another marched up, who shared their fate. After repeated attempts, the scaling ladders being all demolished, Colonel Maxwell was obliged to desist; and having burnt the pettah, returned to his camp. Upon mustering the troops next morning, it was found that our loss in this unsuccessful tho' brilliant enterprize, had been very considerable. Colo-

nel Maxwell, having, according to his orders, reduced several small forts in the neighbourhood of Aufsoor, and delivered them to friendly polygars, rejoined the grand army on the 30th of November, then stationed at a small distance from Bangalore.

The plan was now nearly accomplished which Lord Cornwallis had laid down for the employment of his troops during the monsoon; the battering train had arrived from the Carnatic, and the preparations were nearly completed for the ensuing campaign. One formidable obstacle was yet to be removed before the army could again move against the enemy's capital. About 18 miles west of Bangalore, on the road to Seringapatam, stands Savendroog, or the Rock of Death. It is a place of immense natural strength, being a vast mountain of rock, which rises above half a mile in perpendicular height from a base of eight or ten miles in circumference. It was embraced by walls on every side, and defended by cross walls and barriers wherever it was deemed accessible. It had likewise the advantage of being divided above by a chasm into two hills; which having each their defences, formed catadels, which might be maintained independent of the lower works, and independent of each other. It is not less famed for its noxious atmosphere than for its stupendous size and wonderful strength. From its fatal climate it is said to have derived its formidable name. This fortress, in the hands of Tippoo, presented a most serious obstacle to the reduction of Seringapatam. From its situation and from its extent, it prevented all communication with Bangalore, except with a powerful army; so that no convoys of provisions

could have passed it during the siege, which might have thus been obliged to be raised a second time. Lord Cornwallis therefore, undaunted by the difficulty of the enterprize, resolved to attack it immediately.

This resolution is said to have communicated great pleasure to the Sultan, who congratulated his army on the infatuation of the English, saying, that one half of them would die of sickness, and the other be killed in the attack. Had the garrison done their duty, his prediction might have been verified; but as they trusted more to the strength of the place than to their own exertions, it was taken without the loss of a man. The siege was carried on by a detachment under Colonel Stuart. In about a fortnight a road was cut through the woods which surround the Droog, and upon the north side, where it is least giddily steep, batteries were opened, and a breach beat down. At mid-day the troops advanced boldly to the assault, the band of the 52d regiment playing "Britons strike home;" and they stormed the breaches with little opposition. The garrison were instantly panic-struck, threw down their arms, and fled to the western summit of the mountain. Here they found no asylum; their number impeded their flight; the assailants followed close at their heels; a serjeant of the regiment shot dead the man who was letting down the gate; and the English rushed in and took possession of the place. Not one of our men was hurt; about 100 of the enemy were killed, and many of them dashed from the precipices in attempting to escape.

From Savendroog Colonel Stuart marched against Outredroog,—not much inferior in strength and importance. The killidar with

spirit refused to surrender; but being unsupported by his soldiers, who began to consider the English as something more than mortal, the place was taken by storm in a few days. Two of our men were wounded in the assault. Ram-Gurry and Sheria-Gurry, which commanded the middle road, were captured soon after, by a detachment under Captain Welch; and scarce a fort remained in the possession of the enemy to the north of Seringapatam.

It was now the middle of January 1791, when Col. Lloyd, after experiencing great difficulties on his march, had arrived with the last of the supplies, the recruits he had raised in the Carnatic, and the draughts which had been sent out from Europe. The weather had set in fine, and every thing was ready for entering upon the last, and the grand enterprize of the war.

But, before we follow the British army to Seringapatam, it will be proper to give some account of the transactions of our allies. These were of no great magnitude or importance. The Nizam's army was engaged almost during the whole season in the siege of Gurramcondah. Having stormed the pettah, in the beginning of November, it marched eastwards to cover some convoys then expected, a detachment being left behind to blockade the upper fort. Soon after, Hyder Sahib, Tippoo's eldest son, came to the relief of Gurramcondah, and expelled the Nizam's garrison. The main army upon its return retook the pettah, and soon after joined Lord Cornwallis, then before Outredroog.

Purseram Bhow, the Mahratta General, was more active and more successful. He first took Kin-
koopy,

kooppy, a hill-fort, about eighteen miles from Chittledroog. He then marched westwards to the banks of the Tumbudra, where he reduced Hooly, Onore, and Bankapoor. Upon advancing to Simoga, he found a numerous army posted before it. Though superior to his own, the Bhow boldly attacked and completely defeated it:—Simoga was the reward of his victory. This district was the only part of his dominions which now remained in the possession of the unfortunate Sultan. Fearing that this also would be ravished from him, he sent Cummurud Deen Cawn, with an immense force, to expel the Mahrattas. Purseram Bhow had engaged to join the Bombay army early in January; but, flushed with his successes, he forgot his promise, and advanced to the siege of Bednore, the capital of the province. He here had reason to lament his want of faith; he found Cummurud Deen lying before it, and was obliged to retire. Now he would have wished to form a junction with General Abercrombie, and marched up the Caverry with that intention; but he had lost the proper opportunity in pursuing his idle visions of conquest. Galled by reflections on his folly and imprudence, he changed his route, and marched towards the grand army; with which he was not able to come up till after hostilities had ceased.

General Abercrombie, having with great loss from sickness re-conducted his army to the Malabar coast last autumn, went himself to Bombay to make preparations, and to manage the civil business of the presidency. He left it again, having procured the recruits, draughts,

and military stores which were necessary for his expedition, and arrived at Tellichery about the beginning of next December. He immediately proceeded on the same route as last year, by the Poodcherum pass, and was now on his way to Periapatam.

Lord Cornwallis having, before the Nizam's General and Hurry Punt, made a general review of the forces (who being in high health and spirits, all newly clothed and in an excellent state of discipline, made a noble appearance, and gave great satisfaction to the Indian chiefs) moved forwards a second time to the enemy's capital; and after five easy and unmolested marches, arrived before Seringapatam on the 5th of February 1792.

The Sultan was then shut up with his army in a fortified camp opposite to the city, on the north bank of the Caverry. The insular situation of Seringapatam, and the nature of the surrounding country, are well known to every Englishman. Upon the strength of this camp Tippoo rested his chief hope of safety. He had spent a great part of the summer in adding to its fortifications; and flattered himself that, before the English could make any impression upon it, the periodical rains would set in, and they would be obliged to withdraw. The camp was surrounded by a bound hedge, a ditch, &c.; on the front it was protected by a large canal; on the left by a strong fortification at an ead-gah or pagodah; and on the right by a high hill and the windings of the river Lockany at its foot. Small redoubts and defences were scattered through the whole of it.

From

From this strong position Lord Cornwallis determined to dislodge Tippoo the very night after that of his arrival. On the evening of the 6th, after the troops were dismissed from the parade, orders were issued for a general assault. The baggage, all the guns, &c. were to be left in the camp, protected by a strong corps, under Colonel Duff. The remaining troops were to be divided into three columns; the center to be commanded by Lord Cornwallis in person, the right by General Meadows, and the left by Colonel Maxwell. The center division was to march straight forward, and to enter the camp about the middle of the bound hedge; the right division was to make a circuit to the west, to attack the redoubt at the pagodah, and, having carried it, to turn to the east, and join Lord Cornwallis. The left division was to march round the hills on the east of the enemy's encampment, to take the Carighaut pagodah, a very strong post on the westmost hill, to cross the Lockany near its conflux with the Cavery, to penetrate the camp, and to concentrate its force with the commander in chief. All the columns having routed the enemy and expelled them from the north side of the Cavery, were to follow the fugitives across the river, and to do their utmost to effect a lodgement upon the island itself. The orders were joyfully received by the troops. The plan of attack was, indeed, bold beyond their expectation; but, like a discovery in science, which excites admiration, it had only to be known to meet with general applause. At half after eight the army assembled; and the officers commanding divisions finding that the guides and scaling ladders had arrived, and that every corps was in its proper place, began their march. The evening was calm and serene; the troops moved on in determined silence; and the full moon, which had just risen, promised to light them to success. Dreadful was the suspense which reigned during the night through the camp. Upon this enterprize the fate of the war depended. The soldiers felt the most torturing anxiety for the safety of their companions and their General. They saw the whole extent of Tippoo's lines illuminated by discharges of musquetry; they heard a heavy firing from all the fortifications, but they knew not the event. On the approaching dawn they found that British valour had been crowned with victory. — Willingly would we enter into a detail of the operations of each division, but our bounds require that we should only state the result. Each fully executed the part assigned to it. The army of the Sultan was driven across the Cavery; the redoubts at each end of the camp were taken; a detachment from the centre division made a lodgement in the island, and the remainder of it was joined by the other two before day. It would appear that the Mysoresans did not expect so early a visit, and that they were unprepared to receive it. They made a spirited stand at several forts; but being driven from these, they fled in confusion; and meeting unexpectedly with parties of our men, who had entered by a different route, many of them were cut to pieces. At one time Lord Cornwallis was in imminent danger. The greater part of his detachment

tachment had separated from him in the confusion of a nocturnal attack. While remaining with a few followers near the river, he was attacked by a large body of the enemy who crossed it. He was nearly surrounded, and his hand was grazed by a musquet-ball. At this critical juncture he was joined by a considerable reinforcement, which enabled him to repulse the enemy, and to retire to a more secure situation.

As soon as day-light appeared, and the Sultan was able to estimate his losses, he made a spirited attempt to retrieve them. Colonel Stuart, who had assisted Lord Cornwallis in the command of the centre division, and who had headed the detachment from it which crossed the river, was now stationed at the Laul Bang, a magnificent garden belonging to the Sultan, at the eastern extremity of the island. From this Tippoo now tried to dislodge him; but, being repeatedly repulsed, he was obliged to desist from the attempt. He then made a grand effort to retake the Sultan's redoubt, on the north side of the river. Several small redoubts were still in his possession between it and the Mosque redoubt, which stands farther west: it was likewise within cannon-shot of the fort itself. A heavy fire was immediately opened from every gun that would bear upon it; and, as the gorge was open, the party suffered severely. A party of Mysoreans then advanced to assault it; but after an obstinate struggle, were beat back with great loss. The garrison were now in a most deplorable situation: they were parched with thirst, on account of the excessive heat and sultriness of the day; but not a drop

of water could be found: many of them were lying gasping on the ground, miserably wounded, and no assistance could be given them. To complete their misfortunes their ammunition was expended, and they saw a party of the enemy advancing to renew the attack. At this moment two bullocks, loaded with cartridges which had strayed through the night, were discovered in the ditch: the soldiers run, filled their boxes, and were again in the ranks before the enemy arrived. Animated with something like phrenzy, they attacked them with fury, and obliged them a second time to retire. Lord Cornwallis, who had ascended the pagodah-hill early in the morning, where he remained through the day, had witnessed the gallant defence of the Sultan's redoubt, and now reinforced the garrison, and sent them refreshments. Soon after resolving, if possible, to recover this important station, the Mysoreans approached a third time, and were a third time driven back, leaving the English complete masters of the post. It was now a horrid scene of carnage; 2 officers and 19 privates lay dead; 3 officers and 22 privates were at the point of death; and few had escaped without a wound.

This was the last effort that Tippoo made beyond the Cavery. He again attempted to drive Colonel Stuart from the island; but having failed, he withdrew his forces from all the redoubts in the neighbourhood, and shut himself up in Seringapatam. Lord Cornwallis encamped in the evening on the station formerly occupied by the Sultan. Considerable anxiety prevailed during the night, from intelli-

intelligence given by a Myforean captive of rank. He said that Tippoo had convened his principal sirdars, and had exhorted them to make a bold effort to drive the English from the island, and to recover the tomb of Hyder: that the chiefs had thrown their turbans on the ground, and had sworn to succeed, or perish in the attempt; and that the attack was to be made that night with the whole force of the empire. In consequence of this information the troops slept upon their arms, and a plan was concerted for crossing the river to support Colonel Stuart; but the night passed on in silence, and the morning broke without an alarm. It is probable that such an enterprise was in contemplation, but that the soldiers would not second the zeal of their officers. They had become extremely dispirited, and deserted in prodigious numbers. Upon mustering his army a few days after, Tippoo found that it was diminished by 20,000; of whom not more than 4000 had been killed by the English. The fort was now closely invested on two sides, and Lord Cornwallis was for some time incessantly employed in making preparations for the siege. A numerous party were kept at work in the island, in constructing pickets, gabions, and fascines. The noble garden of the Sultan was devoted to destruction; and the trees which had shaded their proud master, and contributed to his pleasures, were now to be formed into the means of protecting his enemies in subverting his empire.

Tippoo was now in a very critical situation. Of his extensive dominions there remained in his possession only a single fort; and

that he had reason to fear would not much longer be tenable. To the British General he attributed his misfortune; and he now made a daring attempt to extricate himself from all his difficulties, by aiming a secret blow at his life. His cavalry left the station where they had been encamped on the south of the Caverry, on the 10th of February, crossed the river at Arrakerry, and found means to get, unobserved, betwixt the Nizam's and the English army. They then enquired of some Lascars whom they met, for the tent of the Commander in Chief. Being mistaken for friends, they were directed to that of Colonel Duff, who commanded the artillery park. Immediately they drew their swords, advanced towards it at full speed, and cut down several who attempted to oppose them. At last the alarm was given; the troops turned out with alacrity, and discharged a volley at them, upon which they faced about, and galloped away in an instant. After this attempt Lord Cornwallis allowed a Captain's guard to protect his person. Had those assassins been conducted by a guide, or had their judgment been equal to their spirit, it is possible they might have effected their murderous purpose.

The attention of the army was engaged for some days in the formation of a junction with the Bombay army. Lord Cornwallis detached Colonel Floyd with all the cavalry, and a large body of foot to conduct it in safety to Seringapatam. This assistance was most seasonable. General Abercrombie had for some days been very much harrassed by parties of the enemy, and deprived of part of his baggage. On the forenoon of that day on which

which he was met by Colonel Floyd, their numbers had increased to an alarming degree, and he was obliged to halt, and draw up his troops in order of battle. Upon the appearance of Colonel Floyd they withdrew; and on the 16th he joined Lord Cornwallis without further loss or interruption.

Two thousand gabions, 10,000 fascines, and 20,000 pickets had now been prepared, and every thing was ready for commencing the attack of the place.

Seringapatam, of a triangular form, is invested on two sides by the Cavery. Lord Cornwallis had determined to attack it on the third side, as being most accessible; but as that too was the most strongly fortified, he altered his mind, and resolved to attack the north face of the fort, across the river. The trenches were ordered to be opened on the night of the 18th; but as this would have been nearly impossible, had the enemy had notice of the design, a detachment was sent to beat up their camp on the south, and thus draw off their attention. This commission was successfully executed by Captain Robertson, who crossed the river from the south side of the island, made a long detour through rice-grounds and swamps, fell upon the enemy at midnight, killed upwards of an hundred troopers, created an alarm through the whole fort, and returned without the loss of a man. Meanwhile the trenches had been opened, and batteries erected within 800 yards of the fort; and so well protected were the men, that they were but little annoyed by the dreadful fire opened upon them in the morning.

The Sultan fearing that a breach

would soon be effected, which would be followed up by an assault, thought of an expedient by which he proposed to retard the former, and to render the last impossible. He sent a detachment, who cut off a stream of water which run through the English camp, and turned it into the Cavery. But the stream was soon reconveyed to its accustomed channel, by a detachment sent by Lord Cornwallis, to investigate the cause of the failure of the waters; who drove the Mysoreans from its banks, and took up a station to guard it, during the remainder of the siege.

It was now judged proper, that the third side of the fort should likewise be invested; and General Abercrombie marched a little way up the river, crossed it without opposition, and, having repulsed a body of cavalry who then attacked him, encamped on some heights to the south-west of the town. He immediately prepared to attack the fort on that quarter; and, on the 21st, sent a party to occupy a redoubt, and a tope, or grove, which were within gun-shot of it. They took possession of them during the night; but Tippoo, alarmed at this near approach to the weakest side of the fort, ordered out a large detachment of his troops, who vigorously attacked the English, and made them retire in confusion: however, they soon rallied, and again got possession of the tope. The Mysoreans, being reinforced, a second time returned to the charge; and the ammunition of our men being expended, were again successful. At this time a battalion of sepoys came up with a supply of cartridges. The engagement was renewed, and maintained with

with determined perseverance on both sides. Fresh troops then poured out of Seringapatam; but they were met by a reinforcement sent by General Abercrombie; and after an obstinate and bloody battle, the English remained masters of the disputed ground.

In the mean time the siege was going forward, with great vigour, on the north side of the river, and promised soon to be brought to a fortunate conclusion:—the batteries had played for several days, and considerably damaged the works of the fort. A plentiful supply of materials was procured from the island; and, by the 23d of February, the second parallel was completed, and the ground marked out for the breaching batteries. On the night of the 23d, a little island in the river, at a small distance from the fort, was taken possession of, and a redoubt was constructed on it. Not a doubt was now entertained of the speedy surrender, or capture by assault, of Seringapatam; and the soldiers already considered as their own, the immense treasures which it contained.

Diligent preparations were making by General Abercrombie and Col. Stuart, for attacking the fort on the south and the east; Major Cuppage, having reduced almost all the forts to the south of Seringapatam, was soon expected with large supplies. The arrival of the Mahratta army, under Purseram Bhow, was looked for every moment; and such arrangements had been made, that, if a blockade should become necessary, the army would be plentifully supplied with provisions for many months.

Such was the state of affairs

when, on the morning of the 24th of February, orders were suddenly issued to desist from hostilities. Although, for the sake of not interrupting our narrative, we have forbore to mention it, a negotiation for peace had been for some time going forward. Soon after the arrival of the English army before his capital, the Sultan, becoming alarmed, liberated Lieutenant Chalmers, and the other officers taken at Coimbatore; and charged them with letters to Lord Cornwallis, suing for peace. The progress of the siege becoming more and more alarming, he again renewed his solicitations; when, at last appearing in earnest, his Lordship, with the representatives of the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, agreed to his proposal for the appointment of commissioners, to settle the terms. In consequence, several meetings were held betwixt the 15th and the 20th; but at these little was effected, as Tippoo still hoped much from the arrival of Cummer Ud Deen Cawn, whom he daily expected with large supplies from Bednore; and as his proud mind was not yet sufficiently humbled by adversity, to agree to the hard terms proposed to him. At last, on the 24th, his affairs appearing desperate, being importuned by all his friends, and fearing sedition within the fort from farther obstinacy, he submitted; and the preliminary articles of peace were signed. These were, first, That he should cede one half of his dominions to the allied powers: secondly, That he should pay three crores, and thirty lacks of rupees: thirdly, That he should unequivocally restore all the prisoners which had been taken by the My-
forcaus,

foreans, from the time of Hyder Ally; and fourthly, That two of his three eldest sons should be delivered up as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

In conformity to these terms, the treasure began to be carried out; and on the 26th, the young princes were conducted to the English camp. This ceremony was performed with great pomp. The princes were mounted each on an elephant, magnificently caparisoned, and attended by a numerous suite. Vast crowds, actuated by curiosity or affection, assembled at the gateway, as they left the fort. Lord Cornwallis, attended by his staff and some of the principal officers of the army, met the princes at the door of his tent as they dismounted from the elephants, conducted them in, one in each hand, and treated them with the utmost attention and tenderness. The princes are said by Major Dirom, who was present, to have been dressed in long white muslin gowns and red turbans. They had several rows of large pearls round their necks, from which was suspended an ornament consisting of a ruby, and an emerald of considerable size, surrounded with large brilliants; and in their turbans each had a sprig of rich pearls. Bred up from their infancy with infinite care, and instructed in their manners to imitate the reserve and politeness of the age, it astonished all present to see the correctness and propriety of their conduct.

Sir John Kennaway, Tippoo's vakeels, and the vakeels of the allies, now held meetings daily for settling the definitive treaty; but for some time it proceeded but slowly. Many difficulties arose about ascertaining the value of the

coins of Mysore, and fixing upon the provinces the Sultan should cede. It soon became apparent that Tippoo strove by every means to procrastinate the negotiation; and at the same time it was discovered that he was with unremitting diligence repairing the damages which the fort had sustained, and strengthening its works. To yield up some territory upon the borders of the Rajahship of Coorg, as he was required, he absolutely refused. Lord Cornwallis then issued orders for the recommencement of the siege, and for the two princes to be sent off to the Carnatic. The army immediately resumed its former station; the guns were again sent over to the island, the old fascines were bound up and new ones collected; and the princes began their march towards Bangalore. Upon this shew of vigour and resolution, Tippoo became daunted, knowing that if hostilities should begin again, they would never terminate but in his utter destruction. He therefore sent word by his vakeels, that he would submit to every demand; and, on the 19th of March, the definitive treaty, as dictated by Lord Cornwallis, was delivered by his sons, to the ambassadors of the three allied powers, with the greatest solemnity.

Thus ended a war which delivered the Company from the dangers to which it was exposed, by the inveterate hostility of the most powerful of her neighbours; and constantly disposed, from interest and connection, to unite with France. The territories of which Tippoo was divested, were divided between the three allied powers, in three equal portions. This act of good faith to our allies, and the separate arrangements made by Lord Cornwallis,

wallis with the Nabobs of Oude and the Carnatic, as well as the principal native Rajahs, left a very honourable and advantageous impression of British justice on the memory of the natives and princes of Asia.

When the peace was concluded with Tippoo Sultan, which left to the East India Company a certain portion of the territories of that prince, an occasion presented itself to Lord Cornwallis of availing himself of the great discoveries that had been made in Bengal, relative to the ancient mode of collecting the landed revenue in India. The Company's servants in Bengal had made great progress in learning the Persian, and the native languages of Hindostan. Among these, two gentlemen were eminently distinguished, viz. Jonathan Duncan, Esquire; who was receiver of all complaints made by the natives, at the Exchequer of Calcutta; and Charles Grant, Esq. who had discovered an authentic copy of the original revenue-accounts, as they had been established by the great and humane Emperor Aekbar; and as they were in actual operation when Lord Clive acquired the Daunnee, and put an eminent Persian, Mahomed Reza Cawn, at the head of the revenue-department.

At that period, the established allowances, or salaries of the Company's servants were trifling, and were still connected with the mercantile œconomy of the Company, when they had not acquired any territorial possessions of value.

The natives, who understood the mode of collecting the revenues, had naturally set aside a certain

portion of the real collections for the system of patronage; and the Company's superior servants received, as marks of gratitude from these servants, or banians, who were employed under them, money; which was, without their knowledge, withheld from the public collections; the details of which were in accounts that they did not understand. In due time the Company became more generous to their servants; who, in return, made themselves masters of the native languages and revenue-accounts. The establishment of the government general, by act of parliament in 1774, fixed great and legal salaries for the members of that government; while it precluded the receipt of presents, or revenue-donations, from the natives.

The original native accounts, which Mr. Grant had discovered, were brought forward, and announced to the Company by the government of Bengal, in 1785, before Lord Cornwallis had succeeded to the government general. Many circumstances concurred to counteract the re-establishment of the ancient system. It became a great question, of obvious discontent and difference of opinion, among the Company's servants; and Mr. Grant, who had been invested with a seat in the revenue-council, in order to investigate and realize his own system, under the designation of *Shershadar* *, resigned his office, and returned to Europe. Afterwards, when Lord Cornwallis had obtained possession of those districts, in the north-west frontiers of the Carnatic, which Tippoo had been forced to cede, it was found

* In Persian, holder of the thread of the revenue accounts.

that

that a system of revenue-assessment and collection, nearly similar to that which had been discovered in Bengal, was in actual operation in those countries †. Lord Cornwallis availed himself of the discovery, and employed ‡ two military gentlemen, who were perfectly conversant in the languages and manners of the country, to superintend the collections of the ceded revenue. The result has been extremely favourable to the Company, and honourable to those gentlemen; the revenues have been doubled, and with additional relief to the natives. In a word, the agency of intermediate oppression has been superceded; and the cultivator, in paying his exact assessment, according to the original record of the land, is secured against unjust and extraordinary assessments from the dependents of government.

It has been alleged in the publications which have appeared on the same subject, relative to the system of Bengal Revenue-Collection, that a million sterling a year might be realized in the same manner by the Company, in the act of securing the natives from the oppressions of zemindars and banians.

On the Malabar side of India, the cessions made by Tippoo required a more able management for their realization. The revenues obtained there were paid by chiefs who had retained much of their feudal authority; and who were descended from the ancient Zamorins. Even the arms of Hyder

and Tippoo had not reduced those countries to regular obedience; and the most perfect knowledge of the customs of the ancient Hindoos, as well as much political conciliation, was requisite to calm and draw any real advantage from that part of the Mysore cessions.

To regulate and secure this important object, Lord Cornwallis selected Jonathan Duncan, Esquire; whom we have already named as the receiver, and indeed redressor of complaints, from the natives at the exchequer of Calcutta. That Gentleman had been recommended to his Lordship by Sir John Macpherson, his predecessor in the Bengal government; — who said, on introducing Mr. Duncan to his Lordship, "This is the gentleman who enabled me to carry through my administration to the satisfaction of the natives: free access to their petitions, and a reference of them to his investigation, they estimate from experience as justice." Mr. Duncan, who had been advanced by Lord Cornwallis to the administration of the celebrated province of Benares, was accordingly selected by his Lordship for the final settlement of the Malabar districts; and ultimately recommended and appointed to the government of Bombay:—a government of peculiar difficulty, from the number of its dependent factories, and their discordant interests.

We dwell with pleasure on these circumstances which connect the happiness of the Asiatics with

† See a very ingenious and laborious work, entitled "Revenue Establishments of Tippoo Sultan," written by the Right Honourable Mr. Greville, and published by Jeffery, 1793.

‡ Lieutenant Colonel Reid, and Captain Macleod.

the progress of our own administration, and the lights of ingenious discovery.

It is pleasing to observe, not only that arts and sciences were originally derived from Asia, but that lights are still discovered in the east, which are, or may be, eminently beneficial to the west. When we attend to the nature and effects of what is called "Saukar Right †, or the inviolability of its public credit," we may perhaps in-

dulge the hope, that means for composing the actual convulsions of Europe may be drawn from an attentive examination of the causes which prevent revolutionary volcanoes in India and China: for history and the present state of these noble countries, shew that opinions may be formed, and institutions established, capable of precluding many of the calamitous effects of war, by surviving and preventing the usual shipwreck of political revolutions.

† Saukars are public bankers.

ERRATA.

Page 3, col. 2, line 4 from top, *for* his great minister, *read* his father's great minister

5, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, *for* by *read* to

44, ... 2, ... 24 *for* palace *read* place

67, ... 2, ... 13 *for* 1794 *read* 1791

69, ... 1, ... 27 *for* impassible *read* impassable

85, ... 2, ... 12 *for* Russia *read* Prussia

88, ... 2, ... 3 from top, *for* invested *read* wrested

89, ... 1, ... 19 *for* signed *read* designed

90, ... 1, ... 4 *for* The intelligence *read* By the intelligence

105, ... 2, ... 4 from bottom, *for* 80,000 *read* 20,000

116, ... 2, ... 13 from top, *for* importance *read* impotence

174, ... 1, ... 16 *for* 400,000 *read* 4000

224, ... 1, ... 26 *for* Charles *read* James

— ... 2, ... 5 *for* these servants or banians, *read* those servants and banians

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

2d. **A** MELANCHOLY accident happened in the park of N. Scottone, Esq. of Chessham, Bucks. As two boys, about twelve years of age, were left to fodder the deer in the absence of the keeper, some words arose, when one struck the other with a fork, and made a push at him, and ran the tine five inches into his ear. The boy languished about ten days, and then died, in the greatest agonies, to the great grief of two kind friends, who had adopted him as their son. A jury was called, who sat about seven hours on the body, and brought in a verdict, wilful murder. Upon which the boy was committed to Aylesbury gaol, to take his trial next March assizes.

This day the Norwich mail was robbed of two bye bags, near Thetford; and a few hours after, a man was apprehended near Attleborough, with the two bags unopened. He was taken before a magistrate, and committed to gaol for further examination.

3d. Early this morning a fire broke out at the Tiger's Head, at Footscray, in Kent, which quickly destroyed it, with two adjoining houses.

4th. The excessive crowd which pressed for entrance at the Hay-Vol. XXXIV.

Market theatre this evening, to see the fourth representation of Cymon, which was honoured by the presence of his Majesty, was the cause of a truly melancholy accident:—A person of the name of Smith was trodden to death, a woman was dreadfully bruised, and many other distressing accidents happened, from the impetuosity of the greatest crowd ever remembered.

A donation of 3000l. from an unknown hand is transmitted to the Middlesex hospital, for the purpose of establishing a cancer-ward. There is no ward for that particular disorder in any hospital in Europe.

5th. This morning Mr. Holman, of Covent-Garden theatre, rang for his servant; and on his not answering to the bell, they found the man, on going into his room, dead in his bed. On further examination, it appeared he had taken poison, as a phial with some remaining in it was found by his bed-side. It seems the man had been insuring for some time past in the Irish lottery, and had gradually parted with every thing he had, and having nothing further to hazard, thus in despair, at last parted with life.

9th. A young man, named Honnysett, a native of Stone, in the Isle of Oxney, about twenty years of age, was found almost frozen to death in the shambles of Canterbury.

A

bury. He was taken to the work-house, and every means for his recovery were used without success.

12th. At night, as Captain R. Kingsmill was coming to town, on the entrance into Bond-street, his driver was reminded by a man on the pavement of the slippery state of the street, and advised to move cautiously. The post-boy attending to the suggestion, Capt. Kingsmill was induced to quit his chaise and walk; observing aloud, that by that means he could more effectually guard the trunk behind. He perceived two or three men, apparently well dressed, dogging the carriage the whole way; but from his determined precaution nothing was attempted till he arrived at his door in Woodstock-street, when stopping to knock at the door, and turning instantly round again, he found his trunk gone, but which way no one could tell. There being an alley across the street, it fortunately occurred that it might have been conveyed off that way to the next stand of coaches. A servant, dispatched to the stand, seeing a coach drawing up, enquired if it had not taken in a trunk? The boy standing with the horses answered, that the three gentlemen then in the coach had just put in a trunk. On the servant's opening the door to seize the trunk, one of these gentlemen bolted out and knocked him down. Recovering, however, he seized his trunk again, when the two others in their hurry got out on the other side, through the coach window. The cry of "stop thief" was given, but these audacious plunderers had the address to escape.

14th. About half past one o'clock this morning, the inside of the Pan-

theon in Oxford-street was discovered to be on fire by the patrols who were employed to watch the interior parts of it. It broke out in a new building adjoining the Pantheon, which had been erected for a scene-painter's room. To this part of the building the patrols had no access, so that it is supposed the fire had been kindling some time before it was discovered. At length the fire burst in a flame through a door at the back of the stage, which communicating with the scenery, the whole was instantly in a blaze. The servants who lived in the house had scarcely time to escape; leaving behind them all their clothes and other effects. From the combustible materials of the scenery, the oil and paint, the fire had got to such a height before the engines could arrive, that all attempts to save the building were in vain. The whole edifice, from Oxford-street to Marlborough-street Gardens, and from Poland-street to Blenheim Mews, is a heap of ruins. Not an article of the rich wardrobe and costly furniture,—the stage machinery, nor a musical instrument, is saved. The loss sustained is 60,000*l.* of which only 15,000*l.* is insured, 10,000*l.* in the Westminster, and five in the Phoenix fire-offices. The engines did not get into play until an hour and a half after the fire was discovered; and from the situation of the building they could not be worked with any degree of efficacy. The fire continued with great fury for ten hours, when the whole roof of the building, having fallen in, it slackened, and was pretty nearly subdued towards one o'clock in the afternoon. Very few of the adjoining buildings are damaged.

16 h. The Old Bailey sessions ended,

ended, when thirteen received sentence of death; twenty-two were ordered to be transported beyond the seas for seven years; thirteen to be imprisoned in Newgate; seven in Clerkenwell Bridewell; thirteen to be publicly and one privately whipped; two had judgment respited until a future period; and fourteen are to be delivered by proclamation.

18th. At the ball given this evening in honour of her Majesty's birthday, as the Prince of Wales was talking to the King, he felt a severe pull at his sword, and, on looking round, perceived the diamond guard of his sword was broken off and suspended only by a small piece of wire, which, from its elasticity, did not break. The person whom the Prince supposes to have made this impudent attempt, was exceedingly genteelly dressed, and had much the appearance of a man of fashion. The diamonds on the part thus impudently attempted to be stolen, were worth 3000l.

23th. A late letter from Dr. Mac-genis, of the Irish college at Lisbon, gives a most awful account of the earthquake which happened in that city on Sunday night, the 27th of November. The first shock was felt about twenty minutes after eleven, and consisted of five or six strong vibrations, so closely following each other that they could scarce be distinguished. After a pause of near five minutes, one very violent undulatory motion, that shook the whole house, succeeded, attended by a loud and tremendous crash, which, after a rustling noise and several hisses, like those we might imagine to proceed from a great mass of flaming iron suddenly quenched in cold water, went off like the report of a cannon. Meantime the

streets were crowded with the multitudes flying from their houses, whose chimnies were falling about their ears. The bells of St. Roche tumbled in all directions, and tolled in the most horrible sounds. After the first fright had a little abated, the churches were opened, and soon filled with multitudes, to deprecate the mischiefs of 1755, and imploring divine mercy. Between six and seven, her Majesty with her household set out for Belem, followed by almost every person of quality, who retired to some distance. So lasting was the consternation, that no business was done at the Exchange, the custom-house, or quays. The theatres were shut, and all public diversions forbid till further orders.

The House of Assembly of Jamaica has voted 500l. sterling for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of their late Governor the Earl of Effingham.

30th. Information having been received that a forgery of French assignats was carrying on in the King's Bench prison, a search was made yesterday, and forged assignats amounting to half a million pounds sterling, were found in one of the wards.

DIED, at Islington, Mrs. Judith Scott, aged 102.

16th. At her house in Southampton-row, Mrs. Griggs. Her executors found in her house eighty-six living and twenty-eight dead cats. A black servant has been left 150l. per annum, for the maintenance of himself and the surviving grimalkins. The lady died worth 30,000l.

FEBRUARY.

6th. Mr. Layton, of the Borough, entertained 200 friends in a new tub.

tub. It was made for Mr. Meux, brewer; and will contain 10,000 barrels, the cost of which will be about 3000*l*. Mr. Layton gives security of 2000*l*. to indemnify Mr. Meux from any loss that may be sustained within the first twelve months. On a side-table in the tub was a china bowl, on a mahogany stand with wheels, which contained twenty-seven gallons and a half of punch.

16th. At nine o'clock in the evening, a gang of twelve men, armed with knives and bludgeons, assembled on Saffron-hill, and, as appears, from a spirit of wanton barbarity, fell with their bludgeons and knives upon every person they met with, many of whom were severely and dangerously wounded, by stabs they received on the side and face. One poor labouring man, who was quietly passing by them, fell a victim to the cruelties practised by these desperadoes; for him they pursued; and one of the party gave him a mortal wound in his side. After he fell, this wretch kicked the poor man, and stamped upon him, and with the rest of his companions knocked down the gentleman who took the wounded man into his house, and demolished his windows. The name of the unfortunate man was Jordan Hosty: he was taken to St. Bartholomew's hospital, where he lingered a short time, and died. On Friday night two of the gang were taken in Holborn, Armstrong and Jones, who were on Saturday examined at Bow-street, and were by several persons sworn to have been very active in the above shocking transaction: that Armstrong was there with a drawn knife in his hand, and, as well as Jones, had a blud-

geon, with which they knocked down several persons, who appeared and identified them.

17th. *Northampton*. This morning about one o'clock, an alarming fire broke out at the Shoulder-of-Mutton public-house, on the Market-hill in this town, which in a short time entirely destroyed the same, together with all the furniture, &c. and what is most shocking to relate, out of nine people who were in bed, only one (Henry Marriott, the landlord) escaped the fury of the flames. The family consisted of the said Henry Marriott, his wife, and five children, and a man and his wife (lodgers who only came the preceding evening). The fire began in the cellar, where they had been brewing yesterday; and had communicated to the rooms on the first story before it was discovered by the watch, who immediately gave the alarm, but too late to save the unhappy sufferers.

21st. Mr. Donadieu on Saturday obtained a verdict in the court of King's Bench, of 50*l*. damages, against the Earl of Barrymore, for an assault on his person, last season at Brighton. When the evidence was closed, Lord Kenyon left the case entirely to the jury. He thought the conduct of some people of rank in this country a little disgraceful, and suspected there was some defect in their education when they were brought into a court of justice to finish it.

A verdict against his Lordship for 449*l*. was likewise obtained in the same court by a builder, for erecting the Wargrave theatre before his Lordship came to age. The plea of non-age was done away by subsequent promises of payment. —Lord Kenyon lamented that this young

young nobleman had, in his minority, been surrounded by designing men, who, instead of storing his mind with useful literature, had, he was afraid, depraved his taste, and perverted his disposition. With respect to the tendency of private theatrical entertainments, his Lordship doubted extremely whether they ever inculcate one single virtuous sentiment. He had known instances where they had a contrary effect; and they usually vitiated and debauched the morals of both sexes; the performers seldom retired from the entertainment but every Romeo knew the estimate of his Juliet's virtue.

Sentence of death was passed at the Old Bailey upon Charles Wiltshire, James Kenney, Esther Jane Hardy, James Gilthorp, and William Baker, for sundry highway robberies, &c.

La Chevaliere d'Eon's collection of Vauban's manuscripts was sold for 500*l*.

Twelve thousand pounds was the purchase-money for Cox's museum.

Mr. Duberley has gained 5000*l*. damages of General Gunning for crim. con. with Mrs. Duberley. Lord Kenyon, on this occasion, exposed the conduct of the guilty party to merited contempt.

22d. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when nineteen capital convicts, who had been respited during his Majesty's pleasure, were pardoned on condition of their being transported to the eastern coast of New South Wales for the term of their natural lives; which condition being rejected by Thomas Jones, one of the said convicts, he was ordered to be confined in a solitary cell until the same shall be reported to his Majesty. Twenty-

two convicts were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years; six to be imprisoned in Newgate; nine in Clerkenwell Bridewell; twelve to be publicly whipped; and two transports were pardoned on condition of their being severally imprisoned for the space of six months.

25th. Information being laid before Sir Lawrence Cox, the sitting magistrate at the Rotation-office in Litchfield-street, that a combination had taken place amongst the journeymen shoe-makers for the raising of their wages one shilling on the making of a pair of boots, and sixpence on each pair of shoes, Sir Lawrence issued out 170 warrants for apprehending the parties concerned, twenty-one of whom were brought before the Honourable Viscount Galway, Sir Lawrence Cox, and Mr. Shepherd, yesterday morning, at the above office; the report of which having spread over the town, a multitude of shoe-makers, &c. in number upwards of 1000, assembled in Litchfield-street in a riotous manner; on account of which Viscount Galway went to St. James's, where he reported the same to the King. His Majesty ordered that a sufficient number of horse and foot soldiers should be sent to prevent interruption, and that the battalion on guard should hold themselves in readiness, in case of being wanted; by which orders a troop of horse-guards, and a company and twelve men on foot, went to the relief of the magistrate:—on appearance of whom the mob dispersed, and the twenty-one prisoners, and one man who had behaved outrageously, were committed to Newgate for six weeks under a strong guard.

A scheme of a very singular nature

ture was detected lately at the post-office in Exeter. A gentleman dropping a letter into the letter-hole, was struck at not hearing it drop to the bottom, and on examination a case was discovered to have been let down the hole by a string, and fastened on the outside by a piece of watch-spring. It was, when detected, full of letters, and no doubt contained bills to a very considerable amount.

27th. *Dublin.* About half past four o'clock, the sheet-iron funnel from one of the stoves, either that in the corridor, or that in the hall forming the western wing of the Court of Requests, which passed through the roof close by the base of the great dome of the Senate-house, was observed from the street to be on fire; but no further notice was taken until a few minutes past five, when the Members in the House of Commons were alarmed by the tumultuous bustle of a number of people passing and repassing in seeming confusion before the windows, which, from the base of the dome, threw light into the House. Immediately an alarm of fire was given, and the House filling with smoke, corroborated the alarm. It was thought, however, too trifling to interrupt the business of the House, when one of the Members who had discerned the fire from the street, and had made his way to the roof, looking down into the house from one of the ventilators, confirmed the apprehensions of those within, by saying the dome was surrounded by fire, and would tumble into the House in five minutes. The speaker instantly put the question of adjournment; and all the members ran into the street, where they had the mortification to ob-

serve the flames bursting forth on all sides from the base of the dome. In less than three quarters of an hour the whole dome was surrounded by a volume of fire, which soon made apertures on all sides, by melting the copper from the wood-work, and thus exhibiting the cavity of the dome filled with flames like a huge furnace. About half past six the dome, burnt on all sides from its supporting principles, tumbled into the house with one great crash. The House of Lords, as well as the Commons, was sitting and in debate when the flames first broke out. Engines were brought from all sides; but their approach was so tardy, and when they did come, the supply of water so very scanty, that the rapidity of the flames baffled all their efforts to prevent the total ruin of the place. Parties of horse and foot from the garrison were immediately brought to keep off the populace, and prevent as well plunder to the chambers as interruption to the firemen. The flames, having spent their fury on the House of Commons, spread their ravages to the rest of the building, and blended every thing susceptible of combustion in the common ruin. Happily and providentially the calmness of the evening prevented the extensive mischief that would otherwise have been inevitable. The valuable library, and all the papers of importance, were saved. For the remainder of the session the House of Commons are to do business in the great room at the west front of the building, which was intended to be appropriated for the parliamentary records.

23d. *Died,* Sir Joshua Reynolds, aged 68. The following character of him is the production of Mr. Burke.

His

His illness was long, but borne with a mild and cheerful fortitude, without the least mixture of any thing irritable or querulous, agreeably to the placid and even tenour of his whole life. He had from the beginning of his malady a distinct view of his dissolution, which he contemplated with that entire composure which nothing but the innocence, integrity, and usefulness of his life, and an unaffected submission to the will of Providence, could bestow. In this situation he had every consolation from family tenderness, which his affection to his family had always merited. Sir Joshua Reynolds was, on very many accounts, one of the most memorable men of his time: he was the first Englishman who added the praise of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country. In taste, in grace, in facility, in happy invention, and in the richness and harmony of colouring, he was equal to the great masters of the renowned ages. In portrait he went beyond them; for he communicated to that description of the art in which English artists are the most engaged, a variety, a fancy, and a dignity derived from the higher branches, which even those who professed them in a superior manner did not always preserve when they delineated individual nature. His portraits remind the spectator of the invention of history, and the amenity of landscape. In painting portraits, he appears not to be raised upon that platform, but to descend to it from a higher sphere. His paintings illustrate his lessons, and his lessons

seem to be derived from his paintings. He possessed the theory as perfectly as the practice of his art. To be such a painter, he was a profound and penetrating philosopher.

In full possession of foreign and domestic fame, admired by the expert in art, and by the learned in science, courted by the great, caressed by sovereign powers, and celebrated by distinguished poets, his native humility, modesty, and candour never forsook him, even on surprise or provocation; nor was the least degree of arrogance or assumption visible to the most scrutinizing eye, in any part of his conduct or discourse. His talents of every kind powerful from nature, and not meanly cultivated in letters; his social virtues, in all the relations and all the habitudes of life, rendered him the centre of a very great and unparalleled variety of agreeable societies, which will be dissipated by his death. He had too much merit not to excite some jealousy, too much innocence to provoke any enmity. The loss of no man of his time can be felt with more sincere, general, and unminged sorrow.

Hail, and Farewell!

The funeral of this great artist and very respectable man*, was in the highest degree honourable to his character. The following is a brief account of the chief occurrences which attended this honourable testimony of departed excellence.

The corpse was brought to the Royal Academy on Friday evening, March 2d, and deposited in the smaller exhibition-room on the

* Sir Joshua was a Fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies, a Doctor of Laws of Oxford and Dublin, and a Member of the Painter Stainers Company in London; of which the freedom was presented to him on the 18th of October, 1784.

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ground-floor. The room was hung with black, and ornamented with escutcheons, chandeliers, &c. in a style of suitable solemnity and magnificence.

About ten o'clock on Saturday morning, the academicians, associates, and students, assembled in the great academican room above stairs. Soon after, the nobility, gentry, and private friends, with the executors, joined the mournful band in the Great Council Chamber. At half after twelve the procession began to move forward. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, City Marshalsmen, and other officers, met the cavalcade at this period, and conducted the whole to the cathedral of St. Paul. The procession moved in the following order :

City Marshal,
Marshal's Men,
Sheriffs,
THE BODY,

On each side the following Pall-Bearers :
Lord Elliot, Lord Palmerston,
Earl of Upper Ossory, Earl of Inchiquin,
Earl of Carlisle Marquis of Abercorn,
Marquis Townshend, Duke of Portland,
Duke of Leeds, Duke of Dorset.

Chief Mourner,
Mr. Gawtkin, nephew of Sir Joshua.
Mr. Marchi,
who came from Italy with Sir Joshua.
Executors,
Mr. Burke,

Mr. Malone, Mr. Metcalfe.
The Council of the Royal Academy.
The Keeper, The Treasurer,
The Secretary, The Librarian.

Professors.
Mr. T. Sandby, Mr. Barty,
Mr. Langton, Mr. Boswell.
Academicians, Two and Two,
Associates, Two and Two,
Artists, not Members of the Royal Academy.
Students.

The Archbishop of York,
The Marquis of Buckingham,
Noblemen, Two and Two,
Baronets, Two and Two,
Gentlemen, Two and Two.

The above persons were conveyed in forty-four mourning-coaches. The coaches belonging to the noblemen and gentlemen who went as mourners, closed the procession, to the amount of five-and-forty carriages. In the above splendid attendance it is to be remarked, that there were three Knights of the Garter, one of the Thistle, one of the Bath, and two of St. Patrick. At the western gate, the company were met by the Dignitaries of the Church, and the body was conveyed to the centre of the choir. The service was chaunted in a grand and affecting style. The chief mourners and gentlemen of the academy surrounded the coffin. When the service ended, the body was taken from the choir, and deposited beneath the brass plate under the centre of the dome. Dr. Jeffreys, Canon Residentiary, with the other Canons and the rest of the choir, officiated on this melancholy occasion. The whole was conducted with the utmost solemnity, dignity, and respect.

Thus ends all that is earthly and perishable of this great man, who was a promoter of science, not more by his works and lectures than by his beneficence and goodness of heart, which made him a valuable member of society. His name will long live an honour to his country. —The Members of the Academy returned to Somerset-House when the mournful ceremony concluded, in order to partake of a cold collation that was prepared for them in the large exhibition-room. Mr. Burke came into the room to express, in the name of the family and executors, their grateful thanks to the Academy for their respectful homage

homage to the deceased; but was prevented by the violence of his feelings from saying more than a few words.

EXTRACT FROM

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS'S WILL.

AS it is probable that I shall soon be deprived of sight, and may not have an opportunity of making a formal will, I desire that the following memorandums may be considered as my last will and testament.

Sir Joshua gives to his niece, Miss Palmer, all his property, real and personal, not otherwise disposed of by his will; specifying, that this bequest includes his house at Richmond, his house in Leicester-fields, his money in the funds, and all his pictures, furniture, books, and plate. To Mrs. Gwatkin, 10,000*l.* 3 per cent. consols: To his sister, Frances Reynolds, the interest of 2500*l.* to be placed in the funds; the principal to devolve on her decease to Miss Palmer: To the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, 2000*l.* besides the 2000*l.* before lent him; the bond for which sum, and for the interest, he desires may be null and void: To his old servant, Ralph Kirkley, the sum of 1000*l.*: To the Earl of Upper Ossory, the choice of any picture of his (Sir Joshua's) painting: To Lord Palmerston, the second choice: To Sir Abraham Hume, Baronet, the choice of his Claude Lorraines: To Sir George Beaumont, "the Return of the Ark," by Sebastian Bodourni.

He appoints the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, Edmund Malone, Esq. and Philip Metcalfe, Esq. executors of this his last will and testament. To Mr. Metcalfe, Mr. Malone, Mr. Boswell, and Sir William Scott, 200*l.* each, to be expended, if they think proper, in the pur-

chase of a picture for each, at the sale of his paintings, to be kept for his sake: To Mr. Mason, his miniature of Milton, by Cooper: His miniature of Oliver Cromwell, by Cooper, to another gentleman: To his nephew, William Johnson, of Calcutta, his watch and seals: To the Duke of Portland his picture, the Angel Contemplation, the upper part of the nativity: To Mrs. Bunbury, the portrait of her son: To Mrs. Gwynn, her own portrait with a turban.

MARCH.

1st. A duel was fought in a field near Marybone, between Mr. Kemble and Mr. Aikin, of Drury-lane theatre, in consequence of a dispute respecting certain dramatic arrangements, which Mr. Aikin conceived to be injurious to him. Mr. Aikin discharged his pistol without effect, and the parties were happily reconciled without proceeding farther. They had no seconds; but Mr. Bannister, sen. attended as their common friend.

Dr. Willis, who is recently embarked from Falmouth for Lisbon, where he has been sent for to give his medical assistance in a disorder which has lately attacked the Queen of Portugal, is to receive 20,000*l.* sterling, whether the Queen lives or not. The condition is, that he shall remain in Lisbon one year, unless the Queen should die in the mean time. Besides this sum, he is to be reimbursed all his expences. He has taken his son with him, and a female nurse to attend her Majesty.

The admirable series of pictures painted by Hogarth, under the title of *Marriage-a-la-mode*, were lately bought in at a sale at Christie's for

910 guineas. The former possessor bought them for 130l. Mr. Alderman Boydell bid 900l. for them.

The sale of such part of the Prince of Wales's stud as could be parted with consistently with his present engagements, produced 3836 guineas.

3d. *Oxford.* Yesterday a person dismounted in the entrance of the lane on the other side of St. Clement's Field, about a mile from this city, on the Henley road, and having fastened his mare to a gate-post in the side of the lane, applied a pistol to his right temple, and shot himself dead upon the spot. A gentleman of All Souls college almost instantly came up, who made the utmost speed to procure a surgeon, when it was found that the ball had passed quite through his head. In his pockets were found a memorandum-book, a gold watch, a few guineas, with some silver; and in his left-hand coat-pocket another loaded pistol. Divers persons soon after coming along the road, the body was known to be that of Mr. Thomas Turner, of this place, gold and silversmith, against whom a commission of bankrupt was lately awarded, and who was to have appeared this day at the Cross-Inn in this city, to undergo his first examination before the commissioners.

13th. The most horrid and diabolical piece of premeditated barbarity was perpetrated at the house of Mr. Vasey (called Rushcomb House) in the parish of Exford, near Exeter, that could enter into the mind of the most malignant villain. The wretch (who is a near relation to Mrs. Vasey) went into the stable, and, after mixing a quantity of

arsenic amongst the oats, gave it to a team of fine horses, who all of them died the next day in excruciating agonies. Not content with this cruelty, the villain, on Saturday the 17th at midnight, set fire to the house and stables at four different places; and, had not the cries of an infant providentially awaked Mrs. Vasey, it is more than probable the whole family must have perished in the flames, which were so extremely rapid, that Mr. and Mrs. Vasey, with their children and servants, had but just time to make their escape. The next morning Sir Thomas Ackland, with that humanity that ever marks his conduct, sent for Mr. Vasey and his family, to whom he administered every comfort their melancholy situation would admit of. The house, barns, and stables, are reduced to a heap of ruins.—A reward of 100l. is offered for apprehending the offender, who is said to have been possessed formerly of 8000l. a year.

The people of Shields have constructed a boat, which will go out with safety to the assistance of distressed mariners, when no other constructed vessel could possibly live. It has already been the means of saving many lives.

At Shrewsbury assizes came on to be tried a cause of very considerable importance to the tanners in every part of the kingdom. By the statute of the 1st of James I. all persons are prohibited, under very heavy penalties, from carrying on the trade of tanning, except such as have served regular apprenticeships to the same, or are otherwise qualified, as the act requires. Notwithstanding this, many adventurers have of late years taken upon

upon themselves the trade of tanning; so that it became seriously requisite to bring the question to be solemnly decided in a court of judicature. For this purpose Zechariah Brown, a tanner at Wymondham, entered an action against Mr. Arnal Cooper Fayerman, of London, for having carried on and exercised the trade of tanning leather, without being qualified as the act directs; when, after hearing the evidence of many respectable witnesses, the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 5*l.* damages.

A mill has been invented in Yorkshire, by which the cordage is manufactured from so small a size as whip-cord up to the heaviest cable of a first rate ship of war (which to make in the common way will require eighty hands) and which, by this new machinery, may be completely managed by one man.

22*d.* An action was tried in the court of Common Pleas, to recover from the warden of the Fleet a debt due from the Count de Verticillac, whose ingenious escape lately attracted public notice. Several actions depended on the event of this trial.—The jury gave a verdict against the defendant, though he did not appear to have been criminally negligent; but Lord Loughborough stated it as law, that nothing but irresistible force (such as the riots in 1780) could be pleaded in excuse for a gaoler, who is bound to keep his prisoners safe.

The hop-binds, which have hitherto been totally useless, have been in one instance, at Newbury in Berks, converted into a manufacture. Being dressed in the manner of flax, coarse bagging has been made of them, well adapted to inclose their produce,

A few days ago, on the Stanley estate of Lord Lonsdale, near Whitehaven, the earth began to sink into an old coal-pit; the width of the aperture was at first only six or seven yards, but the land continuing gradually to fall in, whilst immense spouts of water issued out, in a few hours one acre one rood and twenty-four perches of ground disappeared. A small rivulet has since been turned into the pit to prevent a further sinking of the ground.

This day the following bills received the royal assent by commission, viz. the Exchequer loan bills, the American intercourse bill, the Boroughbridge and Northallerton road bill; eight other public bills, and eight private ones.

19*th.* At the Worcester assizes, the claimants on the Halfshire and Penshore Hundreds in Worcestershire, respecting the Birmingham riots, obtained verdicts as follows:

	Claimed.			Damages given.	
	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i>	
J. Taylor -	3839	4	4	2700	
T. Russell -	285	11	7	160	
W. Pidcock -	556	15	7	300	
J. Harwood -	143	12	6	60	
T. Hawkes -	304	3	8½	90	
B. Cox -	336	13	7½	254	
J. Wakeman -	267	14	11	200	
Dollax Chapel -	198	9	0	139	
W. Russell -	2579	8	0	1600	
	8511	14	3	5503	

30*th.* DIED, by the hands of an assassin, Gustavas III. King of Sweden. The circumstances of his murder were as follows: His Majesty was at supper in a room adjoining the opera, on the 16*th* inst. when a page delivered him a letter, written with a pencil, in good French;

French; of which the following is a literal translation:

"SIR,

"May it please your Majesty to listen to the warning of a man who is not in your service; asks no favour of you; does not flatter your errors, but wishes to avert the danger which threatens your life! There is, doubt not, a project to take away your life. People have been extremely sorry that it could not be put in execution last week, when the masked ball was counter-manded—this day is resolved on to try the attempt. Stay at home, and avoid all future balls, at least for the present year. Keep also away from Haga. In a word, be upon your guard, at least for a month. Give yourself no trouble to find out the author of this letter; chance made him discover the horrid plot which menaces your days. Believe me, he feels no interest to ward off the blow prepared for you. Had your hired troops at Gessle committed acts of violence upon the people, the author of this letter would have fought against you sword in hand; but he abhors assassination."

The King, having frequently received similar warnings, slighted this; and, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations of Baron Essen, his master of the horse, he entered the ball-room; he was instantly surrounded by a crowd of masks in black dresses, and being pressed hard, felt himself wounded by the contents of a pistol which were lodged above his left hip, near the back-bone. His Majesty took the mask immediately off his face, and said to Baron Essen, "I am wounded—conduct me back to my apartment."

Being arrived there, he sat down on a sofa; and, attended by different foreign ambassadors and courtiers, he conversed with much apparent ease on the effects which this event would cause in Europe in the present crisis. He requested the former not to let their messengers set off before it should be known whether there were hopes or apprehensions of his recovery. The surgeons arrived, probed the wound, and dressed it for the first time. His Majesty was then carried to the Castle, and was let blood at four o'clock in the morning. When the pistol had been fired off at the opera-house, an officer of the guards ordered all the doors and gates to be shut, and every body was obliged to pull off his mask, and give his name. Two pistols were found in the hall, the one fired off, and the other loaded with several points and heads of nails, two slugs, and a dozen small shots, besides a large carving knife, sharpened on both edges, and full of hacks to render the wound more dangerous. The mayor of the city having summoned all the sword-cutlers and cutlers before him, the pistols and knife were recognized by two workmen, who declared to have mended them for Mr. John Joseph Ankerstroem, at ten o'clock in the morning. The person who wrote the anonymous letter to his Majesty acknowledged the act of his own accord; it was Lieutenant-Colonel Lilienhorn, of his Majesty's Life Guards. He is now in safe custody. — John Joseph Ankerstroem, who wounded his Majesty, was formerly a captain in the Swedish service, but dismissed, with some others, in 1789, for having prevented the peasants of Gothland joining

joining the Swedish standard against Russia. It appears from the confession of Ankerstroem, the assassin, who, when threatened with the torture, disclosed many of the circumstances of the conspiracy, that several persons were accessory to it. Many have been taken up, and their examinations have commenced before the privy counsellor Lilienfarr. At the head of the conspiracy appears to have been the Baron Bielke, a nobleman formerly in the confidence of the King, President of the Council of War, besides holding many other high offices. Finding his treachery discovered, and that there was no chance of escape, he prepared a strong dose of laudanum and arsenic; and when he saw the officers of justice surrounding his habitation, drank it off as a libation to his guilty and tormented conscience. On his Majesty's death the Prince Royal was immediately proclaimed King, by the name of Gustavus Adolphus; and the Duke of Sudermania, in compliance with his late Majesty's will, was declared sole regent and guardian of the young sovereign, until he attains his majority, which is fixed at the age of eighteen. The king of Sweden died in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twentieth year of his reign. The reflection of dying ingloriously through the means of a vile assassin, is said to have embittered the last moments of the king's life much more than even the agonizing pains of his wounds. The late king retained all his mental faculties to the last, which enabled him so well to arrange the future government of his country. The wounds at first indicated the most promising appearances of recovery,

and the slugs were all extracted; but some rusty pieces of iron had penetrated so far into the body as to render any surgical operation immediate death. A mortification, therefore, took place, and his Majesty was apprized of his speedy dissolution. He lamented the youth of his son, and, in his last moments, prayed that Heaven would be satisfied with the earthly retribution of his murderer.

Robert Adam, Esq. architect, F. R. S. and F. S. A. by the bursting of a blood-vessel. Mr. Adam was born in the year 1728, at Kirkcaldy, in the county of Fife, the same place that gave birth to Dr. Adam Smith. He was second son of William Adam of Maryburgh, Esq. an architect of distinguished merit. He received his education at the University of Edinburgh, which is now rebuilding after his designs. The friendships he formed were with men who have since eminently distinguished themselves by their literary productions; among whom were David Hume, Dr. Robertson, Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Home. At a more advanced time of life he had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship and society of Archibald Duke of Argyll, the late Mr. Charles Townshend, the Earl of Mansfield, and several other of the most illustrious men of the age. He was buried the 10th of March, in the south aisle of Westminster Abbey.

APRIL.

2d. Francis Hubbard, alias Noble, convicted of the murder of Jordan Hofty, was conveyed in a cart from Newgate

Newgate to Charles-street, Hatton-garden, where a gallows was erected, attended by the Sheriffs, &c. He was turned off amidst a very numerous crowd of spectators. After hanging the usual time, his body was cut down, and taken to Surgeons Hall for dissection. The route taken by the Sheriffs with the prisoner, was through Smithfield, Chick-lane, and up Saffron-hill, and from Hatton-wall down Hatton-garden to the end of Charles-street.

5th. His Majesty in the usual state gave his royal assent to the Duke and Duchefs of York's annuity bill, to the 400,000*l.* surplus bill, and to several road and inclosure bills.

12th. *Birmingham.* The inhabitants of Bromsgrove, in Worcester-shire, were alarmed and distressed, beyond description, by one of the most sudden and violent inundations ever known. Between three and four o'clock, during a storm, accompanied with loud and continued claps of thunder, and the most vivid lightning, a water-spout fell upon that part of the Lickey which is nearest the town. The pouring down of the cataract was heard at a great distance, and the body of water, taking a direction towards Bromsgrove, soon swept away every thing before it, laid down the hedges, washed quantities of grain from barns and malt-houses, destroyed tan-yards, and, so strong was the current, that it floated through the town a waggon loaded with skins. The inhabitants of the place had no time to take the necessary precautions: almost in an instant the cellars and under-kitchens were filled to the top, and every thing in them overturned. In a few minutes

the water entered at the parlour-windows, covered the counters of shops, and in the principal street it rose and continued upwards of five feet perpendicular from the pavement. The horses in some of the inn-stables stood up to their tails in water. This tremendous fall of water happened near the eleventh mile-stone, on the edge of the Lickey. It has beat the ground there (which is chiefly gravel) into small pits. At Bromsgrove, and the upper part of the Lickey, nothing more than a common fall of rain was experienced.

The same day a very violent storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and rain, fell between Gravesend and Chatham. It lasted nearly an hour and a half. The torrent of rain overflowed the roads, and rendered them for some hours nearly impassible; and the thunder and flashes of lightning were the most awful and tremendous ever known. The storm extended only about two miles. During the thunder-storm, a ball of fire fell upon the chimney of a house at Acomb, near the city of York, occupied by Henry Clarke, Esq. set fire to the same, and passed down into the kitchen, carrying with it an amazing quantity of soot; threw a servant-man from his seat, and several plates from the rack; struck a woman-servant with great force, and nearly deprived her of the use of her right side. It then made its way into a parlour where Mrs. Clarke and three of her children were, burnt the door and wainscoting in a very extraordinary manner; and the room seemed at the moment to be filled with sparks or vivid fire. It then forced itself, by the bell-wire, through a passage, which

which it singled extremely, into the dining-room, tearing the wall and wainscoting very much; threw several splinters across the room, through the canvas of a large picture, and turned the gilding of the frames of several others entirely black; then burst in the room with an uncommon explosion, and left the whole house full of a sulphurous smoke. What is remarkable, four gentlemen were at cards in the room when it burst, without receiving the least injury.

In the night of Thursday, April 12, the house of Mr. Samuel Collier, of Harescombe, about four miles from Gloucester, was burnt down. Collier and his son, a little boy about six years old, were all that were in the house. The crackling of the fire roused the father from his sleep, about twelve o'clock at night; and when he got out of bed, he found the stairs in a blaze, upon which he leaped out of the window, and bid the child get out after him, and he would catch him in his arms: however, the little boy in his confusion ran to the stairs, where he fell into the flames, and was burnt to death. The house, with all it contained, was entirely destroyed. Collier's wife and another of his children were fortunately at Stroud. As there had been very little fire in the house that day, the accident is sup-

posed to have been occasioned by lightning, which they say was very strong that night, and perhaps set fire to the thatch, which was very dry.

Cambridge Competition. The following extraordinary competition occurred lately at Cambridge: "The candidates for an university scholarship, the qualifications for which consist chiefly in classical learning, were Sir Thomas Rivers, Mr. Maltby, the nephew of the Bishop of Lincoln, and a Mr. Smith. These gentlemen, after having being examined six days successively by the ablest men in the university, were held to be so equally qualified, that no decision as to their merit could be given between them; and they were ordered to be mentioned with equal honour in the university-books. But, though the honour might be thus divided, the scholarship was to be given only to one gentleman; and the want of money was, therefore, properly referred to as a recommendation, where no other difference could be found. Mr. Smith was supposed to be the least wealthy of the candidates; and the scholarship was offered to him, but unfortunately with a notice, which offended his delicacy, that it was offered for that reason. He could not be persuaded to accept it upon such terms; and the scholarship was next adjudged to Mr. Maltby.

The following is an Account, at one View, of the whole Claims for Damages done by the Rioters at Birmingham, and Money recovered by Verdicts at the late Assizes at Warwick:

	Claimed.			Verdict.			Taken off.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Mr. Ryland,	3240	8	4½	2497	11	6	742	16	10½
Mr. Taylor, -	9831	3	10	7202	3	0	2629	0	10
Old Meeting,	2117	7	5	1390	7	5	787	0	0
Mr. Humphreys,	2191	5	0½	1835	11	0	335	14	0
Dr. Priestley,	4112	16	8	2502	18	0	1609	18	8
Mr. W. Hutton,	7488	15	10½	5390	17	0	2097	18	10½
Mr. T. Hutton,	625	0	10	619	2	10	5	18	0

26th. *Stockholm*. The punishment of John Joseph Ankerstroem terminated yesterday. It began the 19th, in virtue of the sentence pronounced the night before, which declared him deprived of his rights of nobility and of a citizen, with infamy. He was conducted, on Thursday noon, under the escort of a large detachment of the garrison, to the market of L'Ordre Equestre (Rittenhaus-market) and fastened by an iron collar upon a scaffold during two hours, and afterwards whipped with a rod of five lashes, at a stake, where, under his name, with the title of Regicide added, was tied the pistol and the knife, the instruments of his crime. The same punishment was repeated on the 20th, at the market au Poin (Hay-market) and the 21st, at the market d'Adolpho Frederic. Yesterday terminated his existence on a scaffold, erected in the great Square. His right hand was first chopped off by the executioner, who immediately afterwards beheaded him, and then divided his body into four quarters, which are stuck up in different parts of the city.—At the commencement of his punishment he shewed much constancy and firmness; but at length his strength became exhausted from his sufferings; and he was obliged to be dragged, being incapable of walking to the places of punishment, and executed amidst the hisses and bootings of the surrounding multitudes, which seemed considerably to affect him.

30th. Came on in the Court of King's Bench, the trial of the action brought by Mr. Fox against Mr. Horne Tooke, for the sum of 200l. the costs on presenting to Parliament a petition against the

late Westminster election (in which Mr. Tooke was a candidate) which was voted frivolous and vexatious by the House of Commons; the truth of the facts stated in which however, none of the members ventured to deny, though by virtue of the *frivolous and vexatious* act of Parliament they threw the costs on the petitioner. Mr. Tooke defended his own cause in person, with a speech of two hours long, characterised by his usual flow of argumentative and persuasive eloquence, in which he animadverted with just and impartial severity on the equally blameable corrupt practices of the two *factions* in their electioneering proceedings, on the improper interruption he met with in the course of his defence from the judge who presided at his trial, and the still more improper interference of Mr. Garrow.—The jury retired for four hours and twenty minutes, and then gave a verdict against Mr. Tooke.

DIED, At Glasgow, aged 101, Mrs. Janet Towns, sister of Sir Archibald Primrose.

Lately at Savanna-la-mar, Jamaica, Flora Gale, a free black woman, aged about 120 years. This woman retained her faculties till within a few months, and could walk within three days of her death. There was not a house in the town when she came to that parish; and she had a perfect recollection of the earthquake in 1692, which proved fatal to Port Royal. She had a numerous progeny of children, grand-children, and great-grand-children. It is remarkable that she would never be baptized; and the reason always assigned was, that there might be a play at her burial.

M A Y.

MAY.

10th. *Constantinople*. On the 3d inst. the Grand Vizir Jussuff Pashaw was deposed from that office, and is succeeded by Meleck Mehemmet Pashaw of Canea, in Candia. The plague has manifested itself in every part of this residence and the neighbouring villages. Accidents of the contagion happen daily in Galata and Pera: it has also made great progress in the Archipelago, and many parts of Asia, particularly at Smyrna.

12th. *Nottingham*. A riot commenced here, on account of the high price of butchers meat. A large body of the lower class of people assembled in the market-place, and, after manifesting symptoms of riot, by loud huzzas and much disturbance, entered the shambles, which, in a short time, they cleared of the meat, as well as all utensils belonging to the butchers; and as some of them were so improvident as to leave their books behind them, those generally went to wreck in the confusion. The doors, shutters, fire-places, &c. were also broken down, and the broken wood collected to make fire in the market-place; but the mayor calling in the military (some troops of the 6th regiment of dragoons lying at this time in the town) and prudently addressing the mob, he prevailed upon them to depart, having first assured them, that if they still persisted, he would make use of the power which the law had entrusted to him. Some pieces were fired by the soldiers; but we do not hear of any person being wounded. On Sunday morning a great number of people as-

sembled again, and seemed to threaten a further riot: the mayor himself went among them, endeavouring to dissuade them from any more disorders: and one or two butchers setting up a stall in the market-place, and offering their meat at reduced prices, the peace of the town was restored. On Monday afternoon the people assembled again, and their threats seemed chiefly directed against the master shoemakers: it being confidently asserted here, that mens shoes are sold at 2s a pair less at some other places than Nottingham, and womens in proportion. However, through the vigilance of the magistrates, assisted by the military, the mob were dispersed, without any material damage.

14th. Mendoza and Ward met upon a turf-stage on Smithin Bottom, four miles from Croydon, in Surry. These famous pugillists set to exactly a quarter before three o'clock. The contest lasted twenty-eight minutes, during which time twenty-four rounds of severe fighting took place. The first thirteen rounds Ward was knocked down by Mendoza, the fourteenth round Ward placed a blow upon the right jaw of Mendoza, which brought him with great force to the ground. Mendoza, however, recovered, and from that time knocked his antagonist down till the twentieth round; when closing, after a severe contest, in which several heavy blows were given and received, both the combatants came to the ground; Mendoza, however, fell upon Ward. At the conclusion of the twenty-fourth round, Ward, the famous Ward, yielded the palm of victory to Mendoza. Upon Ward's declining

any further contest, Mendoza publicly announced his triumph, by leaping upon the stage and huzzing to the audience with as much spirit and activity as if he had not been at all concerned in the contest.

16th. At eight o'clock, about two hours after the adjournment of the House of Commons, the clerks in several of the offices were alarmed by the rooms filling with smoke. After searching some time, a water-closet, at the bottom of a small stair-case, on the right hand side of the lobby, was found to be so full of smoke, that a candle would scarcely burn in it. It was discovered to proceed from a pair of old corderoy breeches, rolled up tight, and thrust between the ceiling of the closet and the flooring of the rooms above, close by the pipe of a cistern, the upper part of which touches the ceiling of the closet. The stuff was partly consumed; but had not communicated the fire either to the lath of the ceiling on which it lay, or to the flooring above. It does not appear to have been done by design.

20th. *Warsaw.* The Municipality of this city gave a grand dinner to 500 persons, on the 13th instant. The King of Poland, who was among the company, when his health was drank as King, rose and said, "The period is arrived, in which artificial distinctions cease, except as far as they are conferred by the people, and are acknowledged by those who are honoured with them to be so conferred. *Vive la Municipalite!*—Afterwards the King drank, *Vive la Nation*; and the hall resounded with the shouts of *Vive le Roi*, *Vive le Pre-*

mier Citoyen, *vive l'Ami des Hommes!*

20th. *Birmingham.* Some weeks ago, a private of the Blues went to a house of ill-fame in this town, when some misunderstanding taking place, one Busby struck the unfortunate soldier so violent a blow on the head with a glass bottle, that, being moved to Coventry, he languished for a few days, and then died. A coroner's inquest was taken, who gave a verdict that he died of a blow received from Busby. The coroner's warrant came to Birmingham; and Busby, together with some others present at the unfortunate conflict, were brought before the magistrates on Thursday, when Busby was committed. This circumstance being fully communicated to the lower orders of the people by those useful men called Walking Stationers, a certain number, it seems, were determined to take ample vengeance on every house of that description in the town. They did some little damage to two houses on Friday night; and on Saturday night broke the windows, and did some other damage to another house of the same description in Fleet-street, but were dispersed by the military. On Sunday morning at ten o'clock, one of the constables went to Fleet-street, where the mob were assembled, and entirely gutted one house; and were in the act of demolishing the windows of another. Dreading further consequences, the magistrates were sent for, who arrived in town at seven o'clock in the evening: at eight, accompanied by Lord Valentia, several gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and the peace officers, they went to Fleet-street, where

where two houses were gutted; some of the furniture had been thrown into the canal, but the greatest part was destroyed. Having persuaded the mob to disperse, the same gentlemen, accompanied by a party of Blues, went into Stafford-street, where they found a vast concourse of people, and one house entirely pillaged. Here the riot act was read, and the people persuaded to disperse. The magistrates returned to the hotel, where they had scarcely arrived when their assistance was required in Park-street; but before they got there, the mob had completely gutted a house and destroyed the furniture. It was with difficulty they dispersed the mob, who threatened aloud to destroy every house of ill-fame in the town. On Monday the rioters demolished another house in Park-street, and gutted two others in Bear-yard. The other magistrates came to town in the afternoon, and an express had been previously sent for three additional troops of the Blues. About six in the evening the magistrates read the riot act in most of the principal streets, and warned the inhabitants to keep within their respective habitations, as, in one hour after they retired, the military would be dispatched to clear all the streets in the town. About nine at night, the Blues, being reinforced with two troops from Kidderminster, and one from Bromsgrove, after having been insulted with stones and brick-bats at the door of the hotel, were dispatched in every direction, with express orders to clear all the streets. They pursued the fugitives in full speed through all the narrow avenues, and took many

prisoners, whom they lodged in the dungeon, which had been previously guarded by a party of soldiers. This had the desired effect; for, before ten o'clock, the streets were perfectly cleared, and peace and tranquillity prevailed. Many were wounded; but it does not appear that any one was killed. Mrs. Briely, who kept the house at Birmingham in which the Oxford Blue received the wound which was the cause of his death, together with Bulby and two others, are committed for trial.

Portsmouth. This town was visited by a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and rain; the thunder was uncommonly loud and awful, and lightning vivid to a degree seldom witnessed. It fell upon the lamp-iron of the Star and Garter tavern, whence, passing into the bar and coffee-room, it forced its way upwards through the roof, which was considerably damaged by it. One of the beams of the second floor was split for several feet, and two persons were struck in the bar, who appeared for a short time bereft of animation, but were very soon recovered. During the above storm the lightning set fire to the barns and stables of Mr. Whettam, junior, at Broom-house farm, near Gosport; which were very soon consumed, with upwards of ten loads of wheat, a quantity of hay, six fine horses, and ten pigs.

25th. *Leicester.* On Saturday night last, a number of disorderly persons (under a pretext of being aggrieved by the high price of provisions) assembled together in this place, and, before the civil power could be collected to restrain them, committed some acts of violence,

by breaking the windows of those individuals whom they had marked as objects of their resentment. By the active exertions of the mayor and other magistrates, joined to those of the principal inhabitants, a stop was at length put to these riotous proceedings, and the mob dispersed. On Sunday, a great number of persons were made special constables, for more effectually preserving the peace of the town, in case of a renewal of these disturbances. The militia established was also called out, and, by the judicious arrangement and spirited conduct of Capt. Farmer, were extremely servicable on the occasion. These prudent precautions prevented any further mischief; and the arrival of a troop of the Oxford Blues on Tuesday, effectually restored tranquillity in the town. Several persons who had been apprehended as active in the riot, underwent an examination at the Exchange, on Wednesday, when four were committed.

DIED, At Jura, one of the Hebrides, aged ninety-eight, Donald Mc. Crain; and two days after, his wife, Catherine Lindsay, aged 108. These two remarkable people were stout and active till a short time preceding their deaths. The woman, to the astonishment of all the country, gained her harvest-fee in the years 1788 and 1789.

J U N E.

6th. During the display of fireworks on the Thames last night, two west-country barges ran foul of some boats; by which accident nine persons lost their lives. It appears the barges were lashed to-

gether, and either from inattention or want of skill in the coxswain, ran against one of the lighters from which the fireworks were let off; and the anchor of this vessel dragging, she drifted with the barges against one of the piers of Westminster-bridge. Unto the lighter three small boats were fastened; and before the unfortunate crews of them could extricate themselves, the strength of the tide swung the barges round; by which circumstance two of the boats were sunk, and the third dashed to pieces against the pier. In the boats there were about a dozen persons, eight of whom perished. A waterman on board the lighter was the ninth unhappy sufferer.

In the parish of St. George, Cannon-street, Ratcliffe-high-way, there is an institution founded by Mr. Raine, whereby young women who have been four years in school, four in the hospital, and five in service, are entitled to draw lots for a wedding-portion of 100l. The days of drawing are May-day, and the day after Christmas-day; when six of these young women, who have previously laid in their claims, draw tickets, which consist of five blanks and one prize; but those who are unfortunate at one time are not precluded an half-yearly chance as long they live. But if the fortunate maid cannot find a man who will marry her that day six weeks, from which she draws the fortunate lot, she forfeits her right to the 100l. which is otherwise then paid. Whenever this ceremony takes place, the concourse of people is immense; and the interest which such an institution has on the feelings of the young female spectators is wonderful.

At a trial in the court of Common Pleas, Haydon *versus* Maden, an extraordinary circumstance happened. This was an application to the justice of the jury, for a compensation in damages for a violent assault committed by the defendant and his wife on the plaintiff. Mr. Maden, husband to the celebrated operatrix on the teeth, lives at Enfield, and possesses some fields in that neighbourhood. There was a common foot-path through one of those fields, which Mr. Maden thought proper to stop up. The plaintiff pulled down the bushes, &c. with which it was stopped. The defendant and his wife saw this, and came up to the plaintiff with great indignation. Mr. Maden gave him five or six terrible blows with a large stick, which he had in his hand, and which brought the plaintiff to the ground. When he was down, Mrs. Maden, not satisfied with what her husband had done, pulled this poor man by the hair, and tore his face. The evidence was very strong against the husband, but nothing appeared against the wife. Mr. Serjeant Bond, as counsel for the defendant, said, every drunken fellow in the parish, who became independent as he became drunk, went about pulling down peoples gates, filling up their ditches, &c. all under pretence of reforming the evils and mischiefs that had crept into the parish. After thus levelling peoples fences, these reformers proceeded next to rob their orchards and gardens. Just as the foreman of the jury was proceeding to deliver in the verdict for damages against the defendant, which the judge was clearly of opinion should be 30l. with costs, one of the gentlemen of the jury fell into

a fit, which reduced the bar rather to a dilemma. Mr. Serjeant Marshall, leading counsel for the plaintiff, said, his client was not to lose his right, because one of the gentlemen of the jury had fainted away. It would be extremely inconvenient for the plaintiff, who was then attending, with all his witnesses, to be obliged to bring them again from Enfield; and therefore requested either that the court would stop a little to see if the gentleman recovered, or to swear in another juror who had heard the cause tried, or discharge the jury and call another. Mr. Serjeant Bond said, there was too much humanity in his breast to permit the unfortunate gentleman to serve again that day. He thought as a juror had been withdrawn, that this was the best verdict they could have in this case. Lord Loughborough said, if the counsel for the parties could not agree about this case, he did not know that he could do any thing but discharge the jury. There could not possibly be a verdict, as there had been no trial. The plaintiff must move the court for a *Venue de Novo*. His Lordship said, an accident once happened before him on the circuit, and on that occasion he took it on him to act, in order that a man might not remain in prison. On a trial for felony, one of the jurymen, when the trial was proceeding, fell into a fit. He was carried out into an adjacent room, and after some time he came back again. It turned out that he was dead drunk with spirits, which he had taken in the morning; on which his Lordship fined him, and discharged the jury; and upon consideration, and on hearing arguments upon it some

time afterwards, it was decided, that his Lordship was warranted in what he had done. His Lordship said, that was a case at the assizes; but it would be extremely improper, he conceived, that he should decide this in term-time, when the court was sitting. He said, they might apply to the court to-morrow morning. This case was new, his Lordship said; he did not recollect that it had ever happened before.

7th. The session for the jurisdiction of the High Court of Admiralty of England commenced at the Old Baily, when John Kimber was tried upon a charge of having murdered a negro-girl. Thomas Dowling, the surgeon, among many other things, swore that Captain Kimber suspended the negro girl five different times, first by one arm, then by another; next by one leg, and then by another; and lastly, that he suspended her by the two hands; and that at some of these times, when she was so suspended, the Captain flogged her himself with a long whip, with uncommon severity. The whole time that she was suspended might be about half an hour. Speaking as a professional man, he was of opinion, that the suspending and flogging were causes of the convulsions, and her death was occasioned by the convulsions. He admitted, that he did not disclose this circumstance in the West Indies after their arrival, nor at Bristol after their return, except to a few of his private acquaintances. But that he was sent to London to give evidence before the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to give an account of the firing from, on board slave ships on the

town of Calabar; and that he mentioned this murder to Mr. Wilberforce the day before he made his speech for the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons. On his cross-examination, he denied he had ever said that he would be the ruin of Captain Kimber. On the contrary, however, evidence was brought, that swore positively that he had frequently uttered these words. The evidence of Devereux was in all particulars similar to that of Dowling. He swore, that he did not know that he had ever been accused of mutiny on board a former ship in which he had served. Three witnesses also contradicted Devereux on the point of his not knowing that he was charged with mutiny on board the *Wasp*; they positively swearing that he was charged with mutiny on board that ship; that he knew it, was told of it, and himself confessed that he was guilty of it; and that on his change from the *Wasp*, Capt. Kimber took him on board the *Discovery* at Calabar, out of humanity. On the part of the prisoner they called Mr. Walter Jacks, Mr. Laffer, and Mr. Riddle, who all positively swore that "Dowling the surgeon had told them, that Captain Kimber had used him exceedingly ill; that he believed him to be a rascal; that he would be revenged on him, and would ruin him if it were in his power." Mr. Jacks said, these words occurred to him immediately after he heard that Captain Kimber was taken into custody. These three gentlemen also spoke to the general character of Capt. Kimber for good-nature and humanity. When the trial had arrived at this stage, the Jury said they were perfectly

fectly satisfied of the prisoner's innocence, and gave a verdict of Not Guilty. On the motion of Mr. Pigott, Dowling and Devereux were committed to Newgate to take their trial for wilful and corrupt perjury, and Mr. Jacks bound to prosecute. The Solicitor-General observed, that although these two witnesses had been materially contradicted in certain points, yet there was not one witness called on the part of the defendant to deny the tying, suspending, and the flogging, which was the material charge against Capt. Kimber. Mr. Sylvester suggested that it was probable such evidence would be brought forward at the trials of these persons for perjury.

8th. Came on the trial of Capt. Donald Trail, late commander of the Neptune Botany Bay ship, and William Ellerington, the chief mate, indicted for the wilful murder of one of the convicts on their passage over; when, after a trial of three hours, they were both honourably acquitted, and a copy of their indictment was granted them. The attorney, who was the occasion of these trials, was ordered to be struck off the roll.

Same day the Admiralty Session ended, when the following prisoners were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, viz. George Hindmarsh, for the wilful murder of Sam. Burn Cowie, late chief mate of the merchant ship called the Fly, by beating and wounding him, and afterwards throwing him overboard into the sea at about one league's distance from Anamaboe, on the coast of Africa,—to be executed on Monday, and his body to be anatomized; also Charles Perry and John Slack, for

piratically seizing a merchant vessel, called the Fairy Schooner, at Tantom-querry Roads, on the coast of Africa, and firing a blunderbuss at the rest of the crew, who were coming on board in an open canoe.

8th. Tuesday and Wednesday very violent and dangerous riots prevailed in Mount-street, Grosvenor-square, in which the watch-house there, a well constructed and handsome building, has been nearly demolished. The whole originated from the assembling of about forty servants of some neighbouring people of fashion at a public-house to join in a dance on Monday evening, in honour of his Majesty's birth-day. This, to certain over-zealous officers of justice, appeared an infringement of the peace, which they very wisely took upon them to put a stop to by proceeding to the house, and taking all the jovial band into custody, and confining them all night in the watch-house. Next day, however, they were all discharged; but a few of the unfortunate people, who behaved riotously at their liberation, supplied their place. Several of these were taken into custody, and by the exertion of the military all is now quiet, not without some personal injury to a few who suffered from repeated firings from the constables and patrols, which were deemed necessary to quell the tumult. No life was lost.

9th. Mr. Baker, M. P. and Mr. Bond examined in the watch-house those who had been taken up. Among them was the second coachman of the Duke of Gloucester, who was bailed for 200l. A young lad, servant to Lady Frances Harpur, was discharged; and four or five detained.

It appears that the warrants on which the livery-servants were apprehended, and confined in the Mount-street watch-house, were forged; the Justices whose names appeared to them, having declared they signed no warrant whatever that day.

An affair of honour took place early this morning, between the Earl of Lonsdale and Captain Cuthbert, of the Guards, which, after the discharge of a brace of pistols on each side, terminated without injury to either party. Lord Lonsdale's last shot would probably have been fatal, if the ball had not luckily struck against a button of Captain Cuthbert, which repelled it. The seconds then interfered, and matters were amicably adjusted. The circumstances which led to this hazardous decision were as follow: Captain Cuthbert, in order to obviate all increasing disturbances in Mount-street, had directed that no carriage should be suffered to pass that way:—Lord Lonsdale, who came in his carriage to Mount-street, was consequently obstructed; and finding the impediment insuperable, his temper was somewhat ruffled. Addressing himself, therefore, to Captain Cuthbert, he exclaimed, "You r—s—l, do you know that I am a Peer of the realm?" The Captain immediately replied, "I don't know whether you are a Peer, but I know you are a s—d—l, for applying such a term to an officer on duty; and I will make you answer for it." A meeting of course took place, and concluded as we have stated.

Vienna, 9th. Their Hungarian Majesties, accompanied by the Great Duke of Tuscany, set out for Buda the 30th ultimo; and the

ceremony of the King's coronation took place there on Wednesday last, with every demonstration of the loyalty and attachment of the Hungarian nation towards their new sovereign.

10th. The new church of St. James, Clerkenwell, was this day consecrated by the Lord Bishop of London; after which an excellent sermon was preached therein by the Rev. Mr. Davis, minister of the parish.

11th. Last Wednesday night and Thursday morning a riot took place at Edinburgh: the mob made an attempt on Mr. Dundas's house, in George's Square, and broke the windows; after which they endeavoured to get into it, but were repulsed by the military power, who fired on them; by which one man was killed, and several wounded.

12th. Monday last came on before the court of King's Bench in Dublin, the trial of Mr. James Napper Tandy, upon an indictment for sending a challenge to his Majesty's Solicitor-General; when the jury, after two hours deliberation, returned their verdict, Not Guilty. It was admitted that Mr. Tandy's letter was meant to call forth a challenge, but that time and place being left to Mr. Toler, it was not an absolute one.

On the return of his Majesty from the House of Peers to St. James's, a privy council was held, which was attended by Mr. Pitt, the two Secretaries of State, the Duke of Leeds, Lord Sidney, &c. when Lord Thurlow (Lord High Chancellor) laid the seals of his office at his Majesty's feet, addressing the King in a most feeling speech, representing the unfulfilled
state

state wherein he had resigned his commission, which he had held since June 3, 1778. His Majesty seemed much affected on the occasion; on which Lord Thurlow immediately withdrew, and the seals were put into the commission of Lord Chief Baron Eyre (who was sworn in one of his Majesty's Privy Council) Sir W. H. Ashurst, Knt. one of the judges of the court of King's Bench, and Sir John Wilson, Knt. one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas, who kissed the King's hand on their appointment, and, having taken the usual oaths, retired with the seals of office.

Mr. W. Priestley, son of Dr. Priestley, presented himself to the French National Assembly on the 13th. inst. and demanded letters of naturalization. "Go," said his father to him — "Go and live among this brave and hospitable people; learn from them to detest tyranny, and to love liberty."—The motion for his naturalization was carried unanimously.

16th. In the court of Common Pleas last Monday a cause was tried, which involved a new question upon the bankrupt laws. The action was brought to recover the sum of 30l. 10s. upon a bill of exchange accepted by the defendant previous to his bankruptcy. It appeared that the defendant, after he became a bankrupt, and had obtained his certificate, acknowledged the debt he owed the plaintiff, and said, "he shall lose nothing by me; I will pay him as soon as it is in my power." The question in this cause was, "Whether, as the debt accrued previous

to the bankruptcy, his certificate was not a bar to the present action, notwithstanding the subsequent promise of payment!" Lord Loughborough was of opinion, that the subsequent promise of payment was a waiver of the certificate, and that therefore the plaintiff had a right to recover. Verdict for the plaintiff 30l. 10s.

Lord Kenyon pronounced the opinion of the court of King's Bench, in the case the King against Major, for having sold corn with a bushel different from the Winchester measure; when his Lordship, at the conclusion of his argument, said, "We cannot get rid of the effect of these positive laws", meaning the statutes of 22d and 23d of Charles the Second; "and the conviction must be affirmed."

By the above important decision, applying to farmers, and all persons concerned in the corn-trade, "no corn or grain can be sold in any market in this country by any measure but the Winchester measure."

A person of the name of Robbins, in Long-alley, Moorfields, having some words with his wife, in a fit of passion, snatched up a razor, and cut her throat, and immediately with the same instrument cut his own also. They both died before any assistance could be procured, leaving one child to bewail the catastrophe. The life of Robbins was attended with some curious particulars. About eighteen years since, he was concerned with one Sherwood, who was executed several years back, for a forgery on the sister of Sherwood, at the instigation of Robbins, who turned evidence

evidence for the crown. Previous to this transaction their scheme was to have built a place for the reception of the penitent prostitutes, on a plan similar to that of the Magdalen; and, in order to enable them to carry on the business, the above forgery was proposed, to the destruction of Sherwood. Soon after this transaction, Robbins married a woman with a fortune of 20,000*l.* and who, at this present moment, sells shrimps at Billingsgate. Having soon run through her fortune, he left her, and cohabited with the unfortunate woman who fell a victim to his inordinate passions, to whom he had been married several years. At this time he has two surviving widows!

18th. This day Christopher Atkinson, Esq. by his Majesty's letters patent, was honourably restored to all his former franchises.

21st. Tuesday dispatches were received at the Secretary of State's office from Governor Philip, governor of Botany Bay. They were brought over in his Majesty's ship *Gorgon*, arrived at Portsmouth. They contain an account of the people in general being very healthy; that they had greatly improved in their agriculture; that the crops came up very fine, and that they were in the greatest expectation they should, in a very short time, be able to boast of that place turning out much more comfortable than what has been frequently represented.

Barrington, of famous memory, is appointed by Governor Philip, High Constable of Paramatta, a new settlement about fourteen miles from Sydney Cove; in which he conducts himself with great propriety, and distributes justice

in a most impartial manner, discovering singular abilities and humanity.

Wentworth, the highwayman, acts as assistant to the Surgeon General, at Norfolk Island, and behaves himself remarkably well. He is also tutor to the children of the colony.

Captain Edwards, late commander of his Majesty's ship *Pandora*, which was lost in Endeavour Straits in the course of last year, is come over in the *Gorgon*, bringing with him the ten mutineers in irons, who were taken by him at Otaheite.

On the 24th ultimo, sentence was passed on the remainder of the conspirators concerned in the murder of the late King of Sweden: Counts Horn and Ribbing to lose their right hands and heads, to be deprived of their honours, degraded from the ranks of Nobles, and their property confiscated; Colonel Liljehorn and Lieutenant Ehrensward to be degraded, decapitated, and their property confiscated; Major Hertmansdorff to be broke, and imprisoned for one year; the counsellor of the chancery, Engestrom, to be deprived of his nobility and post, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; his brother to lose his place of Secretary; the Secretary Liljestråle to be fed one week on bread and water; Major General Pechlin to be confined in the fortress of Marstrand, and his behaviour to be reported to the King every six months by the commandant of the fortress. The senator Ahlgreen, Enhorning the Notary, and the Bailiff Nordel, have been pardoned. All those condemned have claimed the respite

pite of thirty days allowed them by law, to put in an arrest of judgment, or petition their sovereign for pardon.

Dublin. A lady of fortune, in Denmark-street, having conceived a strong affection for a gentleman at the Irish bar, and not meeting with a reciprocal return, has been unhappily deranged in her intellects, from the excess of her love and disappointment. Some curious circumstances relative to this affair have recently transpired. The lady, unable to make any impression by the ordinary efforts of female practice, sent a confidential maid-servant with bank-note after bank-note to the gentleman, till 1100l. had been expended in this species of *nouvelle* love-letters. It may be easily conceived that the gentleman, whose name, on a delicate affair of this nature, it would be injustice to make public, possessed too nice a sense of honour to be concerned in so base a communication. The fact is, that the *fille de chambre* deceived her mistress, and had gone so far as to deliver forged letters, thanking her for her favours, and expressing an ardent wish to make a return, &c. The servant is decamped, and was traced to have taken shipping at Dover for Holland; there, it is supposed, to enjoy her ill-acquired property. The unfortunate young lady since that period has been confined in Swift's Hospital, and in the paroxysms of her grief has given proofs of that wild and disordered affection which must strongly bring to mind the merits, the sufferings, and the virtue of Shakespeare's Ophelia. She is, however, now nearly recovered. A jury lately sat to determine on her sanity or insanity; and the ver-

dict that they have returned is, "that she is not incapable of managing her own affairs;" so that there is a prospect of her being restored to her friends and the world.

Lanark. Mr. David Dale, of this place, in the course of six years has reared a village on the banks of the Clyde, containing 2000 persons; and erected five cotton-mills, each of which contains 6000 spindles. The various provisions which this extraordinary man has made for the health of the children employed by him, is highly praiseworthy. They have every day some hours allotted to them for exercise in the fields; and their looks bespeak health and vigour. These hours of relaxation the boys enjoy in succession. Their apartments are likewise clean and well-aired, and ten school-masters are daily employed in their tuition.

Within these forty years past, the population of Scotland has considerably increased. It appears from Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of that country, that in fifty parishes, taken indiscriminately from one end of the kingdom to the other, there is an increase since 1755 (at which the late Rev. Dr. Webster calculated the whole inhabitants at 1,265,380) of 10,517 souls; which is at the rate of 210 to a parish, or 189,000 in the 900 country parishes of North Britain; and as the great towns (Edinburgh, Glasgow, &c.) have probably increased to the amount of 210,000, the total increase in Scotland, in less than forty years, will be about 400,000, and the total population about 1,700,000 souls.

The following clause in the act, passed last session, respecting servants characters, may be of much benefit, the more generally it is made

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made known, viz. "That if, after the 1st of June, 1792, any person shall falsely personate any master or mistress, to give any false, forged, or counterfeit character of a servant, shall forfeit the sum of forty pounds, or be kept to hard labour, without bail or mainprize, for three months."

24th. A conflagration lately took place in Paris, which will furnish the friends to chivalry with new arguments against the French revolution. The archives of the Order of St. Esprit, and the titles of nobility enrolled in the convent of the Grand Augustines, with all the registered proofs of nobility, were publicly burnt in the place Vendôme. They amounted to near 600 immense folios. At the conflagration was seen the once illustrious Marchioness de Laferrier, herself bearing her former titles, and throwing into the flames the honours of her ancestors.

A new invention of making a cable by means of a piece of machinery just erected in Portsmouth yard, the construction of which is very curious, has been submitted to the Board of Admiralty. By means of this engine, which is put in motion by sixteen horses, twenty men, wholly unskilled in rope-works, will be enabled to make a cable of dimensions for the largest ships in less time than two hundred men can make one according to the usual method.

29th. Mrs. Hobart's long-looked-for and long prevented fashionable *dejeune* was given yesterday in spite of the weather. All the first nobility and fashion about town graced this tête. The Prince of Wales came first, and precisely at one o'clock. Between 400 and 500

persons were present. The breakfast lasted from two till past seven o'clock.

The leading personage in this entertainment (which was obliged to be confined to the house on account of the weather) was Mrs. Bristow, a near relation of Mrs. Hobart. This lady, who has long resided at the Indian court at Lucknow, was every inch a queen. Dressed in all the magnificence of eastern grandeur, Mrs. Bristow represented the Queen Nouradjad, or the Light of the World in the Garden of Roses. She was seated in the large drawing-room, which was very beautifully fitted up, on cushions in the Indian style, smoking a hookah, amidst all sorts of the choicest perfumes. Mrs. Bristow was very profuse with her otto of roses, drops of which were thrown about the ladies' dresses. The whole house was scented with the most delicious fragrance. The company on entering were all introduced to Mrs. Bristow by Mrs. Hobart. Young Keppell, the son of the Margravine of Anspach, was dressed in girl's clothes. He was in the character of a Calabrese, and sung some charming French songs with M. le Texier, who was in woman's clothes as a ballad-singer, and played on the fiddle. A lady was dressed as a Savoyarde, but could not be distinctly heard, on account of an intolerable large mask over her face. Mrs. Bristow likewise sung. Each lady had a lottery-ticket given her by Mrs. Hobart on entering, and each drew a prize. The Duchesses of Rutland drew the second highest; but the gross lot, or first prize, never went out of the wheel. It was, after the drawing was over, presented by Mrs. Hobart,

bart, on her knees, to the Indian Queen Nouradjad. The breakfast of course consisted of every thing that was choice and good, and every person seemed to partake very plentifully of it. The fruits and wines were delicious.

DIED. Lately at Honselife, in Luxemburg, Mr. Horlach, a native of Russia, author of a History of the Reigns of the Russian Princes from 862; and a Genealogical Account of the Imperial Families of Russia.

JULY.

Mr. Foster Powell, the celebrated pedestrian, left Shoreditch, London, on Monday morning, the 2d of July instant, a little after twelve o'clock; got to Stamford the same night at eleven; to Doncaster on Tuesday night a little after twelve; and arrived at York Minster on Wednesday, at five minutes past three o'clock in the afternoon. He set off from York, on his return to London, at thirty-eight minutes past five the same evening. After sleeping at Ferrybridge, he arrived at Doncaster on Thursday morning about a quarter before nine; and after taking a refreshment, proceeded on his return, amidst numbers of people who accompanied him out of town, and got to Grantham the same evening between ten and eleven o'clock, where he slept. Early in the morning he pursued his journey, and arrived at Shoreditch-church, amidst the acclamations of thousands, on Saturday at thirty-five minutes past one o'clock, being one hour and twenty minutes within the limited time.

2d. Lord Lauderdale, attended by the Right Honourable C. J. Fox as his second, and General Arnold, with Lord Hawke as his friend, had

a meeting near Kilburn - Wells, to terminate a misunderstanding which it was found impossible to conciliate. Lord Lauderdale received the General's fire unhurt, when, his Lordship declining to return the shot, the seconds retired for about ten minutes, and the result was the finishing of the affair. The noble Earl, upon being desired to fire, observed that he did not come there to fire at the General, nor could he retract the offensive expressions; if General Arnold was not satisfied, he might fire until he was. A like reconnoitre took place a few days before, between the noble Earl and the Duke of Richmond.

In the court of King's Bench, before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, an action was brought by the Countess Dowager of Cavan against Mr. Tatterfall, as proprietor of the Morning Post, for several false and malicious libels against her daughter Lady Elizabeth Lambert. After a hearing of two hours, the jury brought in a verdict of 4000l. damages.—George Rose, Esq. brought an action against the printer of the Morning Post, for a libel inserted in that paper the 13th of March last. The jury, which was special, gave the plaintiff a verdict, with 100l. damages. Another action against the proprietor of the Morning Post for the same paragraph, received the same verdict.

13th. This day the Recorder made his report to the King in council of the prisoners under sentence of death in Newgate, convicted in May sessions; when the following were ordered for execution on Wednesday next, viz. T. Gortley, for feloniously personating David Ramsay, a proprietor of 2300l. three per cent. annuities in the Bank

of England, and thereby endeavouring to receive the interest thereon, with intent to defraud him thereof; W. Randall and J. Leman Baker, for feloniously stealing in the dwelling-house of J. Mole; W. Cropper, alias Cooper, for breaking open the house of J. Bateman, and stealing 30l. and upwards, his property; and G. Smith, alias Swallow, for feloniously forging and counterfeiting a power of attorney, to receive the wages due to Edward Clarke, late a mariner on board the Kent merchantman, with intent to defraud Paul Peafe. Mary Smith, for privately stealing from the person of John Cogle seven guineas, one half guinea, and some silver, his property; and John Fitzgerald, for robbing John Stanyard on the highway of his hat, were ordered to be imprisoned six months: and the following were ordered to be transported for life, viz. A. Davis, for robbing the Right Hon. George Marquis of Huntley, on the highway near Cranford-bridge, of six guineas and a chaise-seat containing a quantity of wearing apparel; J. Carrol, for robbing G. Oliver on the highway of a callico handkerchief; and L. King, for privately stealing from the person of G. Edmonston a cambric handkerchief.

24th. An Extraordinary Gazette was published, containing Lord Cornwallis's account of the exchange of the definitive treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, and other particulars.

DIED, at Sawford, in Worcestershire, aged 103, Mary Annett, a cottager. She retained her faculties to the last hour of her life.

Lately at Paris, in the utmost poverty, the celebrated Paul Jones.

This noted desperado appeared first in the cause of America in April, 1778, off the coast of Cumberland, as commander of the Ranger privateer, which fired a vessel in the harbour of Whitehaven, with intent to burn and plunder that town; but the inhabitants extinguished the flames before they reached the rigging. The privateer had previously taken two prizes, and sent them to France. She afterwards landed some men on the west coast of Scotland, and pillaged the house of Lord Selkirk, near Kircudbright, of plate, jewels, and all the moveables that were of value, during the absence of the family in London. The plate was returned to his Lordship in March, 1785, by Paul Jones, free of carriage. His next appearance was off the coast of Ireland, August 24th, 1779, with one ship of 40 guns, one of 36, a cutter of 18, and a brig of 14. His memorable action with the brave Captain Pearson of the Serapis, who became his prize, happened soon after; and the next year, having escaped the vigilance of our cruisers, he put into Corunna. In December, 1780, he arrived in London from Paris, with dispatches from congress to his Excellency John Adams, Esq. He was only twenty-two days on his passage from Philadelphia to France; and, after delivering his dispatches, set out at three in the morning, December 5th, for Paris, to proceed from thence to America. In 1786 he was at Copenhagen, and offered his services to the Empress of Russia, who accepted them; but on the spirited refusal of the English officers, in her service, to serve under him, she dismissed him with a handsome present; and not finding employment in the deranged

ed and useles navy of France, he sunk into such abject want, that Colonel Blackden was obliged to raise a small sum, by way of subscription, in order to bury him. As the laws relative to the interment of Calvinists are not yet abrogated, he was obliged to apply to the National Assembly, who voted that a deputation of the members should attend his funeral. One or two objected, on account of his being a Protestant; but this idea was scouted by all the rest. We doubt not this pirate (for he deserves no better name) will find some fuller biographers.

AUGUST.

1st. Mr. Dudley Adams presented the King with a view of a pair of the most magnificent globes ever executed in this country. On the celestial globe are inserted 5864 stars of seven different magnitudes, on a beautiful enamelled ground; each magnitude is distinguished by gold, silver, and different coloured foils. The terrestrial globe is very accurately laid down, and beautifully illuminated; they were mounted in gold and silver, and are intended as a present from the King to the Emperor of China.

2d. A most numerous and respectable meeting was yesterday held at the London Tavern, to consider of the propriety of affording a pecuniary succour to the King and people of Poland. W. Smith, Esq. Member of Parliament, was called to the chair, who, in an impressive and most forcible manner, stated the present situation of the virtuous Poles, struggling for liberty; and without speaking in terms which

his heart would suggest of her who oppressed and destroyed them, he said he should only venture to assert, there was a concurrent sentiment of all in this land of freedom to assist and support in their noble cause, and the maintenance of their most just rights, a king and people so cruelly oppressed. Mr. Sheriff Combe then rose, and moved a set of resolutions, which were seconded by Mr. Sheriff Anderson, and which passed unanimously. A very large subscription was immediately entered into, and a committee of trustees and managers of the money appointed. The chairman, in the course of his speech, read several letters he had received from the first characters, approving the meeting. There was one in particular from the Lord Mayor, lamenting that his public avocations prevented his attendance; and another from Mr. Wedgwood, desiring his own name to be put down in the subscription for one hundred pounds, and each of his three sons for 50l.

6th. Serjeant Grant, whose case has been lately so frequently mentioned, received fifty lashes on the parade in St. James's Park. His Majesty was graciously pleased to remit the remaining 950. The serjeant is to continue a prisoner in the Savoy till he can be sent out to his regiment in the East Indies.

8th. At four o'clock in the morning, their Majesties, with all the Princesses, left Windsor for Bagshot; as soon as they reached their tent they were joined by the Prince of Wales, Dukes of York and Gloucester, Prince William, and the Princess Sophia of Gloucester. At nine the manœuvres began; they were various, and the contest of the two parties

parties was as great as in real action. The numbers who attended were incredible. As an exhibition of curiosity or interest for the multitude, the review fell very far short of general expectation. The arrangements were so extended, and the evolutions so rapid and dexterous, that it was impossible for any but good horsemen to keep pace with them, and those were in such numbers, as to render it hazardous to mix with the crowd, and therefore four-fifths of the visitors might as well have been in London as on Bagshot-Heath. They could only be warranted in asserting to their friends that they saw a great deal of smoke, much dust, and many soldiers, but at a great distance. The Duke of Richmond, as commander in chief, was attended by two running footmen, dressed in white, who conveyed his messages to the parties near his person, while his aids du camp flew with them to the distant stations. The military operations of this small army have been by veterans most highly spoken of. The King and the commander have in a very particular manner expressed their satisfaction to the troops. It was in the afternoon that the great mine was sprung, which is described as follows: One of Colonel Moncrieff's square redoubts was erected upon a round hill, that the effects to be produced by blowing up the mine might be more discernible. The miners broke ground against the side of the hill, 152 feet from the redoubt, and about twenty feet below the summit of the hill. The first gallery was driven 112 feet in length, about three feet wide, and three and a half high; from which

two inches wide and three feet high, reaching under the redoubt: a second turning of six feet was made for the chamber, into which was put a wooden box of gunpowder, and lined with pitched canvas. This box contained 720 lbs. of powder, and was exploded by means of a wooden trough, containing a canvas pipe of gun-powder, which was lighted by means of a small box of the same article, which gave the first explosion, so as to cut off and light the canvas pipe which was to make the communication with the chamber. At the explosion the whole redoubt rose about forty feet, and vanished in dust and smoke, leaving a large excavation where it stood, of near forty feet wide, and twenty feet deep. The small mine was exploded a few days before, for the purpose of determining the resistance of the ground.—The fcuttlers at Bagshot-Heath reaped a plentiful harvest on Tuesday last: for a single mutton-chop, a cucumber, and a pint of bad wine, they modestly charged eighteen shillings! and five shillings for tea or coffee, with two thin slices of bread and butter.

10th. Powell started at Brighton to walk a mile, which he performed in nine minutes, and ran it back again in five minutes and fifty-two seconds, which was eight seconds within the time allowed. This exertion was for the sum of fifteen guineas, exclusive of which a handsome collection was made immediately after the wager was decided.

Dr. Willis returns from Portugal loaded with bars of gold, and adorned with diamonds. What rewards would have been bestowed on him had he proved successful! But the Queen's malady is incurable. Her Majesty

Majesty is firmly persuaded she is in hell; and says that a skilful physician may sometimes cure madness, but never can reverse the decrees of fate. The Queen's disorder was first occasioned by a plan contrived by some monks and waiting-ladies for reversing the bloody decree respecting the families of D'Averia and Tavora. This plan state-reasons rendered abortive; and her Majesty believes that she herself, as well as her royal father, are irrevocably doomed to eternal punishment for the cruel vengeance inflicted on those unhappy families.

The gratuity given by Lord Cornwallis to the officers and soldiers of his army, and equal to six months batta, is as follows:

	Pagodas.	Sterling.
A Colonel,	1080	- 432
A Lieut. Colonel,	900	- 360
A Major,	720	- 288
A Captain,	288	- 115 4
A Lieutenant,	192	- 76 16
An Ensign	144	- 47 12

The above estimate is made at the rate of eight shillings to a pagoda, the sum at which it is always issued. The non-commissioned officers and privates receive actual batta, or ratios, consisting of arrack, rice, salt or fresh beef. The gratuity to them is about 5l. sterling.

15th. The following shocking circumstance lately occurred at Chichester:—John Upton, a labouring man, who for some time past had shewn symptoms of insanity, and whose mind had been previously worked up with a religious frenzy, conceived a resolution of destroying himself and family, which he unhappily perpetrated; for in the morning of Wednesday, a neighbour, on going out early into the yard, discovered the wife dead on

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steps, her head and body shockingly beaten. On further search, their son, a youth, was found under a table in the kitchen, his head beaten quite to a mummy; and in a garret was found, suspended by a rope, this miserable wretch, who had attempted to put a period to his existence with a knife, but not having resolution to cut his throat effectually, he finished his existence by hanging himself. The jury, on Thursday, sat on their bodies, and found a verdict Lunacy. They were in the evening all buried in one grave.

A packet arrived from Sierra Leone, which brings the most melancholy accounts from this new settlement. So dreadful a mortality has prevailed, that upwards of 200 white persons have died since the last accounts were received. Numbers of the blacks have also fallen sacrifices to the inclemency of the climate. The natives, although not at open war with the settlement, are far from being friendly to it;—they never omit an opportunity to plunder, and have in many instances committed daring outrages.

We hear from Leeds, that about midnight two fishermen belonging to Hull being employed near the Spurn, one of them (Samuel Sallies) having both his hands employed in drawing the net, caught the head of a foal, which endeavoured to escape through a mesh in the net, between his teeth (a practice very common amongst fishermen). The foal, making an effort, sprung into the man's throat, who being thereby rendered incapable of calling out to his companion, went towards him, and made him sensible, by signs, of his melancholy situation. His comrade instantly laid hold of

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the fish's tail, but not being able to extract the body, the man was suffocated very soon after he reached the boat. The foal (the dimensions of which were eight inches and a half in length, by three and a quarter in breadth) was found with the head near the upper orifice of the stomach, the teeth being fastened into the substance of the œsophagus, and its tail inverted.

17th. Two very important philosophical discoveries have been lately made; the one by a Frenchman, and the other by an Italian at Bologna. The first is, the power of light to render vitriolic acid altogether harmless to the human body; inasmuch that a man may wash his hands in a substance that would otherwise reduce them to a cinder, with this sole precaution, of setting the basin in the rays of the sun. The Italian's discovery consists in proving experimentally that animal-motion depends on electric fire. His experiments are of that cruel nature, which can only be repeated by the hardened anatomist. But they are brought to what Lord Bacon calls the *experimentum crucis*; for a muscle being cut, and the parts separated, the motion of the one part produces a correspondent motion in the other, when a substance that is a conductor of the electric fluid is interposed between them; but no such motion is produced when a non-conductor is interposed.

18th. The Gazette of this evening contains no less than nineteen different notices of intended applications to parliament, for leave to make or extend cuts or canals in different parts of the kingdom.

The following premiums have been given for single shares in those navigation-schemes for which an

act of parliament has been obtained.

Birmingham and Fazeley, L.	1170
Stourbridge	350
Melton	55
Grand Trunk	350
Coventry	350
Leicester	155
Worcester	20

20th. The magistrates of Carmarthenshire have provided for each hundred and commote in the country, a metal standard bushel; and have published their resolution to prosecute, with the utmost rigour of the law, all persons who shall buy and sell corn by any other measure than the Winchester bushel.

Of the astonishing increase of business in the Bank of England, the best idea may be formed from considering the increase of its servants, which now amount to more than four hundred.

22d. A commercial house of the first consequence in Calcutta has fitted up and sent two vessels, under the command of Captain Barclay, to open a trade with the natives of the north and west coasts of America. Captain Barclay has directions not to confine himself to the purchase of furs, or the produce of Nootka Sound, but to make a careful survey of the whole coast, from the twentieth degree of north latitude to the Northern Archipelago and Kamtschatka, in order that factories may be established in the most convenient situations, agreeably to the late convention with Spain.

24th. At two o'clock on Saturday morning, a dreadful fire broke out in Riding-house-lane, Marybone, which destroyed four houses. Two children, from the rapidity of the flames, were burnt in a garret.

The

The person who called himself Duke of Ormond, and who fired at and wounded a constable at Birmingham, has been acquitted of that indictment, at Warwick assizes. The ground of acquittal was, that the constable did not declare on what authority and for what purpose he forcibly entered the room. Other detainers for fraudulently obtaining money are lodged against him.

25th. The sum of 2000*l.* was paid at the Exchequer to William Russell, Esq. on behalf of the New Meeting Society in Birmingham, as a recompence for the destruction of the New Meeting House in the riots of 1791, and also for the furniture it contained, belonging to the Rev. Dr. Priestley and the individual members of the congregation.

27th. Napper Tandy has obtained a verdict in Dublin, upon the indictment of an assault preferred by him against one Brown, under a proclamation offering 50*l.* reward for his apprehension. Upon the solicitation of Mr. Tandy, the punishment inflicted on Brown was mitigated to a fine of sixpence, and three days imprisonment. It was Napper Tandy's own hair-dresser that arrested him. The plan was contrived between the patriot and the *friseur*; and they were equally to divide the reward between them. Government saw through the duplicity, and left this curious pair to finish the business by themselves.

30th. Lord Gower and the Countess of Sutherland arrived at the Marquis of Stafford's, Whitehall, from Paris. Before the Countess of Sutherland left Paris, she sent many articles of her own dress to the Queen, and of her young son's,

for the use of the Dauphin, which were most thankfully received.—What a pitiable case for the daughter of an Emperor, and the comfort of the King of France!

All ministerial communication with the French ambassadors in London and at the Hague is at an end, by order of the respective courts.

The Prussian General has given an acquittance in the name of the French people, and of Louis XVI, King of the French, for monies paid by the receiver-general of the department of the Moselle. He has also ordered the president of the department to convene the primary assemblies, according to the regulations of the constitution as accepted by the King, and then to proceed to the election of deputies to the national convention.

DIED, 3d, at his seat at Cromford, in Derbyshire, Sir Richard Arkwright, Knight; who, by uncommon genius and persevering industry, invented and perfected a system of machinery for spinning, that had been in vain attempted by many of the first mechanics of the last and present centuries; which, by giving perpetual employment to many thousand families, has increased the population, and been productive of great commercial advantage to this country. He has died immensely rich, and has left manufactories, the income of which is greater than that of most German principalities, though derived from very opposite circumstances, those that promote the prosperity of a country. His real and personal property is estimated at little short of half a million. From the humble station of a barber at a village near Manchester, he gradually rose in the

acquisition of this vast wealth by the accidental purchase of a single piece of mechanism, called the Spinning-Jenny, the invention of an ingenious carpenter, who, as report says, offered it for sale from mere necessity. He has left one son and one daughter (a Mrs. Hurt) both of whom have families. Mrs. Hurt, it is said, will have 200,000*l.*; Mr. Arkwright an equal sum, with all the manufactories, worth as much more.—Sir Richard was interred at Matlock on the 9th; whence his remains will be removed to Cromford, as soon as the church, begun by him there, is completed.—Sir Richard, we are informed, with the qualities necessary for the accumulation of wealth, possessed, in an eminent degree, the art of keeping it. His œconomy and frugality bordered very nearly on parsimony. He was, however, if not a great, a very useful character.

SEPTEMBER.

1st. The number of addresses presented to his Majesty, to return thanks for the late proclamation against seditious writings, amount to 341; including almost all the counties, corporations, boroughs, cities, and towns in Great Britain.

In Paris two seminaries of learning for the children of Irish parents have been plundered and destroyed by the populace.

The Marchioness de Bouillé and Madame de Noailles both arrived at Brighton last week from Dieppe in France; the former in the habit of a failor, by the hazardous means of an open boat; and the latter disguised in mean male attire, in one of the packets, the captain of which

humanely took her under his protection.

Great numbers of priests and other emigrants have got across to the English coast within this last fortnight; they have been seen on the roads from Dover, Hastings, Eastbourne, and Brighthelmstone, coming up to London in all possible ways, on coaches, waggons, fish-carts, &c. Some came walking, attended by a cart, which they ascended by turns as they were over-fatigued. The streets of London now swarm with them; and as many of them are in absolute distress, subscriptions have been opened by our benevolent countrymen for their relief.

4th. *Dublin.* The 64th regiment was drawn up in the square at New Geneva, when the privates found guilty of mutiny at Limerick, were brought out to receive their sentence. The commanding officer addressed them in a few words, expatiating on the criminal and ruinous tendency of the offence of which they stood convicted, and then pronounced the judgment of the court-martial as follows: one to be shot, another to receive 1000 lashes, and a third 500 lashes: the remainder were acquitted. He then made a pause of about a minute, and a most awful solemnity pervaded the corps; when he added that, in consideration of the sincere contrition which the culprits manifested for the error into which they had unthinkingly and foolishly plunged themselves, as well as for their youth and inexperience, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant had humanely granted them a free pardon. They were immediately ordered to their respective companies.

The

The effects of the floods in the river Barn were most dreadful. About one o'clock it rose so high as entirely to carry away the cut at the Salmon-leap near that place; then proceeding with amazing force, it entirely carried off the centre arch of the bridge, by which several people were swept away and drowned; and the *Susannah* was driven from the moorings, and carried a considerable way inland, where she is now left, without any probability of getting her off. The flood then spread over the low lands, between Coleraine and Port Stuart, committing some dreadful ravages in its way. Among the rest, it carried off and drowned twenty sheep, the property of John Mackay, Esq. of Prospect. The huts of several of the poor were also swept away by the rising of the river; by which dreadful accident forty poor people have lost their daily bread. The grain is almost entirely destroyed; and we have also the prospect of approaching famine, unless a favourable change takes place in the weather.

The resolutions of the grand juries in Ireland, against the measures taken by the grand committee of Roman Catholics, have provoked and irritated the latter exceedingly. Government are at a loss what measures to pursue. The latter is so miserably supported, that in the metropolis they had scarcely interest sufficient to have the Catholics opposed by the corporation of Dublin.

5th. *Portsmouth*. The Scourge sloop brought in a small capture to Spithead, and sent a boat on shore with two midshipmen to a return, as it is technically called. As the boat was making back, the water was so rough as to upset it; by

which melancholy accident all were lost except two, who floated, by the help of oars, for six or seven hours, when they were picked up by a vessel which fortunately passed near enough to observe their disastrous situation. About half an hour before this providential delivery, the two midshipmen, who had supported themselves by some buoyant part belonging to the boat, entirely exhausted, relinquished their hold, and were seen no more.

8th. *Edinburgh*. A pinnacle-boat from Leith, with four young gentlemen of that place, and three seamen, went to Inchkeith, on a pleasure party; when, owing to the foolhardiness of the seamen, who, although repeatedly requested to reef the sails, insisted on keeping the whole of her canvas out, she was suddenly upset in a gust of wind. The three seamen were unfortunately drowned; the young men, who all clung to the oars, were providentially taken up by another Leith boat, who saw the accident. One of the drowned men was found, and carried to Inchkeith by the gentlemen in the boat who picked them up, and every means used to restore him, but without effect. The wind blowing from the harbour, they landed the body at Fisher-row, where a gentleman humanely took upon himself the charge of seeing it decently interred.

13th. *Dublin*. It is said that a subscription, amounting to three millions sterling, has been completed among the Roman Catholic gentlemen and merchants of Ireland, for the purpose of purchasing lands in North America. The object of this purchase is said to be twofold: first, that these lands may serve as an asylum to which those people

may retire, should they fail in obtaining what they now seem to consider as essential to the being of freemen, the elective franchise. The second object is, that they may be a source of profit, should their situation in their native country be made such as to induce them to remain in it. This measure of the Catholics, should it be carried into execution, must very deeply interest the national welfare. Nothing has occurred in Irish politics, within the present century, more worthy the attention of the politician and the statesman.

15th. Thursday evening a car, with some cotton wests, woollen and linen yarn, which Mr. Grey, of Francis-street, was sending to his factory at Balbriggan, was stopped by an armed body of weavers on the road between Drumcondra and Santry. The driver, after being struck with a broad sword, was obliged to suffer his horse, car, and the goods in his charge, to be taken away by this lawless mob, who triumphantly conveyed it to Marrowbone-lane, where they burnt the wool, the yarn, and the car.

Yesterday one of the persons guilty of the above offence, was taken by a party of the police; and, on the information of the carman, was committed by Alderman Fleming for trial.

17th. A court-martial commenced on board the Duke, in Portsmouth harbour, on Wednesday the 12th instant, on a charge of mutiny on the 28th of April, 1787, on board his Majesty's armed vessel Bounty, for running away with the ship, and deserting his Majesty's service, against Joseph Coleman, Charles Norman, Thomas Mackintosh, Peter Haywood, Isaac Morris, John Milward, William Muspratt, Tho-

mas Birkett, Thomas Ellison, and Michael Byrn. The evidence for the prosecution closed on Friday night, the 14th instant, and the court indulged the prisoners till Monday to give in their defence, and on Tuesday took the whole into their consideration; when they were pleased to pass sentence of death on Haywood, Morris, Milward, Muspratt, Birkett, and Ellison, the two first of whom the court recommended to mercy. Coleman, Norman, Mackintosh, and Byrn, were acquitted and discharged.

19th. The sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following capital convicts received sentence of death, viz. Thomas Crumps, John Dean, William Wane, Thomas Kirk, Robert Wallace, Thomas Sticks, alias Wood, Thomas Cook, John Cook, Richard Stanniforth, James Aulkin, alias Allkin, Mary Burgefs, and John Smith, alias Irefon.

The judgment upon Isaac Moore, a letter-carrier, convicted this session, is respite for the opinion of the judges, whether stealing half a bank-note is felony?

21st. The Royal party lately rode out from Weymouth to Dorchester, and surveyed the new county-gaol: when a farmer, who had been confined for seven years for a debt incurred by a lawyer's bill, on his knees presented a petition, stating the particulars to his Majesty. His Majesty was most graciously pleased to pay the money (£20l.) and the man was immediately liberated.—His name is Pitfield.

Accounts from the north are of the most lamentable kind, concerning the immense loss of sheep by the floods, and the miserable state of their corn, laid flat by the rains, and the little hopes of its ripening fit for the sickle. Westmoreland,
Lan-

Lancashire, and the fine county of Nottinghamshire, along the Derwent, have suffered exceedingly.

A Mr. Herbert has obtained in Ireland, a verdict of 15,000*l.* against Major Duff, of the 38th regiment, for criminal conversation with his wife.

22d. Mr. Paine, author of "The Rights of Man," is elected a Member of the National Convention of France, by the district of Versailles, and also by that of Calais. Mr. Paine, in consequence, set off for Paris on Monday last.

As a young man, named Thomas Foster, son of an eminent gardener of Mickleton, in Gloucestershire, was walking in their own garden he saw an adder. He laid hold of a garden-rake, and struck it; upon which, with a sudden spring, it fastened round his left arm, bit him upon the pit of the stomach, and then dropped off. The place bitten began swelling immediately, with an uncommon degree of pain, which baffled every effort of an experienced surgeon for the space of six hours, when the young man died in the most excruciating pain.

The American Honeysuckle, which bears so pretty a flower in most gardens in this kingdom, after its blossom closes, instead of going to seed, the pod ripens into very fine cotton, which it produces in abundance.—This is a circumstance which, if not worthy the attention of the cotton manufacturer, at least merits notice from the curious.

DIED, 8th, aged 120, Mrs. Johnson of Deritend, Birmingham.

this kingdom, between the 30th of August and the 1st of October, is 3772.

The subscriptions received by the committees for the relief of the suffering clergy of France, amount to upwards of 15,000*l.* This reflects the highest honour on the English nation.

2d. The Vice-Chancellor, Proctors, Public Orator, Registrar, and other officers of the university of Oxford, with a delegacy of the convocation, set out for High Wycombe, Bucks, in ten carriages, suitably attended, and, having dined and slept that night at the Red Lion, next day proceeded to Bulstrode, in their formalities, and installed his Grace the Duke of Portland Chancellor of that university; with the usual ceremonies; in the course of which his Grace addressed the deputation in a very polite and elegant speech, expressing, in the highest terms, his gratitude to the university for the distinguished honour he had received, and promising his most active zeal in defending its privileges, and promoting its prosperity. The company were afterwards most elegantly entertained by his Grace at dinner upon services of massy gold and silver table-sets of plate, in a state of splendor and magnificence too difficult to describe; at which were present, Lord Viscount Stormont, Lord Malmsbury, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, the Dean of Christ Church, Sir William Scott, Mr. Burke, Mr. Welbore Ellis, Mr. Wyndham, and several neighbouring gentlemen.

12th. This day the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the city of London, waited upon his Majesty (being introduced

OCTOBER.

1st. The total number of French refugees landed at all the ports in

roduced by the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's household) with the following Address, which was read by Sir John William Rose, the Recorder:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT
MAJESTY,

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor,
Aldermen, and Commons of the City of
London, in Common Council assembled.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to offer to your Majesty our most sincere congratulations on the glorious and important advantages gained by your Majesty's forces in the East Indies.

As the representatives of the first city in the kingdom, we feel ourselves particularly interested in the successful termination of a war which had for its object the security of peace, the extension of civilization and commerce to the most distant parts of the world. Your Majesty's faithful citizens most ardently hope and trust that your Majesty will very long enjoy the honour and the happiness of promoting, in every quarter of the globe, that due respect to mild and equitable government, which, by experience, your Majesty's subjects know to be most essential to the welfare of mankind.

Signed by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX.

*To which Address his Majesty was
pleased to return the following most
gracious Answer:*

"I receive with great pleasure
this dutiful and loyal address.

The congratulations of the city of London on the successful termination of the war in the East Indies; and the sentiments expressed by them on this interesting occasion, cannot but be in the highest degree acceptable to me." They were all received very graciously, and had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand. After which his Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood on the Right Honourable John Hopkins, Lord Mayor of the city of London, and Benjamin Tibbs, Esq. one of the Sheriffs.

Among the persons lately massacred in France, is M. Gerard, of l'Orient, one of the first merchants in that country, who was supposed worth near a million sterling. He had lately made a present of all his horses for the use of the army, and was universally in estimation with the inhabitants. His death arose from the following circumstance:—He was largely concerned in the East India trade, and had two cases consigned to him as hardware for exportation, which passed at the custom-house as such, without examination; but as they were conveying them on board a ship for the East Indies, they were met by some of the French soldiers, who from their length suspected their contents, and on opening them, found they were fire-arms; which, though manufactured particularly for the East India trade, and of little use for the army, occasioned the *generale* to be beat, and the municipality to give orders for M. Gerard's being arrested, of which he got notice, and escaped to his country-house, about six miles distant, where he was followed

lowed by the democratic soldiers, and inhumanly murdered, and afterwards cut into different pieces, which were thrown back into his coach, from whence they had taken him.

The following remarkable Letter, with 36s. 6d. inclosed, was received by the Collector of Excise at Halifax:

"Sir, Having some time since, by dealing in smuggled goods, gained the sum of 11 16s 6d; and being since convinced of the sinfulness of this business, it being contrary to the law of God as well as man; and as the duties of religion require restoration, I inclose you herein the said sum, which I desire you will apply to his Majesty's service; and am, Sir, Yours, &c.

ANONYMOUS."

Near Bradford, Sept. 11, 1792.

The subscription for the succour of the people of Poland, which was only open a few days, amounted to 4016l. which is paying back to the subscribers, deducting 1s. 6d. in the pound for advertisements, &c.

The Board of Excise have lately determined, that farming live-stock, sold by auction, is not liable to any duty.

From the accounts brought by the latest ships arrived from India two or three weeks ago, it appears that the inquiries made for ascertaining the fate of the Foulis have proved fruitless. The ship has not been heard of upon any coast, and appears to have been lost in the open sea, probably by the loss of her rudder, which is one of the most fatal accidents that can befall a ship at sea. The Aurora frigate, which several years ago, was carrying Mr. Vanfittart and other supervisors to India; the Swallow packet, lost about the year 1778;

the Cato, a King's fifty-gun ship; and the Foulis, make four ships, to or from India, of which no news have been received.

14th. *Maidstone.* Last night, between twelve and one o'clock, a desperate effort was made by the felons confined in our town-gaol, in order to effect their escape; but by the activity and resolution of Mr. Watson, the keeper, and his assistants, they were prevented from putting their design in execution, although several of them had got upon the wall, and rope-ladders were affixed on the other side of it. The implements with which the prisoners got off their irons, were conveyed to them by a child of two years of age; the mother of this child, being the wife of one of the offenders, had sewed them up in its clothes, previous to her leaving it with its father.

16th. Three young men, brothers, one of them in a banking-house at the west end of the town, were charged before Sir Sampson Wright, with an assault, and having been guilty of very indecorous behaviour in Newport-street, on Sunday night. A blacksmith, who brought the charge against them, said he lived in the above neighbourhood; and observing the young men push every person they met from off the pavement, without distinction of age or sex, and otherwise ill-treat them, he followed them: and on their continuing this improper conduct, attempted to expostulate with them, when they all fell upon him with sticks, and beat him very violently. They were ordered to find bail; and the magistrate expressed a wish that the blacksmith would make an example of these persons, in order to deter others from insulting the peaceable part of the community.

19th.

19th. *Exeter*. Early this morning the post-boy carrying the mail from Ashburton to Exeter, was robbed near Chudleigh, by a single man, who, presenting a pistol to his head and threatening his life, took from him the Plymouth, Dartmouth, Totnes, and Ashburton bags for Exeter, and the London bags for the three latter places. The boy afterwards met the Plymouth mail-boy, and returning together, they gave the alarm. Mr. Jackson, the post-master at Exeter, instantly published a hand-bill, offering a reward of two hundred pounds for apprehending the villain, over and above the forty pounds offered by act of parliament; and in consequence thereof he was taken on Friday night, in bed, at Moreton Hampstead, by six woolcombers; and a considerable quantity of notes and other property was recovered, which, together with a pistol, were concealed under his pillow.

20th. A riot took place in Newgate yesterday, the particulars of which are as follow: The persons who were some time ago removed from the King's Bench (in consequence of having attempted to effect their escape) to Newgate, had some disagreements among themselves, which proceeded so far as to induce some among them to draw their knives; and several were very much wounded. Pitt, the door-keeper on the debtors side, accompanied by two of his men, went in, in order to quell the tumult, when Pitt was so desperately cut over the head, as to render the immediate assistance of a surgeon necessary: his safety is not yet certain. His two attendants were also much wounded.

22. *Sheffield*. The retreat of the Duke of Brunswick was this day

celebrated here. Bonfires were made; cannon discharged, and flags, with the mottos, "Republic of France, Liberty," &c. hoisted. Entertainments were also given, and several sheep were boiled and roasted whole.

23d. *Derby*. This borough has followed the laudable example of many other boroughs, in taking off the tolls on grain, &c. coming into or passing through the said town.

25th. The Union packet of Dover was this day lost off the harbour of Calais. The time of high tide had been suffered to pass, through some unexpected delay, and the vessel struck in coming out of the port. In endeavouring to turn to windward she missed stays, and a fresh gale blowing at the moment, she was driven back, and dashed with great violence against the extremity of the southern pier. This accident was perceived from the vessels in the harbour; but the sea ran too high to send any boats to her assistance. The people on board were more than forty minutes in a fearful situation, as they could not be drawn ashore without running the hazard of being crushed between the vessel and the pier. At length, from the repeated shocks, her broadside gave way, and she instantly filled and sunk. The crew and passengers, amongst whom were four English-gentlemen and several ladies, were all fortunately saved. It is 105 years since a similar circumstance has occurred. The same company embarked next morning at Calais, on board the Pitt, Capt. Sharp, and actually underwent a second shipwreck, being driven on shore at the north-head, in a violent gale; but, fortunately, no person was lost.

31st. This morning, at half past seven,

seven, the six following malefactors were executed pursuant to their sentence, opposite to the Debtors Door, Newgate, viz. John Smith, alias Irefon; William Wade; Thomas Sticks, alias Wood; John and Thomas Cook; and Richard Staniforth, for stealing a Bank note, value 10l. out of a letter. They all behaved with a decency that became their unhappy situation.

DIED, Lately in Skeddy's almshouse, at Cork, aged 103, the great-grand-daughter of the celebrated English patriarch, Thomas Parr.

28th. On his tour towards Paris, Philip Thicknesse, Esq. formerly Lieutenant Governor of Landguard fort, and a man who made no little noise in the world.

29th. Sir David Dalrymple, of Hailes, Bart. better known by the name of Lord Hailes, one of the Senators of the College of Justice in Scotland.

Lameth, the Duke d'Aiguillon and Mr. Maselet.

9th. Sir James Sanderfon, Kt. attended by the Sheriffs, Recorder, Aldermen, Common Councilmen, Marshals, &c. appeared before the Barons at the Exchequer Office, Westminster Hall. The Recorder having gone through the usual ceremony of recommendation, Sir James was sworn into office, and having solemnly saluted the courts, they returned to their barges, and were landed at Black Friars bridge, from whence they proceeded in coaches to Guildhall to dinner, where were present the Right Honourable William Pitt, several officers of state, the foreign ministers, and many of the nobility. The two city marshals had new uniforms, which made a grand addition to the procession; their coats were scarlet, richly trimmed with gold lace; their horses were ornamented with new saddles, scarlet saddle-cloths, richly embroidered with gold lace, and the city arms on both sides, decorated with yellow and blue ribbons.

NOVEMBER.

8th. A duel took place between M. de Chauvigny and M. Charles Lameth. This affair, which originated in a difference of opinion, had been undecided for two years. It appears that M. de Chauvigny, having learnt the arrival of his antagonist in this country, gave him a meeting, and proposed to fight him; which the latter assented to. The parties fought in a field near the place of M. Lameth's residence; and he was dangerously wounded in the belly. The affair ended by both declaring themselves satisfied; and giving their word of honour that the matter was finally adjusted. —The seconds were, for M. de Chauvigny, the Duke de Pienne and the Count de Chabane; and for M.

12th. *Enfield.* About five minutes before twelve o'clock this day, a most dreadful accident happened at a cotton manufactory belonging to Mess. Clayton and Gaskill, of this town. A great part of the roof of that extensive building fell in while all the hands were at work, owing to the timbers drawing from the walls. A great number of persons are buried in the ruins. Several persons have been taken out dead, and many alive, but greatly bruised. It is supposed that about fifty or sixty men, women, and children, were under the roof at the instant when it fell in. Only sixteen are found. The cries of those buried are exceedingly distressing.

treffing. All possible means are using to liberate the living, and to dig out the dead. One part of the front-wall was apparently falling every moment; which prevented the populace from giving any assistance for upwards of two hours. The wind being extremely high, threatened every moment to blow down an adjacent part of the building. Several thousands of people were assembled on the alarm. A brave Irishman, at the hazard of his life, was determined to liberate two men whom he perceived crying out for help; which was soon afforded them. The populace, animated by his example, lent their assistance. Every surgeon in town rendered cheerfully his best services. One man and one child were found with their heads severed from their bodies, and bruised in a shocking manner.

13th. A spirit of riot broke out at Dundee. Near 1000 people having assembled, and, after burning in effigy two gentlemen who were obnoxious to them, proceeded to their houses, broke the windows, pulled down the rails of their gardens, and demolished some of the furniture of their houses. They then demanded the keys of the belfry from the magistrates, and set all the bells a ringing, having in the mean time planted the Tree of Liberty in the market-place, and burnt, as a bonfire, upwards of fifty oil and porter-casks. After this they dispersed quietly, and there has been no disturbance since. However, an express from Edinburgh has been sent to Fort George, said to carry orders for the troops to march for Dundee, to preserve peace and good order.

19th. The Attorney General moved the court of King's Bench

for a *habeas* to bring up the bodies of William Duffin and Thomas Lloyd, Esqrs. then prisoners in the Fleet, for the purpose of sending them to Newgate to take their trial for the following offence:— They were accused of posting upon the door of the prison this incendiary note:—

“ A HOUSE TO LETT!

“ Peaceable possession will be given by the present tenants on or before the first day of January 1793, being the commencement of the first year of liberty in Great Britain.— The Republic of France having rooted out despotism, their glorious example and eventful success against tyranny, render such infamous bastiles no longer necessary to Europe.” Granted, and the prisoners ordered to be brought up on Wednesday.

21st. The Attorney General moved, that William Duffin and Thomas Lloyd be charged with an information; and the information being read (charging them with having stuck an inflammatory hand-bill on the door of the Fleet Prison) the defendants pleaded Not Guilty. William Duffin stood forward, and addressed the court, saying he had heard much of the boasted constitution of this country, and the glorious liberties enjoyed by its subjects; that he had for twenty-one days been kept in confinement, and had had no opportunity of procuring advice. Lord Kenyon said, the court could not enquire into any oppression he had to complain of; at present the court was without election as to the decision it was to make, and could only do what it now did, viz. direct that they be both committed to Newgate, charged with this information. Duffin replied, “ My Lords,

Lords, I petitioned the Secretary of State the 10th of this month, and have not yet received any answer to my petition, except that some person did come to the door of the room where I was confined, and said the Secretary of State was not in town, but when he came, my wrongs would be redressed; but I have had no redress. My Lords, is the offence of which I am accused bailable?" Lord Kenyon answered, "It is." "Then, my Lords, I have bail ready." Lord Kenyon: "The court can do no less than commit you to Newgate; if you mean to put in bail, you must give notice of your intention to the Solicitor for the prosecution, that due enquiry may be made into the sufficiency of the bail." Lloyd then came forward, and said he had some observations to make. Lord Kenyon said he could not hear any observation. "My Lord (said Lloyd) mine are to the point." Lord Kenyon: "The only point at present is, whether the court can commit you both to Newgate; you can have no observation to make that will prove the court ought not to do so." "My Lord, I'll support my observations by authorities."—Lord Kenyon: "Take them to Newgate, charged with this information." Lloyd then exclaimed, "Are these the boasted laws of this country?" To which Lord Kenyon answered, "The laws of this country afford protection to every subject, but are not to be trampled on by any man. Take them away."—The Attorney General said, he did not mean to take up the time of the court a moment unnecessarily; but, that as a public allegation had been made of a petition being presented to the Secretary of

State, he thought it his duty to say, that on the day the petition was presented he had himself made enquiry into it, and found that every allegation contained in it was wholly untrue. They were then committed to Newgate.

25th. Between five and six this morning, a terrible fire broke out in the house of Charles Schreiber, Esq. in the occupation of Mrs. Warden, on Forty-hill, Enfield, which in three hours time destroyed the whole building, with the greatest part of the furniture. The family providentially escaped unhurt.

26th. This day was tried before the judges of the court of King's Bench and a special jury, an indictment against the Rev. Richard Burgh, Thomas Townly M^cCan, James Davis, John Cummings, and J. Buorne. The indictment charged the prisoners with a conspiracy to demolish the walls of the King's Bench Prison; and for that purpose introducing a large quantity of gunpowder near them. After Lord Kenyon had summed up the evidence, the jury withdrew, and remained for a quarter of an hour, and then returned, finding all the defendants Guilty. The defendants then immediately retired, and were of course conducted to Newgate. The judgment to be pronounced upon them will be the business of a future day.

Information was on Saturday received at the Secretary of State's office, that one or two Levelling Societies, formed in the borough, intended to proceed to Kennington Common, on Sunday, at noon, for the purpose of planting a tree there, and calling it the Tree of Liberty. Some orders were immediately sent to the war-office; and from thence a messenger went
express

express to Maidenhead, where a part of the 15th regiment of dragoons was quartered. These troops were ordered to town, and, having marched during the night, they arrived on Sunday morning at three o'clock, proceeding immediately to Kennington Common, where they remained during the whole of that day. The number of guards upon duty was also doubled. In consequence, the Levellers, who, we understand, consist of about three hundred members, did not pursue their intention.

The minister's million sinking fund, on the first day of November 1792, which concluded the twenty-fifth quarter, had discharged nearly ten millions of the public debt, as may be seen in the following statement:—

Account of the Total of Capital Stock redeemed by the Commissioners, &c. on the 1st of November 1792.

Consol. 3 per cent.	L. 3,487,605
Reduced ditto, - -	2,971,600
Old South Sea, - -	1,667,400
New South Sea, - -	1,288,800
South Sea, 1751, - -	396,400

9,811,805

To extinguish Fire in Chimnies.

Put upon the fire in the grate, which must be left burning, as much salt as you can collect; a peck or more will be quite sufficient, which will bring down all the soot that is on fire in the chimney, and extinguish it before any injury happens.

Accounts of Sierra Leone of the most flattering nature, were lately received at the company's house in Laurence Poultney-lane. They were brought by the Duke of Savoy, a ship chartered to carry out stores to the settlement. The

sickness, which had been fatal to so many at the commencement of the rains, had entirely ceased, and trade and plantation were making rapid progress. Those, on the contrary, who are interested in the result of the enterprise to Bulam, will be concerned to hear that that plan is entirely defeated. The principal part of the colonists have been massacred by the natives; and those of them who remained alive, took refuge among their countrymen at Sierra Leone. Mr. Dalrymple, their governor, is returned to England by the vessel which brought this intelligence. The government at Sierra Leone received the unfortunate adventurers with much humanity; and a vessel is fitting out there to bring them back to this country.

Bulam is an island at the mouth of the Gambia, upon which the natives of the opposite shore have, from time immemorial, made their annual plantations of rice:—considering, therefore, the arrival of the new settlers as an unjust intrusion upon their natural rights, a dispute arose, which has exhibited the above melancholy issue.

27th. At a court of Lieutenancy the Lord Mayor, Sir Watkin Lewes, Alderman Newnham, and a number of other members, attended. The official business being transacted, the court resolved, that the officers and privates of the London militia should hold themselves in readiness upon a short notice, to be under arms, if necessary, for the suppression of riots and tumults.

DIED. 28th. At Kirkcudbright, Scotland, at the great age of 120, W. Marshall, tinker. This miracle of longevity retained his senses almost to the last hour of his life. He remembered distinctly to have seen
King

King William's fleet, when on their way to Ireland, riding at anchor in the Solway Firth, close by the Bay of Kirkcudbright, and the transports lying in the harbour. He was present at the siege of Derry, where having lost his uncle, who commanded a King's frigate, he returned home, enlisted in the Dutch service, went to Holland, and soon after deserted and came back to his native country. Naturally of a wandering and unfettered turn of mind, he could never remain long in any particular place. Hence he took up the occupation of a tinker, headed a large body of lawless banditti, and frequently traversed the kingdom from one end to the other. But it is to be observed to his credit, that of all the thievish wandering geniuses who, during the weakness of the established government, led forth their various gangs to plunder, and to alarm the country, he was by far the most honourable of his profession. He was buried next day in the churchyard of Kirkcudbright. A great concourse of people of all ranks attended his funeral, and paid due respect to his astonishing age.

DECEMBER.

1st. *Witney*. This town and neighbourhood exhibit a high scene of industry: their foreign orders were never so extensive at this season of the year as at present; and it is computed that no less a quantity than 80,000*l*. of wool is consumed weekly in this place. In fact, the villages, for fourteen miles, cannot spin enough for the demand.

The Secretary at War gave notice to Lord Edward Fitzgerald

and Lord Sempill, both in the army, that his Majesty had no further occasion for their services.

2d. *Cuckney, near Mansfield*. The weaving factory of Gorton was this day burnt to the ground. The fire was discovered about five o'clock in the morning; and owing to the oil, vitriol, and other combustible matter contained in the works, after a conflagration of three hours only, the whole was consumed. The loss is estimated at 18,000*l*. but it was happily insured in the Sun and Royal Exchange fire-offices for the whole amount. The cause assigned for this dreadful catastrophe is this: Two girls, whose business it was to take care of the fires, quarrelled about whose turn it was to carry away the ashes; and both declining the office, they were left in a tub in the place, and some of them being burning, penetrated through the tub, and thence to the floor; which destroyed the whole fabric and its contents.

The new-built church of St. Peter-le-Poor, near the excise-office (consecrated the beginning of last week by the Bishop of London) had divine service performed in it, and two charity sermons, preached for the benefit of the children of Broad-street Ward: that in the morning, by the Rev. Dr. Glasé; and that in the evening, by the Rev. Arthur Robinson Chavel. Both discourses were spoken of in high terms of approbation. The church, take the whole work together, does great credit to the different persons concerned in its erection, and carries with it a light and beautiful appearance. Some small pieces of stucco-work, from the over heat of the church, fell down, two different times, at the beginning

beginning of the morning-service; which alarmed some of the congregation, without doing the least injury to any person.

The parish of St. Anne, Soho, have adopted a plan, which, if it were extended to other parishes, might lessen the number of nocturnal depredations. Patroles parade the streets from four to nine o'clock, and at nine, when the watchmen, who (instead of sentry boxes to sleep in) have an extra great coat and warm cap, go their rounds, there are other patroles to see that they do their duty, and, if necessary, to assist them. To remove the general complaint of a bad light from the lamps, it is ordered that three additional threads of cotton should be added to each of the burners.

9th. A singular accident happened this morning at the Asylum during divine service. The wind being extremely high, by some means, the windows over the communion-table fell down just at the time the minister was reading the service. Many of the congregation, being much alarmed at the violent crash, hastily left the chapel, and others were conducted to the vestry-room till the church-service was over. We do not hear that any particular accident happened, but the confusion was great.

10th. This being the anniversary of the Royal Academy, a very full meeting of the members was held in the evening for the various purposes of election to offices, and of balloting for the distribution of prizes. At eight o'clock the president, council, and academicians, &c. assembled in the great lecture-room, where was previously collected a very numerous and re-

spectable company, consisting of the first characters in literature and taste in this country. After declaring the successful candidates to whom the prizes had fallen, Mr. West, the president, addressed the members of the Academy and the students, in a discourse of considerable length, which tended to give a very favourable idea of his talents in a new point of view.

10th. *Manchester.* In consequence of the loyal and constitutional movements which have taken place at Manchester, for the purpose of forming associations on the plan of those in London and other parts of the kingdom, a tumult has arisen among the populace; which, however, has happily been terminated with little mischief.

A great crowd assembled round the Herald-office, some of the windows of which they broke, and dispersed. The next night they met stronger, and paraded the streets, singing and shouting "God save the King!" they then proceeded to the object of their late resentment, and again broke the windows. They afterwards went to the house of Mr. Walker, where they also demolished some of the windows. Here, however, they were resisted by Mr. Walker, who firing upon them, they dispersed. Two men in this affair are said to be wounded. The next day some friends of Mr. Walker waited upon the Committee established for protection of property, &c. who sent a deputation to promise him support, if he desisted from the use of fire-arms: advising him at the same time, as the most prudent step, to leave town for a few days, as the mob were seriously clamorous for his person. No other violence, however,

ever, than the breaking of the windows of the house of Messrs. Falkner and Walker has yet been committed.—When this account came away, a reassemblage of the mob was apprehended, and the magistrates and military were accordingly in waiting. But, fortunately, their exertions were not wanted.

5th. A very numerous meeting of the Merchants, Bankers, and Traders, was held at Merchant-Taylor's Hall, in consequence of public advertisement; Samuel Bosanquet, Esq. in the chair. There could not be fewer than 3000 persons present within the Hall; without the doors, the yard and street were crowded. The chairman having read the advertisement by which the meeting was called, it was "Resolved, That it is expedient, at this time, for the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other Inhabitants of London, to make a public declaration of their firm attachment to the constitution, and of their resolution to support the same. The following declaration, in support of the constitution of Great Britain, was then read:—"We, the Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other Inhabitants of London, whose names are hereunto subscribed, perceiving, with the deepest concern, that attempts are made to circulate opinions contrary to the dearest interests of Britons, and subversive of those principles which have produced and preserved our most valuable privileges, feel it a duty we owe to our country, ourselves, and our posterity, to invite all our fellow-subjects to join with us in the expression of a sincere and firm attachment to the constitution of these kingdoms, founded in remote, and improved

in succeeding ages, and under which the glorious Revolution in 1688 was effected: a constitution wisely framed for the diffusion of happiness and true liberty, and which possesses the distinguished merit, that it has on former occasions been, and, we trust, will in future be found, competent to correct its errors, and reform its abuses. Our experience of the improvements in agriculture and manufactures, of the flourishing state of navigation and commerce, and of increased population, still farther compels us to make this public declaration of our determined resolution to support, by every means in our power, the ancient and most excellent constitution of Great Britain, and a government by King, Lords, and Commons; and to exert our best endeavours to impress on the minds of those connected with us, a reverence for and a due submission to the laws of their country, which have hitherto preserved the liberty, protected the property, and increased the enjoyments of a free and prosperous people."—And the same having been read a second time, it was "Unanimously Resolved, That this declaration be approved, and be subscribed by all such Merchants, Bankers, Traders, and other Inhabitants of London as may approve thereof; and that it do lie at this Hall until Saturday next inclusive, for signature." The period of receiving signatures having been afterwards extended, this well-timed and judicious declaration has been signed by more than 8000 persons of the first consequence in this metropolis; and the original is to be deposited among the public records in the Tower of London.

11th. A man was brought before the magistrate at the Police-office, Shadwell, who had been apprehended near Wellclose-square as an impostor, by some gentlemen, in the act of begging. It appeared that the man went into a cook's shop to buy some pig, but quarrelled about the price, and left the shop; when he was followed by a Mr. Gray, who soon after observed him tie up one of his hands, and go into another shop, where he begged, and received one penny; upon which Mr. Gray had him taken into custody, to be conveyed before a magistrate. He refused, however, to comply, and a scuffle ensued; during which five or six shillings dropped from him, which occasioned suspicion. They searched him, and found wrapped up in distinct rags, and concealed in his breeches, a great number of farthings, halfpence, sixpences, shillings, and half-guineas; and in one rag fifty-two guineas, besides a Plymouth Bank-bill of 560l. The amount of all the money found upon him was six hundred and thirty-one pounds ten shillings and fourpence farthing; for which the magistrate gave him a receipt, committed him as a rogue and vagrant, and lodged the money with a banker, to be produced at the sessions.

17th. *Ipswich.* This morning several foreign nobility, among whom was a French princess, with many other ladies of the first distinction, in all more than 100, were landed at Southwold.

18th. This day came on to be tried before Lord Kenyon and a special jury, the trial of the King against Paine: it lasted upwards of six hours; and it is impossible for us to do justice to the

admirable speeches of the Attorney General and Mr. Erskine, unless we could give them at full length. We content ourselves therefore in giving the outlines of the trial. Mr. Percival opened the pleadings on this information, charging Paine with writing and publishing, or causing to be written and published, a certain seditious book or pamphlet, under the title of "The Second Part of the Rights of Man;" and also for writing and publishing the first part of the same work, and another pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense." The Attorney General said, a report had been propagated that the present prosecution did not accord with his private sentiments. He wished to refute that report, and declared, if it had been true, that he should no longer have been worthy to hold his present situation, but to be expelled from the service of his Sovereign, and of the public. He certainly thought it his indispensable duty to bring this ingenious offender before his country. He then stated some passages to be libellous. After he had made important observations on each, he read a letter received from Mr. Paine, dated Paris, Dec. 11, 1792; which, among other things, contained the foulest slander on his Majesty and his children. The letter stated many other particulars, which treated the decrees of that court with the utmost contempt; and concluded with a request that it might be read to the jury at the trial. Mr. Erskine delivered a speech, of three hours and twenty minutes, in favour of the defendant. Mr. Attorney General was about to reply on the part of the prosecution, when the gentlemen of the jury told

told him there was no necessity for giving himself the trouble; and immediately found the defendant Guilty. The court was crowded at a very early hour of the morning; and soon after nine o'clock the Hall was filled even to the outsidodoors of the passage leading to it. When the trial was over, and Mr. Erskine had got into his carriage, some persons took the horses off, and dragged it very quietly to his house in Serjeant's Inn.

20th. *Leicester.* At the Agricultural Society-meeting of this place, premiums were given to five poor men for bringing up large families without parish assistance; and also to five servants in husbandry for long and faithful services.

22d. A motion was made in the court of Admiralty, Doctors Commons, on behalf of the India Company, to be heard by petition and counsel against a decree of the High Court of Appeals in the Chinsurah prize-cause, when the learned judge, Sir James Marriot, reprehended the mover, and said, he could not admit so indecent a proceeding. He insisted on an obedience to the order of the court, and said, when an attempt of that nature was made to sport with justice, it was high time the courts should stretch forth the strong arm of the law, in justification of individuals. He also said, "the authority of the court extended to the shutting up the doors of the India-House; could reach their chairman, their treasure and their cash; and ordered the syndic of the company to appear personally in court next court-day, to hear the order of the court; and would insist on the estimates of that cap-

ture being delivered in before Christmas, saying, he knew that all the accounts of the company, down to the lowest domestic, are always regularly made up to that time.

In the course of the year 1792, 12114 ships passed the Sound, viz. 4345 British, 1362 Danish, 65 Russians, 209 Dantzickers, 142 Papenburghers, 40 Imperialists, 737 Prussians, 2181 Hollanders, 188 Bre-mens, 2132 Swedes, 86 Lubeckers, 15 Oldenburghers, 83 Hamburghers, 388 Rostockers, 21 Courlanders, 11 Portuguese, 25 French, 74 Americans, and 40 Spaniards; which is about 1000 ships more than have been employed in any preceding year in the Baltic trade. Upwards of 600 of this additional number are British.

DIED, At his seat the Chateau de Navarre, in Normandy, in his 65th year, and after a lingering illness, that had confined him several years to the house, His Serene Highness Godefroy de la Tour D'Auvergne, reigning Duke of Bouillon, &c. Agreeably to the dispositions of the late Duke of Bouillon, formally recognized by the King of Great Britain and the French nation, Captain d'Auvergne, of the British navy, succeeds to all the honours and possessions of his Serene Highness.

In his ninety-first year, at his villa near Painreuf, in Brittany, M. Bathieux, a very ingenious artist, distinguished for some capital paintings, particularly the defeat of the Turks in Italy in 1635, (highly esteemed by the virtuosi) as well as some admirable portraits in the style of Vandyke.

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BISTHS for the Year 1792.

- Jan. 4. Lady Strathaven, a son and heir.
 6. Lady of Sir Thomas Booth Parkyns, a daughter.
 17. At Paris, Countess of Cholmondely, a son and heir.
 Countess of Hillsborough, a son.
 Lady Ann Place, a son.
 Feb. 4. Countess of Winterton, a son.
 5. Marchioness of Worcester, a son.
 9. Lady of Samuel Thornton, Esq. M. P. a son.
 Lady Caroline Campbell, a son.
 17. Lady Augusta Lowther, a daughter.
 25. Countess of Aylesford, a son.
 March 14. Lady George Henry Cavendish, a daughter.
 18. Lady Northcote, a son and heir.
 28. At Madrid, her Catholic Majesty, a prince.
 Lady of Samuel Smith, Esq. M. P. a daughter.
 April 2. Lady of Sir Alexander Monro, a daughter.
 Queen of Naples, a prince.
 6. Lady Douglas, a son.
 12. Lady Anne Lambton, a son and heir.
 13. Lady Anne Wombwell, a son.
 25. Lady le Despenser, a son.
 May 1. Lady Forbes, a daughter.
 6. Lady Fagg, a daughter.
 19. Lady Whichcote, a son.
 22. Lady Sherrard, a daughter.
 June 1. Lady North, a son.
 10. Lady of the Irish Lord Chancellor, a son,
 June 11. Lady of the Polish Ambassador, a daughter.
 18. Countess of Darnley, a daughter.
 July 6. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a daughter.
 12. Lady Porchester, a son.
 13. Lady Conyngham, a son.
 19. Lady Elizabeth Douglas, a son.
 21. Lady Hugh Dalrymple, a daughter.
 30. Duchess of Dorset, a daughter.
 August, Lady Charlotte Lennox, a daughter.
 18. Lady John Russel, a son.
 20. Countess of Mountcashel, a son.
 Sept. 11. Lady of Henry Drummond, Jun. M. P. a daughter.
 30. Lady of Sir Henry Harpur, a son and heir.
 Oct. 1. Lady Mary Anne, Sturt, a daughter.
 2. Lady Boston, a daughter.
 4. Lady Anne Fitzroy, a daughter.
 Nov. 8. Lady C. Curzon, a son.
 16. Lady Grantley, a son and heir.
 21. Lady of Samuel Boddington, a son.
 26. Marchioness of Blandford, a daughter.
 Princess Royal of Denmark, a princess.
 Dec. 5. Hereditary Princess of Orange and Nassau, a prince.
 8. Lady of the Master of the Rolls, a son.
 15. Duchess of Northumberland, a son.
 Lady Elizabeth Fane, a daughter.

Dec,

- Dec. 20. Lady Elizabeth Spencer,
a son.
27. Marchioness of Worcester,
a son.

MARRIAGES, 1792.

- Jan. 1. Viscount Molyneux, to
the Honourable Miss
Craven.
2. Vice Admiral Hotham, to
Miss Le Crafs.
7. The Honourable William
Hay, brother to the Earl
of Errol, to Miss Jane Bell.
9. Viscount Kilmorey, to
Miss Cotton.
10. Sir Frederic Eden, Bart,
to Miss Smith.
18. George Gipps, Esq. Mem-
ber for Canterbury, to
Miss Lawrence.
30. Sir Andrew Maclean, to
Mrs. Willoughby.
Feb. 4. Sir Henry Harpur, to Miss
Hawkins.
21. Samuel Boddington, Esq.
to Miss Ashburner.
March 4. Marquis of Abercorn,
to Lady Cecil Hamilton.
8. Honourable Augustus But-
ler, to Miss Danvers.
11. Lord Massey, to Miss
Barton.
Viscount Clifden, to Lady
C. Spencer.
Viscount Percival, to Miss
Wynn.
April 9. The Right Honourable
the Earl of Albemarle,
to the Honourable Miss
Sarah Southwell, second
daughter to the Dowager
Lady de Clifford.
John King, Esq. Under-
Secretary of State for the
Home Department, to

Miss Moss, only daughter
of the Bishop of Bath and
Wells.

April 10th. Edward Coke, Esq. of
Longford, Member for
Derby, to Miss Colhoun.
Sir James Suttle, to Miss
Hamilton.

11. Thomas Lewis, Esq. of
Bedford Row, to Miss
Goring, eldest daughter
of Sir Harry Goring, Bart.
of Higden, Suffex, mem-
ber for New Shoreham.

Samuel Brown, Jun. to
Miss Thurlow.

The Honourable F. West,
brother to the Earl of
Delawar, to Miss Mi-
chell, daughter and co-
heirefs of the late Richard
Michell, Esq. of Culham-
court, Berks.

John Edward Madocks,
Esq. of Vale Mafcal, in
Kent, to the Honourable
Miss Craven, eldest sister
of the Right Honourable
Lord Craven.

21. Tho. Swymmers Champ-
neys, Esq. only son of
Sir Thomas Champneys,
Baronet, to Miss C. Mos-
tyn, second daughter of
Sir Roger Mostyn, Ba-
ronet, Member for the
county of Flint.

May 1. William Waldron, Esq. to
Miss Cuffe.

Lord Audley, to Mrs.
Moorhouse.

11. Honourable Thomas Ca-
pel, to Lady Caroline
Paget.

14. Lawrence Palk, Esq. to
Lady Elizabeth Vaughan.

June 3. James Nicholas Duntze,
Esq. second son of Sir

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- John Duntze, Baronet,
M. P. to Miss Jane Har-
riet Cockburn, daughter
of Sir James Cockburn,
Baronet.
- June Edward Willes, Esq. se-
cond son of the late Ho-
nourable Mr. Justice
Willes, to Miss Hollings.
William Gratton, Esq. late
Captain in the 64th re-
giment, to Miss Jane
Giffard, daughter of Sir
Duke Giffard, of Castle-
jordan, county of Meath,
Baronet.
10. Charles Maurice Pole, Esq.
to Miss Henrietta God-
dard, niece of Henry
Hope, Esq. of Amsterdam.
Thomas Farr, Esq. to Miss
Gooch, daughter of the
late Sir Thomas Gooch,
Baronet.
- James King, Esq. of Stan-
ton, Herefordshire, to
27. Miss Pitchford, sister to
Admiral Cornish.
- Captain Impey, eldest son
of Sir Elijah Impey, to
Miss Knight, of Albe-
marle-street.
- The Honourable William
Asheton Harbord, eldest
son of the Right Honour-
able Lord Suffield, to the
Right Honourable Lady
Caroline Hobart, second
daughter of the Earl of
Buckingham.
- July 10. Sir John Scott, Baronet,
of Ancrum, to Miss Har-
riet Graham.
13. The Right Honourable
Lord Grenville to the
Honourable Miss Pitt,
only daughter of Lord
Camelford.
- At Mr. Burke's seat at
Beaconsfield, the Right
Honourable the Earl of
Inchiquin, to Miss Pal-
mer, niece of the late
Sir Joshua Reynolds.
- Joseph Foster Barham, Esq.
to Lady Caroline Tufton,
youngest sister of the
Right Honourable the
Earl of Thanet.
- Captain William Hope,
of the navy, to the Right
Honourable Lady Ann
Hope Johnstone, eldest
daughter of the Earl of
Hopetoun.
22. Lord Robert Fitzgerald,
to Miss Fielding.
- Aug. 13. Lord Carberry, to Miss
Susan Watson.
14. The Honourable Augustus
Phipps, to Miss Maria
Theluffon.
- At Chifwick, Lady Mar-
garet Affleck, widow of
the late Sir Edmund Af-
fleck, Baronet, Rear Ad-
miral of the Blue, to
Major John M'Kinnon,
of the 63d regiment.
- Sept. Earl of Shrewsbury to Miss
Hoey.
- Thomas Raymond Arun-
dell, Esq. to Miss Smythe,
daughter of the late Sir
Edward Smythe, Baronet.
14. The Reverend B. Tinley,
of Hickling, Nottingham-
shire, to Miss C. F. Wat-
son, grand-daughter of
the late Sir Thomas Sam-
well, Baronet.
- William Earl Welby, Esq.
jun. of Carlton-house,
Nottinghamshire, to Miss
Spry, only daughter of
the late William Spry,
Esq.

- Esq. Governor of the island of Barbadoes.
- Sept. Thomas Weston, Esq. of Clay-hill, Middlesex, to Miss Forbes, daughter of the late Major Hugh Forbes.
- John Newport, Esquire, banker, of Waterford, Ireland, to Miss Mary Campart, of Buckden, Huntingdonshire.
19. At Bath, Thomas Ahmuty, Esq. to Mrs. Quin, sister of Sir Henry Cavendish.
- Edward Grose Smith, Esq. of Hatton-street, to Miss Heathfield.
- Thomas Christie, Esq. of Devonshire Square, merchant, to Miss Thomson.
- J. H. Yorke, Esq. Captain in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, to Miss Phipps.
- Oct. 12. The Right Honourable John Viscount Mountstuart, to Lady Elizabeth Crichton, only daughter of the Earl of Dumfries.
- Kirkby. Torre, Esq. Captain in the York regiment of militia, to Miss Lucas, of Pontefract.
- The Rev. John Robinson, to Miss Green, of Bedford.
18. Cullen Smith, Esq. of Harley-street, to the Honourable Miss Charlotte Eardley, second daughter of Lord Eardley.
- The Rev. J. Cuming, to Miss Haden.
- Rear Admiral Crosby, commander in Chief at Plymouth, to Mrs. Hesse.
- Captain Foxall, in the East India Company's service, to Miss Saxton.
- Oct. George Strickland, Esq. second son of Sir George Strickland, Baronet, of Boynton, York, to Miss J. Craggs.
- Lord Glentworth, to Mrs. Crump.
22. Lord Cranstoun, to Miss Montolieu.
- Nov. Sir Walter Blount, to Miss Riddell.
29. Captain Parslow, to Miss Wolff.
- Honourable John Rawdon, to Miss F. Hall.
30. Sir Robert Mackworth, to Miss Miers.
- Dec. Lately at Tournay, in Flanders, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, to the celebrated Miss Pamela, said to be the natural daughter of M. Egalite, ci-devant Duc d'Orleans.
- Honourable C. H. Hulekinson, to Miss Bond.
27. William Hay, Esq. to Miss Forster.

PROMOTIONS for the year 1792.

- Jan. 7. Honourable Henry Wesley, Secretary of Legation to Sweden.
- 25th. John Wentworth, Esq. Lieutenant. Governor of Nova Scotia.
- 30. Honourable Henry Skeffington, Governor of Cork.
- Feb. 11. Lieutenant General Thomas Clarke, Colonel of the 30th regiment of foot.
- Major General James Stuart, Colonel of the 31st regiment of foot.

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15. Marquis Townshend, Lord Lieutenant of Norfolk.

25. The Earl of Morton, Chamberlain of her Majesty's household.

— The Earl of Ailesbury, Treasurer of the fame.

March 3. Rev. Charles Manners Sutton, D. D. Dean of Peterborough, Bishop of Norwich.

— Thomas Lawrence, Esq. principal Painter in Ordinary to his Majesty.

— The Rev. Dr. Tatham, to be Rector of Lincoln-college, Oxford.

— Benjamin West, Esq. to be President of the Royal Academy.

12. Lord Charles Fitzgerald, Muster-Master General in Ireland.

31. Dr. Archibald Davidson, Dean of the Order of the Thistle, and of the Chapel Royal in Scotland.

April 10. Rev. Peter Peckard, D. D. to be Dean of Peterborough.

— Major General Ralph Abercrombie, Colonel of the 6th regiment of foot.

— Major General O'Hara, Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar.

May 1. Rev. Thomas Jackson, D. D. Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's.

2. Lord Macartney, a Privy Counsellor.

5. Dr. Spencer Madan—Bishop of Bristol.

12. Lord R. S. Fitzgerald, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Cantons.

15. Lord Milton, Viscount Milton, and Earl of Dorchester.

20. Lord Macartney, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China.

— Sir George L. Staunton, Secretary of Embassy to China.

26. Sir Luke Pepys, Baronet, Physician in ordinary to the King.

June 1. William Lindfay, Esq. Secretary of the Embassy to the Most Christian King.

9. Earl Howe, Vice Admiral of Great Britain.

12. Edward Baron Thurlow, and the heirs male of his body, lawfully begotten, the dignity of a Baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the name, stile, and title of Baron Thurlow, in the county of Suffolk, with remainder to Edward Thurlow and Thomas Thurlow, Esquires, sons of the late Bishop of Durham, and to the Rev. Edward South Thurlow, one of the Prebendaries of Norwich.

— Sir James Eyre, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer; Sir William Henry Ashhurst, one of the Justices of the court of King's Bench; and Sir John Wilson, one of the Justices of the court of Common Pleas, Lords Commissioners for the custody of the Great Seal.

— The dignity of a Baroness of the kingdom of Great Britain, to Henrietta Laura Pulteney, daughter of Wm. Pulteney, Esq. by the title of Baroness of Bath, in the county of Somerset; and the dignity of Baron of Bath to the heirs male of her body lawfully begotten.

15. Lord Chief Baron Eyre, a Privy Counsellor.

— Sir H. Martin, Baronet, Comptroller of the Navy, to be an Elder Brother of the Trinity-House.

20. Miss Mary Verney, daughter and heiress of John Verney, eldest son of Ralph Baron Verney, and Viscount Fermanaugh (afterwards Earl Verney) the dignity of Baroness Fermanaugh, and to her heirs male the dignity of Baron Fermanaugh.

Dame

— Dame Sarah Cavendish wife of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendish, Baronet, the dignity of Baroness Waterpark; and to her heirs male by the said Sir John, the dignity of Baron Waterpark; both of the kingdom of Ireland.

July 7. The dignity of a Baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain, to Sir Richard King, Knight, Rear Admiral of the Red squadron of his Majesty's fleet.

— The dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain to the Right Honourable James Stirling, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and his heirs male.

— The Honourable Augustus Phipps, to be a Commissioner of Excise.

— John King, Esq. to be Law-Clerk to the Secretary of State's Office.

26. William Earl of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, Earl of Mansfield, in the county of Middlesex, with the remainder to David Viscount Stormont.

Aug. 1. Captain Erasmus Gower, knighted.

8. George Lord Macartney Viscount Macartney, in Ireland.

11th. First regiment of foot-guards, Major-General Gerrard Lake to be Lieutenant-Colonel.

— Fourth regiment of foot, Lieutenant General George Morrison, from the 17th foot, to be Colonel.

— Seventeenth regiment of foot, Major Gen. George Garth, from 1st reg. of foot-guards, to be Colonel.

— Lieutenant Colonel James Stuart, of 72d regiment of foot, to be Aid-de-Camp to the King.

15. Earl Cornwallis — Marquis Cornwallis.

— Lieutenant General Pitt, Lieutenant-General Vaughan, Major General Meadows, Major General Abercromby, Knts. of the Bath.

August 18. Earl of Elgin, Envoy Extraordinary at Brussels.

— Right Honourable William Pitt, Constable of Dover Castle, and Warden of the Cinque Ports.

24. Lieutenant General Fawcett, Colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon guards.

25. Major General James Hamilton, from the 21st foot, to be Colonel of the 15th.

— Lieut. Col. Archibald Campbell, from the 29th foot, to be Colonel of the 21st.

— Major John Callow to be Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d regiment of Dragoons; and Captain William Waller to be Major.

— William Douglas Brodie, Esq. to be his Majesty's Consul at Malaga.

— George Nayler, Esq. to be Genealogist and Blanc Courfier Herald of the most Honourable Order of the Bath.

— His Grace the Duke of Leeds to be Governor of the Turkey Company.

Sept. 11. Dr. Buller, Bishop of Exeter, Duke of Portland, Chancellor of the University of Portsmouth.

25. Lawrence Harman Harman, Esq, and his heirs male, to the dignity of an Irish Baron, by the name, style, and title of Baron of Oxmantown, in the county of Dublin, with remainder to Sir Laurence Parsons, Bart. and his heirs male.

Oct. 2. John Shore, Esq. of Heathcote in Derbyshire, to the dignity of a Baronet of Great Britain.

— Hugh Earl Fortescue, to be Col. of the North Devon Militia.

— Colonel Montgomery Agnew, of the 1st (or King's) regiment of dragoon guards, to be Governor of Carlisle.

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Oct. 2. The Rev. Dr. Buckner, Rector of St. Giles in the Fields, and Canon Residentiary of Chichester, to the Archdeaconry of that diocese.

— John Hopkins, Esq. and Benjamin Tibbs, Esq.—Knights.

26. John Earl Poulett, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Somerset.

30. Sir Charles Gould, Knight, a Baronet.

Nov. 17. Ninian Hume, Esq. Lieutenant Governor of Grenada.

— Sir Hercules Langrishe, a Privy Counsellor of Ireland.

Dec. 8. Earl of Harrington, Colonel of the 1st regiment of life-guards.

— Lord Cathcart, Colonel of the 29th regiment of foot.

31. Sir Alexander Hay, Baronet.
Jan. 31. Sir Norton Robinson, Baronet.

Feb. 5. Right Honourable Sir J. Eardly, formerly Chief Justice of the court of Common Pleas.

6. Major General Sir Henry Calder, Baronet, Lieutenant Governor of Gibraltar, and Colonel of the 30th regiment of foot.

7. Francis Maria Countess Taaffe.

26. Sir Richard Bickerton, Baronet, Rear Admiral of the White.

— At Vienna, aged 58, Count Khevenhuller.

March 1. Leopold II. Emperor of Germany.

10. John Earl of Bute.

— Mr. W. Mann, Attorney and Solicitor, Middle Temple.

11. Sir William Codrington, Baronet.

— At Brompton, in his 60th year, Sir Thomas Cayley, Baronet.

13. Viscountess Torrington.

April 2. At Vienna, Count Zinzendorf.

3. Sir George Pocock, Knight of the Bath, at his house in Charles-street, Berkeley-square, in the 87th year of his age. He began his profession in the navy under his uncle Sir George Byng, who was afterwards the first Lord Torrington. In the year 1718, he served on board the fleet in the memorable victory off Sicily. He then went through the different ranks of his profession with distinguished assiduity. On the 1st of August 1738, he was appointed Captain; in 1755, Rear Admiral of the White; in 1758, Vice Admiral of the Red; in 1762, Admiral of the Blue; and resigned in 1776. In 1758, he commanded as Admiral in Chief the British fleet in India, where, with an inferior force, he gained three

DEATHS for 1792.

Jan. 1. At Bristol, the mother of the unfortunate Chatterton.

2. The Right Honourable the Dowager Viscountess Galway.

— Edward Duke of Somerset.

— Lately at Granby-house, Bristol Hot wells, John Hale, Esq. of Chudleigh, Rear-Admiral of the British navy.

15. At Standford-hall, Leicestershire, in his 26th year, Sir Thomas Cave, Baronet, one of the members for the county.

17. Dr. George Horne, Bishop of Norwich.

— In America, Peter Schuyler, Senator of the Western District, New York, and member of the Council of Appointment.

27. Joseph Ewart, Esq.

— Lady Jane Gordon.

— George Earl of Northesk.

three conspicuous victories over the French fleet. In 1761 he was Commander in Chief at the taking of the Havannah. A writer in one of the daily papers says, "He was respected by his enemies abroad, esteemed and beloved by his officers, and adored by all the sailors."

9. At Bath, William Gomm, Esq. late Secretary to the Embassy at the Hague, and formerly Secretary to Sir James Harris, now Lord Malmfbury, at the courts of Russia and Holland.

10. Sufannah, Viscountess Dowager Fane, relict of Charles Viscount Fane, who died in 1766, in her 87th year.

Sir Abraham Pitches, of Clapham.

11. Lady Cooke, widow of Sir George Cooke, Baronet.

17. Dr. Christopher Wilson, Bishop of Bristol, Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's.

21. John Bourke, Earl of Mayo, and Baron Naas, in Ireland.

22. Lady Elizabeth Keith, eldest daughter of the Earl of Kintore.

29. George Johnstone, Marquis and Earl of Annandale, Earl of Hartfield, Viscount Annan, and Lord Johnstone of Lockwood, Lochmaben and Moffat in Annandale, who had been declared a lunatic ever since the year 1745.

30. John Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, Viscount Hinchinbroke, a governor of the Charter House, elder brother of the Trinity House, a general of the army, and recorder of Hantindon and Godmanchester, in the 74th year of his age.

May 15. Mary Louisa Empress of Germany.

17. Sir Noah Thomas, Knight, F. R. S. Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty.

21. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Baronet.

24. George Brydges Rodney, Lord Rodney, Baron Rodney of Rodney Soke, Somersetshire, Baronet, and K. B. Admiral of the White, and Vice Admiral of England, in his 74th year.

25. Sir William Stanley, Baronet. June 4. Cæsar Constantine Francois Count of Hoebroek, Prince Bishop of Liege, aged 69.

6. Lord Longford.

10. Countess Dowager of Clanbrassil.

18. Countess of Winterton.

21. Lady Eden.

30. Countess Dowager of Berkeley.

—Lady Glentworth.

July 3. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick.

5. Sir Robert Strange, the celebrated engraver.

10. Sir Thomas Blackett, Baronet.

18. At Bristol Hot wells, Lady Ann Henniker, wife of Sir John Henniker, Baronet, of Newtonhall, Essex; eldest daughter of Sir John Major, Baronet, and sister of the Duchess Dowager of Chandos.

22. Lady Berney, relict of Sir Hanson Berney, Baronet, of Kirkby Common, Norfolk.

30. Lady Grant, of Dalvey, aged 75.

Sir Laurence Cox.

August 1. In Welbeck-street, the reverend Thomas Hollingbury, D. D. F. R. S. F. A. S. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, Archdeacon of Chichester, Chaplain to Dover Castle and the Cinque Ports, and Rector of Rottingdean.

2. At Chippenham, Wilts, in his 70th year, John Thorpe, of Bexley, in Kent, Esq. A. M. and F. A. S. author of many antiquarian works.

4. John Burgoyne, Esq. Colonel of

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of the 4th regiment of foot, a Lieutenant Colonel in the army, M. P. for Preston, and a Privy Counsellor of Ireland. He was the author of four dramatic pieces, besides a number of prologues and epilogues. — He is said to have been a natural son of Lord Bingley. On the 13th he was interred in the cloisters in Westminster Abbey, in a private manner, being attended only by one coach.

5. The Right Honourable Frederick North, Earl of Guildford, Lord North, Lord Warden and Admiral of the Cinque Ports, Governor of Dover Castle, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of Somersetshire, and Chancellor of Oxford.

10. Viscount Tracey.

14. Dr. Ross, Bishop of Exeter.

15. At Bill Hill, near Workingham, Berks, the Right Honourable Jevison Gower, half brother to the Marquis of Stafford, Rear Admiral of the White, and Member for Newcastle-under-Line.

18. Lieutenant General Richard Burton Philippon, Colonel of the third regiment of dragoon guards, and member for Rye, Suffolk.

Sept. 1. Charles Stanley, Esq. of Moor Hall, Lancashire, in his 77th year; brother to Sir John Stanley, Baronet.

7. In Park-street, Dublin, the Right Honourable Thomas Nugent, Earl of Westmeath, Viscount and Baron Delvin, knt. of St. Patrick

8. At Raby Castle, the Right Honourable Henry Vane, Earl of Darlington, Viscount Barnard, Governor of the Castle of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant and Vice Admiral of the county of Durham, and Colonel of the Durham militia.

14. Near Menin in Flanders, General Vanderaersch, who bore a

very conspicuous part in the war of the Brabancon patriots, in the year 1790.

20. At Creedy in Devonshire, Sir John Davie, Baronet.

24. Sir Fitzwilliam Barrington.

October 8. At Gibraltar, the Honourable George Bying, Esq. only son of Lord Torrington, and midshipman on board his Majesty's ship the Aquillon.

10. Constantine J. Lord Mulgrave.

28. John Smeaton, F. R. S. the celebrated Engineer, particulars of whose life shall be given in the ensuing volume.

14. Margaret, Lady of Sir Roger Mostyn, Baronet. She was daughter of the Rev. Dr. Hugh Wynne. Married May 19, 1766.

15. At Edinburgh, Lady Frances Leslie, formerly the wife of Lord Tyrconnel, from whom she was divorced, and afterwards married Philip Leslie, Esq. once a wine-merchant, and second son of Lord Newark, of Scotland. Lady Frances was the daughter of the late Marquis of Granby, and was born in 1755.

Sir R. Preston, Bart. of Dundee.

Nov. 14. Sir Sidney Meadows, Knt. Marshal of England, aged 92.

15. The Right Hon. Countess of Ilchester, in her 71st year.

16. Sir Edward James, Baronet.

Dec. 2. At his house, Hill-street, Berkley-square, the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Yorke, Lord Dover, Baron of Dover-court, in Kent, K. B. created a peer by the above title Sept. 19, 1788. His Lordship was born about the year 1723 or 1724.

4. Sir William Fordyce, Knight, one of the Fellows of the College of Physicians.

11. Sir Archer Croft, Baronet.

14. Lady Anne Mackworth, sister of the late Lord Abercromby.

15. Admiral Hugh Pigot.

SHERIFFS

SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1792.

Berkshire. John Blagrove, of Calcot-place, Esq.

Bedfordshire. Sir John Buchannan Riddell, of Sundon, Bart.

Bucks. William Pigott, of Dodder-hall, Esq.

Cumberland. Edward Hafell, of Dale-main, Esq.

Cheshire. Thomas Cholmondeley, of Vale-Royal, Esq.

Camb. and Hunt. Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulburne, Esq.

Devonshire. Edward Cotsford, of Clyst St. Mary, Esq.

Dorsetshire. M. Davis, of Holnest, Esq.

Derbyshire. Hugh Bateman, of Har-tington-hall, Esq.

Essex. Z. Button, of Stifford, Esq.

Gloucestershire. John Embury, of Twining, Esq.

Hertfordshire. James Bouchier, of Little Berkhamstead, Esq.

Herefordshire. Richard Chambers, of Whitburne, Esq.

Kent. Henry Streatfield, of Chid-dingstone, Esq.

Leicestershire. Richard Spooner Jaques, of Burbach, Esq.

Lincolnshire. Christopher Neville, of Wellingore, Esq.

Monmouthshire. David Tanner, of Monmouth, Esq.

Northumberland. Ralph William Gray, of Backworth, Esq.

Northamptonshire. Samuel Rudge, of Tanfor, Esq.

Norfolk. Anthony Hammond, of West Acre, Esq.

Nottinghamshire. Edward Thornton Gould, of Mansfield-House, Esq.

Oxfordshire. Thomas Willets, of Caversham, Esq.

Rutlandshire. James Tiptaft, of Braunston, Esq.

Shropshire. Thomas Compton, of Hopton-Wafers, Esq.

Somersetshire. Thomas Samuel Jo-liffe, of Kilmerston, Esq.

Staffordshire. Simon Debank, of Lecke, Esq.

Suffolk. Alexander Adair, of Flix-ton, Esq.

County of Southampton. Thomas Ro-bins, of Pilewell, Esq.

Surrey. Wm. Woodroffe, of Poyle-park, Esq.

Sussex. Edmund Woods, of Shop-wick, Esq.

Warwickshire. Joseph Oughton, of Sutton-Coldfield, Esq.

Worcestershire. Fleetwood Parkhurst, of Ripple, Esq.

Wiltshire. Matthew Humphreys, of Chippenham, Esq.

Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, Baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen. George Morgan, of Abercothy, Esq.

Pembroke. J. Matthias, of Llang-warren, Esq.

Cardigan. W. Lewis, of Llanner-cheiron, Esq.

Glamorgan. John Llewellyn, of Ynif-ygergwn, Esq.

Brecon. W. Morgan James, of Pool-hall, Esq.

Radnor. John Lewis, of Harpton, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesea. Hugh Price, of Wern, Esq.

Caernarvon. Edward Lloyd, of Ty-mawr, Esq.

Merioneth. Edward Corbet, of Unys-maen Gwyn, Esq.

Montgomery. Robert Clifton, of Aberbechan, Esq.

Denbigh. Thomas Jones, of Llan-tiffillio, Esq.

Flint. Edward Morgan, of Golden-Grove, Esq.

SHERIFF appointed by his Royal High-ness the Prince of Wales in Council, for the Year 1792.

County of Cornwall. David Yiddy, of Tredrees, Esq.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Unanimous Opinion of the Judges upon the several Questions put to them on the 27th of April, 1792, respecting the Law of Libels, as delivered by the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

MY LORDS,

THE judges have taken the questions, seven in number, which your Lordships have been pleased to propose to them, into their consideration; they have conferred together, and have agreed upon answers, which I am now to submit to your Lordships.

Your Lordships first question is, On the trial of an information or indictment for a libel, is the criminality or innocence of the paper set forth in such information or indictment as the libel, matter of fact, or matter of law, where no evidence is given for the defendant?" — Preliminary to all which we have to offer to your Lordships, we state, as a fundamental principle, that the general criminal law of England is the law of libel; and that the very few particularities which occur in legal proceedings upon libel, are not peculiar to the proceedings upon libel, but do or may occur in all cases, where the *corpus delicti* is specially stated upon the record; the case of an indictment for publishing a forged promissory note may be put as a preg-

nant instance. The matter of your Lordships first question has no particular application to libel.—We answer, That the criminality or innocence of any act done (which includes any paper written) is the result of the judgment which the law pronounces upon that act, and must therefore be in all cases, and under all circumstances, matter of law, and not matter of fact; and this, as well where evidence is given, as where it is not given, for the defendant; the effect of evidence given for the defendant, as to this question, being nothing more than to introduce facts or circumstances into the case which the prosecutor had left out of it, upon which it will still be for the law to pronounce whether the act done be criminal or innocent.

Your Lordships second question is, "Is the truth or falsehood of the written or printed paper material, or to be left to the jury, on the trial of an indictment or information for a libel? and does it make any difference in this respect, whether the epithet *false*, be or be not used in the indictment or information?" This question consists of two branches.—Our answer to the first branch of this question is, That the truth or falsehood of a written or printed paper is not material,

material, or to be left to a jury upon the trial of an indictment or information for a libel. We consider this doctrine as so firmly settled, and so essentially necessary to the maintenance of the King's peace, and the good order of society, that it cannot now be drawn into debate.—If it be asked, why the word *falsè* is to be found in indictments or informations for libel? we answer, That we find it in the ancient forms of our legal proceedings, and therefore that it is retained; but that it hath in all times been the duty of judges, when they come to the proof, to separate the substance of the crime from the formality with which it is attended, and too frequently loaded, and to confine the proof to the substance. The epithet *falsè* is not applied to the propositions contained in the paper, but to the aggregate criminal result—libel. We say, *falsus libellus*, as we say *falsus proditor* in high treason. In point of substance, the alteration in the description of the offence would hardly be felt, if the epithet were *verus* instead of *falsus*. In the action for libel, the plaintiff is not put to prove the matter of the libel false, which is decisive to shew that the falsehood is not part of the substance of the complaint; and though the defendant may insist in his defence, and may prove that the matter of the libel is true, it is not done in the way of contradicting what is asserted by the plaintiff, for then it might be done under the general issue; whereas, if the defendant means to insist that the matter of the libel is true, he must plead it by way of justification. As between him and the plaintiff, seeking to recover da-

mages for the private injury, the truth of the matter of the libel is a bar to the action for damages; the crime, and consequently the *falsus libellus*, remaining still in full force against him.

The second branch of the question is, "Does it make any difference in this respect, *i. e.* in respect of the materiality of the truth or falsehood, or its being to be left to the jury, whether the epithet *falsè*, be or be not used in the indictment or information?"—Our answer will be very short. It can make no difference in this respect. We are not called upon to give any opinion; and we desire to be understood not to give any opinion as to the difference in any other respect which the omission of a formal epithet, in an indictment or information, may make.

Your Lordships third question is, "Upon the trial of an indictment for a libel, the publication being clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper being as clearly manifest, is it competent and legal for the judge to direct or recommend to the jury to give a verdict for the defendant?" We answer, That upon the trial of an indictment for a libel, the publication being clearly proved, and the innocence of the paper being as clearly manifest, it is competent and legal for the judge to direct or recommend to the jury to give a verdict for the defendant. But we add, that no case has occurred, in which it would have been, in sound discretion, fit for a judge, sitting at *Nisi Prius*, to have given such a direction or recommendation to the jury. It is a term in the question, that the innocence shall be clearly manifest. This must be in the opinion of the judge;

judge; but the ablest judges have been sometimes decidedly of an opinion which has, upon farther investigation, been discovered to be erroneous; and it is to be considered, that the effect of such a direction or recommendation would be unnecessarily to exclude all farther discussion of the matter of law in the court from which the record of *Nisi Prius* was sent, in courts of error, and before your Lordships in the *dernier resort*. Very clear indeed, therefore, ought to be the case in which such a direction or recommendation shall be given. In a criminal case which may in any degree be doubtful, it must be a very great relief to a judge and jury, and a great ease to them in the administration of criminal justice, to have the means of obtaining a better and fuller investigation of the doubt, upon the solution of which a right verdict or a right judgment is to depend. A special verdict would, in many cases, be the only means where the offence is described by some one or two technical terms comprehending the whole offence, the law and the fact combined: such as the words "feloniously did steal." The combination must be decomposed by a special verdict, separating the facts from the legal qualities ascribed to them, and presenting them in detail to the eye of the judge, to enable him to declare whether the legal quality ascribed to them, be well ascribed to them or not. There may be a special verdict in all cases where doubts arise on the matter of law; but it is not necessary in all cases. In some criminal proceedings (the proceedings in libel, and the publication of forged pa-

pers, for instance) some of the facts are detailed in the indictment; and if the doubt in law should happen to arise out of the fact so detailed, we say it is upon the record. The question might have been discussed upon Demurrer, without going to a jury at all; and after verdict it may be discussed on a motion in arrest of judgment. In such cases a special verdict is not necessary: the verdict Guilty, will have the effect of a special verdict without the expence and delay of it, establishing all the facts, and leaving the question of law open to discussion. There are three situations in which a defendant, charged with a libel, may stand before a judge and jury in a court of *Nisi Prius*. First, the matter of law may be doubtful; in that case there ought to be a special verdict, or a verdict which shall operate as a special verdict. Secondly, the case may, in the opinion of the judge, be clear against the defendant. If the verdict is special in form or in effect, he has no reason to complain: his case comes before the court from which the record is sent, without the prejudice of an authority against him. — The third situation is, that the opinion of the judge may be clear in favour of the defendant. In that case, whenever it shall happen, we have offered it as our opinion, that it will be competent and legal for the judge to direct an acquittal.

Your Lordships fourth question is, "Is a witness produced before a jury in a trial, as above, by the plaintiff, for the purpose of proving the criminal intentions of the writer; or by the defendant, to rebut the imputation, admissible to be heard

heard as a competent witness in such trial before the jury?"

This question is put so generally, that we find it impossible to give a direct answer to it. The criminal intention charged upon the defendant in legal proceedings on libel, is generally matter of form, requiring no proof on the part of the prosecutor, and admitting of no proof on the part of the defendant to rebut it.—The crime consists in publishing a libel; a criminal intention in the writer is no part of the definition of the crime of libel at the common law. "He who scattereth firebrands, arrows, and death," (which, if not an accurate definition, is a very intelligible description of a libel) is *ed ratione* criminal; it is not incumbent on the prosecutor to prove his intent; and, on his part, he shall not be heard to say "Am I not in sport?" But in as much as a criminal intention may conduce to the proof of the publication of all libels; and inasmuch as the criminal intention is of the substance of the crime of libel in some cases by statute,—cases may be put where a witness is competent and admissible to prove the criminal intention on the part of the prosecutor; and it may be stated as a general rule, that in all cases where a witness is competent and admissible to prove the criminal intention, a witness will also be competent and admissible to rebut the imputation.

Your Lordship's fifth question is,—"Whether, upon the trial of an indictment for sending a threatening letter, the meaning of the letter set forth in the indictment be matter of law or fact?"

We find ourselves embarrassed by the terms in which this question is

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proposed to us. We find no difficulty in answering, that the exposition of the words of the letter, set forth in an indictment for sending a threatening letter, would belong to the court, either on a demurrer, or in an arrest of judgment; and we have no difficulty in going a step farther, and saying, that if a jury, upon the trial of such an indictment, were to find the letter according to its tenor, it would be for the court to expound the letter: and whether the letter (the sense of it being thus ascertained) be a threatening letter within the meaning of the law, is answered by our answer to the first question. This we state distinctly to be matter of law: it is the judgment of the law pronouncing whether the paper be criminal or innocent.—But your Lordships ask us, "Whether the sense of the letter be matter of law or fact?" We find a difficulty in separating the sense of the letter from the letter; the paper without the sense is not a letter.—Whether there exists such a letter is, doubtless, matter of fact; as much as, whether it was sent to the prosecutor of the indictment. It is also matter of fact whether an act of parliament, public or private, exists: and the same may be said of every other writing, from records of the highest nature down to any scrap of paper wherein words are written which can be qualified with crime or civil obligation. This goes no way towards ascertaining what belongs to a jury in an indictment for sending a threatening letter; to which we apprehend your Lordship's question was intended to point.—The existence of a public act of parliament, your Lordships know, is not submitted to a jury at all; private acts and records

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may

may be *sub modo*; other instruments and papers are; but all, without exception, are expounded by the judges, and the legal effect of them declared by the judges. This does not rest merely on the authority of lawyers; in the nature of things it must be that the judges must expound or collect the sense of the paper, in order to their declaring the operation of it in law. The sense of a threatening letter, or of any other words reduced into writing, is nothing more than the meaning which the words do, according to the common acceptance of words, import, and which every reader will put upon them. Judges are in this respect but readers. They must read and understand, before they can pronounce upon criminality or innocence, which it belongs to them to do: it is a necessary and inseparable incident to their jurisdiction. If they could resort to a jury to interpret for them in the first instance, who shall interpret the interpretation; which, like the threatening letter, will be but words upon a paper?—We shall not be understood to be speaking of that sense of a paper which is to be collected from matter *dehors* the paper, which, in legal proceedings, must be stated by way of averment; which averment would be to be established in point of fact, before the judges could proceed to construe a paper. On a demurrer, or on motion in arrest of judgment, these averments would stand confessed upon the record. If the general issue is pleaded, they are to be found by the jury. Judges have no means of knowing matters of fact *dehors* the paper, but by the confession of the party, or the finding of the jury. But they can collect the intrinsic sense and meaning

of a paper, in the same manner as other readers do; and they can resort to grammars and glossaries, if they want such assistance. These principles lead to the same conclusion for juries as for judges, in all points belonging to threatening letters, or to any other series of words reduced into writing, which fall within the province of juries. For instance,—Upon a general issue on an indictment for sending a threatening letter, a jury is to enquire whether such a paper as the paper charged in the indictment exists. They must read, or hear read, and understand the paper charged and the paper produced to them in evidence, in order to their finding that the paper charged does exist. The jury cannot know that they are the same papers without comparing both the words and the sense: But, when the jury have read, and sufficiently understood the paper charged, and the paper produced, so as to be enabled to pronounce that they are the same papers; when the averments have been examined and found to be true; when the context (if there be a context not set forth) has been seen and understood, and found not to alter the sense of the paper produced, and to put a different sense upon it than that which the paper charged imports; and when the sending of the supposed threatening letter is found as charged, then all enquiry before the jury ends; the rest is matter of legal conclusion.

Your Lordships sixth question is, “Whether, on the trial of an indictment for high treason, the criminality or innocence of letters or papers set forth as overt acts of treason, or produced as evidence of an overt act of treason, be matter

of law, or of fact?" We have said in our answer to the first question, that in all cases, and under all circumstances, the criminality or innocence of an act done is matter of law, and not of fact. We find nothing in the two cases now put, which should lead us to narrow the generality of that proposition, or to except either of those cases out of it. But that we may not be misunderstood, we add, that this opinion does not go to the length of taking from the jury the application of the evidence to the overt act of which it is evidence. It only tends to fix the legal character of it in the only way in which it can be fixed. And we take this occasion also to observe, that we have offered no opinion to your Lordships which will have the effect of taking matter of law out of a general issue, or out of a general verdict. We know that it is often so combined with both, as to be inseparable from them; and we disclaim the folly of endeavouring to prove, that a jury, who can find a general verdict, cannot take upon themselves to deal with matter of law arising in a general issue, and to hazard a verdict made up of the fact, and of the matter of law, according to their conception of the law, against all direction by the judge. Our aim has been to trace the boundary line between matter of law and fact as distinctly as we could. We believe that this is all that is necessary to be known. We have found jurors in general desirous of keeping within their province, which is to examine into matter of fact, and cordially disposed to take their directions in matter of law, from those whose education and habits enable them to declare

the law, and to whom the law and constitution of the country have committed that important trust.

Your Lordships last question is, "Whether, if a judge, on a trial, on an indictment or information for a libel, shall give his opinion on the law to the jury, and leave that opinion, together with the evidence of the publication, and the application of the innuendoes to persons and things, to the jury, such direction would be according to law?" If we do not misunderstand this question, it is substantially answered in our answer to the third question. We mean to answer this question in the affirmative; but that we may be clearly understood, we desire to be permitted in our answer to substitute the words "declare the law," instead of "give his opinion of law;" and the word "declaration" instead of "opinion," where the word "opinion" occurs again in the question:—Our answer will then stand thus: If a judge on a trial, on an indictment or information for a libel shall declare the law to the jury, and leave that declaration, together with the evidence of the publication, and the application of innuendoes to persons and things, to the jury, such direction would be according to law." If by the words, "leave that opinion to the jury," is meant in any manner to refer to the jury the consideration of what the law is, in any view of the particular case in evidence, we are of opinion that such a direction would not be according to law; conceiving the law to be, that the judge is to declare to the jury what the law is; and conceiving that it is the duty of the jury, if they will find a general verdict upon the whole mat-

ter in issue, to compound that verdict of the fact as it appears in evidence before them, and of the law as it is declared to them by the judge.—We prefaced our answers with stating, that the general criminal law of England was the law of libel. We conclude what we have to offer to your Lordships, with stating, that the line marked out by the law for the conduct of a jury giving a general verdict, has an universal application to general verdicts on general issues, in all cases civil and criminal; for we cannot distinguish between the office and authority of a jury in civil and criminal cases, whatever difference there may be as to their responsibility. We desire to put your Lordships in mind, that it hath been the modern policy to bring almost all questions upon mens dearest and most valuable rights, to be decided on a general issue; and it will be for your Lordships consideration, whether the line we have pointed out, which we take to be established in law and in reason, is not a great and essential security to the life, liberty, and property of all the King's subjects, from the highest to the lowest.

The following Address of the Delegates of the Dissenters, may not be unacceptable to our Readers in general.

“To the Protestant Dissenters of the Town and Neighbourhood of Birmingham, who suffered from the Riots which happened in the Month of July last.

“**WE**, the assembled deputies and delegates of the Protestant Dissenters of England, in the name of a numerous and respectable body of con-

stituents, feel it incumbent on us thus publicly to testify our astonishment and horror at the outrages which you have experienced from an ignorant and misguided multitude, and our respect for that manly fortitude with which you have supported those unmerited sufferings. While, however, as sustaining one common character, we are anxious to pay this sincere tribute of affectionate and fraternal sympathy to all our injured brethren, we are persuaded that we shall gratify alike your feelings and our own, when, leaving our various speculative and especially our theological differences, we desire to express our peculiar concern on the account of that distinguished individual, whom the rancour of this cruel persecution selected as the first victim of its rage.—Deeply convinced of the importance of truth, we unite in admiring the ardour which he has ever discovered in the pursuit of it: as freemen, we applaud his unremitting exertions in the great cause of civil and religious liberty; as friends to literature, we are proud of our alliance with a name so justly celebrated as that of Dr. Priestley; and we pray the Almighty Disposer of events long to continue to us, and to the world, a life which science and virtue have contributed to render illustrious. We rejoice in the thought, that, though loaded with calumny and overwhelmed by violence, you have not yet been disgraced by one serious imputation of a crime; and it is therefore reasonable to confide in the justice of our country for an ample reparation of the wrongs you have sustained.—But, in proportion to your innocence, the infamy to these proceedings

ceedings falls with accumulated weight on the authors and the perpetrators of such mischief; nor can we avoid observing in the circumstances of this transaction evident symptoms either of some gross defect in our general system of police, or of the most supine and culpable negligence in those whose immediate duty it was to have protected the places of public worship, as well as the lives and property of their fellow-citizens; and we trust that the executive government, which exerted so much laudable activity to repress the disorders on the first notice, will proceed more fully to vindicate its own dignity and the national honour, by seriously enquiring how it came to pass that they were permitted to rise unchecked to such a height of destructive fury. Whatever may be the event, we desire to assure you of our warmest affection, of our steadiest support. Although in this instance the storm has fallen on you alone, we all feel ourselves to have been equally within the aim of the spirit which directed it; nor shall we ever attempt to elude similar violence by meanly abandoning the common cause, or deserting our brethren in the hour of distress. Our adversaries betray little acquaintance with the character and principles of the men whom they presume to insult and vilify, if they imagine that the spirit of the Dissenters is to be subdued and broken by the means which have been employed at Birmingham. Such measures can only tend to cement more closely our bond of union, and to invigorate our efforts to procure the repeal of those invidious and injurious laws, by which we are held forth as the proper objects of

suspicion and insult to the unthinking vulgar. Persuaded that we have not merited those absurd and malicious imputations by which ignorance and bigotry have always attempted to excuse illegal violence, we boldly appeal for our justification to our general conduct, whenever, on great national emergencies we have been drawn forth to action. We cannot point out any other criterion of our principles as a body, than the uniform tenor of our public conduct. We know that on such occasions we shall be found ever to have shewn the most affectionate and invariable attachment to the constitution of this kingdom, as settled on the principles of the glorious Revolution, on which alone depends the title of the present august family to the British throne; and on this fair and open ground we challenge any class of our enemies to a comparison. But although we have no wish to conceal our sentiments; yet maintaining, as we shall never cease to do, the equal right of every citizen to all the common benefits of society, we apprehend that to call on us to purchase protection, safety, or even the good opinion of our fellow-subjects, by any avowal which the law does not require of all, or by any silence which it does not universally enjoin, is an assumption of superiority, which liberal minds will disclaim, and to which, conscious of no inferiority but in numbers, of no guilt but the love of liberty and our country, we see not the smallest reason to submit. We trust that our countrymen will at length discover that it is not our fault if some degree of discontent be ever the effect of oppression. We shall not relinquish the attempt

to convince them that civil distinctions, founded on religious differences, are the real sources of the disturbances which have so frequently arisen from contending sects in the same community; and we flatter ourselves that Britain, which formerly took the lead in religious toleration, will not be the last nation in the world to acknowledge the just claims of religious liberty; but that the day will arrive much sooner than those imagine, who reflect not on the present aspect and tendencies of human affairs, when the good sense of our country will admit us to that equal rank for which we contend, and when all shall cordially concur to efface the stain which the late outrages have fixed on our national character.

"Signed by the unanimous order of the meeting,

EDWARD JEFFRIES, Chairman."

King's Head, Poultry, London, Feb. 1.

Address from the London Corresponding Society, and Four other Societies in England, to the National Convention,

ADDRESS TO THE FRENCH
NATIONAL CONVENTION.

From the following Societies of Britons united in one common Cause; namely the obtaining a fair, equal, and impartial Representation in Parliament:

Manchester Constitutional Society,

THO. WALKER, Pres.

SAM. JACKSON, Sec.

Manchester Reformation Society,

JOHN STACEY, Sec.

Norwich Revolution Society,

THO. GOFF, Pres.

JOHN COLENS, Sec.

London Constitutional Whigs,
Independent and Friends of the
People,

GEO. FULLER, Chairman.

JAMES BLW, Secretary.

AUTHORIZED by our united brethren above named, we the London Corresponding Society, for them as well as for ourselves, thus address you:

FRENCHMEN,

While foreign robbers are ravaging your territories under the specious pretext of justice, cruelty and devastation lead on their van, while perfidy with treachery bring up their rear; yet mercy and friendship are impudently held forth to the world as the sole motives of their incursions; the oppressed part of mankind, forgetting for a while their own sufferings, feel only for yours, and with an anxious eye watch the ultimate event, fervently supplicating the Supreme Ruler of the universe to be favourable to your cause, so intimately blended with their own. Frowned upon by an oppressive system of controul, whose gradual but continued encroachments have deprived this nation of nearly all its boasted liberty, and brought us almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emerged, a few thousands of British citizens, indignant, manfully step forth to rescue their country from the opprobrium brought upon it by the supine conduct of those in power: they conceive it to be the duty of Britons to countenance, and to assist to the utmost of their power, the champions of human happiness, and to swear to a nation proceeding on the plan which you have adopted, an inviolable friendship. — Sacred from this day be that

that friendship between us! and may vengeance to the uttermost overtake the man who shall hereafter attempt to cause a rupture! Though we appear comparatively so few at present, be assured, Frenchmen, that our number increases daily. It is true that the stern uplifted arm of authority at present keeps back the timid—that busily circulated impostures hourly mislead the credulous—and that court-intimacy with avowed French traitors has some effect on the unwary, and on the ambitious. But with certainty we can inform you, friends and freemen, that information makes a rapid progress among us; curiosity has taken possession of the public mind; and the conjoint reign of ignorance and despotism passes away. Men now ask each other, what is freedom? what are our rights?—Frenchmen, you are already free, and Britons are preparing to become so!—Casting far from us the criminal prejudices artfully inculcated by evil-minded men and wily courtiers, we, instead of natural enemies, at length discover in Frenchmen our fellow-citizens of the world, and our brethren by the same Heavenly Father, who created us for the purpose of loving, and mutually assisting each other; but not to hate, and to be ever ready to cut each others throats at the command of weak or ambitious kings, and corrupt ministers. Seeking our real enemies, we find them in our bosoms. We feel ourselves inwardly torn by and ever the victims of a restless all-consuming aristocracy, hitherto the bane of every nation under the sun:—wisely have you acted in expelling it from France. Warm as are our wishes

for your success, eager as we are to behold freedom triumphant, and man everywhere restored to the enjoyment of his just rights, a sense of our duty as orderly citizens forbids our flying in arms to your assistance. Our government has pledged the national faith to remain neutral! In a struggle of liberty against despotism, Britons remain neutral. O shame! But, we have entrusted our king with discretionary powers—we therefore must obey. Our hands are bound, but our hearts are free, and they are with you. Let German despots act as they please, we shall rejoice at their fall; compassionating, however, their enslaved subjects, we hope this tyranny of their masters will prove the means of reinstating, in the full possession of their rights and liberties, millions of our fellow-creatures. With unconcern, therefore, we might view the Elector of Hanover join his troops to traitors and robbers: but the king of Great Britain will do well to remember that this country is not Hanover:—should he forget this distinction, we will not. While you enjoy the envied glory of being the unaided defenders of freedom, we fondly anticipate in idea the numerous blessings which mankind will enjoy, if you succeed, as we ardently wish. The triple alliance, not of crowns, but of the people of America, France, and Britain, will give freedom to Europe, and peace to the world! Dear friends, you combat for the advantage of the human race! How well purchased will be, though at the expence of much blood, the glorious, the unprecedented privilege of saying—Mankind is free! Tyrants and tyranny are no more!

Peace reigns on the earth ! and this is the work of Frenchmen !"—The desire of having the concurrence of different country societies to this Address, has occasioned a month's delay in presenting it. Success unparalleled has now attended your arms. We congratulate you thereon ; that success has removed our anxiety, but it has no otherwise influenced our sentiments in your behalf. Remember, Frenchmen, that although this testimony of friendship only now reaches your assembly, it bears date the 27th of September 1792.

(Signed by order)

MAURICE MARGAROT,
President.

THOMAS HARBÝ,
Secretary.

The President's Answer.

ENGLISHMEN, and fellow-citizens of the world, The national convention has heard with lively sensibility the glorious and generous wish of the English citizens, who cordially unite with us in our labours. The sentiments of 5,000 Britons, devoted openly to the cause of mankind, exist, without doubt, in the hearts of all the freemen in England. Let them not still consider their neutrality as a reproach while they are spectators of the grand struggle for liberty against despotism ; their respect for a constitution which they have learnt to judge in silence, is no longer that antiquated superstition which promised to government impunity for its faults ; it is rather the effect of a prudent and political gravity, which knowing how to temper its force, seems to command the government to observe

that very neutrality, and to warn it to be as just, or at least as prudent, as the nation. Believe, generous Englishmen, that by following that system, you do not the less concur with us in the work of universal liberty. Let us advance some steps further in that career in which you were our precursors ; and let us enjoy by anticipation, and with a common hope, that epoch (doubtless not far distant) when the interests of Europe and of mankind shall invite the two nations to stretch out the hand of fraternity !

Address from the Revolution Society in London, to the National Convention ; dated 5th of November.—Read in the Sitting of 1st of December, 1792.

FRENCH Citizens ! The Society instituted to perpetuate the remembrance of the revolution of Great Britain, offers you this address with the sincerest respect. — At the suggestion of one of our members, the late Dr. Price, whose loss we regret, we have already congratulated you on your first successes in the common cause of liberty ; and we cannot be silent at a period so fruitful in events. Even if the enemies who invaded France still ravaged your towns, we would not keep back this address ; in the hope that a nation which fights not for itself alone, but for the whole human race, would, in the end, prove victorious. The tyrants who threatened you have retired with disgrace ; and the friends of liberty, in all countries, share the joy of your triumph. — Above all, we rejoice in the late revolution of the 10th of August, so necessary to the cure

cure to you the advantages which the former had taught you to expect; and we anticipate with pleasure the moment at which you shall have finished your labours, and established a wise and equitable government, which must be the admiration of the friends of man, and the cause of terror and despair to tyrants.—Representatives of a people, we now honour the memory of our brave ancestors, who resisted the tyranny of Charles I.; and we celebrate the revolution which drove away his son. We cannot doubt the right which belongs to all nations to resist oppression, and to give themselves such a form of government as their own wisdom may suggest. This right, acknowledged in theory by all the defenders of liberty, formed the ground-work of the revolution which we celebrate; and we feel a tender joy in beholding this right of insurrection successfully exercised in so large a country as that of the French republic. We ardently desire, that the two nations, united by nature, but divided for ages by the intrigues of courts and the pride of princes, may soon be re-united by the love of peace, and by the reciprocal advantages of a commerce freed from every kind of restraint. We desire that France and Great Britain, formerly rivals in the deceitful and fatal career of ambition, may no longer entertain any other spirit of emulation than that of striving to hasten the reign of liberty, of knowledge, and of the happiness of man; and to make the rights of men so respected over the whole earth, that the characters and distinctions of tyrant and slave may be no longer known, except in history.

(Signed)

J. TOWERS, Chairman.
BENJAMIN COOPER, Sec.

Address of the Society for Constitutional Information in London, to the National Convention in France.

SERVANTS of a Sovereign people, and Benefactors of mankind! We rejoice that your revolution has arrived at that point of perfection which will permit us to address you by this title: it is the only one that can accord with the character of true legislators. Every successive epoch in your affairs, has added something to the triumphs of liberty; and the glorious victory of the 10th of August has finally prepared the way for a constitution, which we trust you will establish on the basis of reason and nature.—Considering the mass of delusion accumulated on mankind to obscure their understandings, you cannot be astonished at the opposition you have met with, both from tyrants and from slaves. The instrument used against you by each of these classes is the same; for in the genealogy of human miseries ignorance is at once the parent of oppression, and the child of submission. The events of every day are proving that your cause is cherished by the people in all your continental vicinity; that a majority of each of those nations are your real friends, whose governments have tutored them into apparent foes; and that they only wait to be delivered by your arms from the dreaded necessity of fighting against them. The condition of Englishmen is less to be deplored; here the hand of oppression has not yet ventured completely to ravish the pen from us, nor openly to point the sword at you. From bosoms burning with ardour in your cause, we tender you our warmest wishes for the full extent of its progress and success. It is indeed a sacred cause; we cherish it as the pledge

pledge of your happiness, our natural and nearest friends; and we rely upon it as the bond of paternal union to the human race, in which union our own nation will surely be one of the first to concur. — Our government has still the power, and perhaps the inclination, to employ hirelings to contradict us; but it is our real opinion that we now speak the sentiments of a great majority of the English nation. The people here are wearied with imposture, and worn out with war. They have learnt to reflect, that both the one and the other are the offspring of unnatural combinations in society, as relative to systems of government, not the result of the natural temper of nations, as relative to each other's happiness. — Go on, legislators, in the work of human happiness. The benefits will in part be ours, but the glory shall be all your own: it is the reward of your perseverance; it is the prize of virtue. The sparks of liberty preserved in England for ages, like the coruscations of the northern Aurora, served but to shew the darkness visible in the rest of Europe. The lustre of the American republic, like an effulgent morning, arose with increasing vigour, but still too distant to enlighten our hemisphere, till the splendor of the French revolution burst forth upon the nations in the full fervour of a meridian sun, and displayed in the midst of the European the practical result of principles, which philosophy had sought in the shade of speculation, and which experience must every where confirm. It dispels the clouds of prejudice from all people, reveals the secrets of all despotism, and creates a new character in man. — In this career

of improvement your example will be soon followed; for nations, rising from their lethargy, will reclaim the Rights of Man with a voice which man cannot resist.

Signed, by order of the Society.

SEMPIL, Chairman.

D. ADAMS, Secretary.

Nov. 9, 1792.

WE are also commissioned to inform the Convention, that the Society which we represent has sent to the soldiers of liberty a patriotic donation of 1000 pairs of shoes, which are by this time arrived at Calais; and the Society will continue sending 1000 pairs a week, for at least six weeks to come. We only wish to know to whose care they ought to be addressed.

JOEL BARLOW,

JOHN FROST.

Paris, Nov. 2, 1792.

The President's Answer.

BRAVE children of a nation which has given lustre to the two worlds, and great examples to the universe, you have addressed us with something more than good wishes, since the condition of our warriors has excited your solicitude. The defenders of our liberty will one day be the supporters of your own. You command our esteem, you will accept our gratitude. The sons of liberty through the world will never forget their obligations to the English nation. — The shades of Pym, of Hamden, and of Sidney, are hovering over your heads; and the moment cannot be distant when the people of France will offer their congratulations to a national convention in England. Too long has the torch of discord inflamed the English and the French; while the ambition

ambition of kings, fomenting national aversions, compelled them to forget that Nature has produced none but brothers. — Your islands, it is said, were severed from the continent by a great convulsion of the globe; but liberty, established on the two shores of the narrow sea which divides us, will repair the breach, and restore the two nations to the harmony and friendship for which Nature has designed them. Reason has begun her majestic march; she can no longer be resisted in her course. — Generous republicans, your appearance in this place will form an epoch in the history of mankind. History will consecrate the day, when, from a nation long regarded as a rival, and in the name of a great number of your fellow-citizens, you appeared in the midst of the representatives of the people of France; and she will not forget to recount, that our hearts expanded at the sight. Tell the Society which deputed you, and assure your fellow-citizens in general, that in your friends, the French, you have found men.

Address of the Clergy of the Diocese of Worcester to his Majesty, on his late Proclamation, June 1, 1792.

WE, the Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Archdeacon, and Clergy, of the church and diocese of Worcester, humbly beg leave to return our warmest thanks to your Majesty for your Majesty's late wise and provident proclamation. In our present circumstances, Sir, nothing but experience could make it conceivable that any of your Majesty's subjects, in the full enjoyment of every blessing which the best government can bestow, should be so weak or wicked as to endeavour

to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of your people; and to disseminate such principles and writings among them as tend to destroy, under pretence of reforming, our excellent constitution, in church and state. One reformation, indeed, can never be unseasonable; which is, that of our hearts and lives, whenever they become disorderly and licentious; and this reformation, Sir, we your faithful clergy shall labour to effect; in ourselves first, and then in those committed to our charge. In performing, or even attempting this service, we shall do our duty to God, to your Majesty, and to the public. For the rest, we implore the divine blessing on the wise and salutary measures your Majesty has taken to preserve the unequalled form of government under which we live, from all bold and hazardous innovations, and to prevent the wantonness of prosperity (the too common disease of happy states) from disturbing the public order and tranquillity.

Address of the Clergy of the Diocese of Llandaff, on the same Occasion.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, the Bishop, Archdeacon and Chapter, and the Clergy of the diocese of Llandaff, humbly tender to your Majesty our strongest assurances of loyalty to your Majesty's person, of attachment to your family, of zeal for the principles of the revolution, and of our utter abhorrence of every attempt to subvert the constitution in church and state, then established, and since then improved. The improvements which the constitution has received in the judges being rendered more independent,

independent, in the mode of determining contested elections, in the repeal of certain penal statutes respecting protestant and catholic dissenters, in ascertaining the rights of juries; and in other ways, have been more numerous and important during your Majesty's reign than that of the reigns of all your predecessors since the revolution. We are thankful for what has been done; and without encouraging improper modes of innovation in other matters, still, perhaps, requiring an amendment, we trust, that what is wanting to render our constitution perfect and permanent, will be accomplished by the deliberate wisdom of the legislature, rather than by the rash violence of democratic faction. When we compare our situations, as citizens of a free state, with that of those who are either struggling for that liberty which we enjoy, or groaning under that slavery which we are in no danger of, we cannot but set the highest value on that form of civil government from which our happiness is derived; and we beg leave, in the most sincere and solemn manner, to declare to your Majesty, that in proportion to this our estimation of its worth, will be our zeal for the preservation of the constitution.

*Case of the suffering Clergy of France,
Refugees in England.*

IT is well known that the revolutions which have happened in France, have impelled, by the most urgent necessity, a great number of this unfortunate body of respectable men to take refuge in our country; they have fled from anarchy and death to this happy isle, blessed with

peace and benevolence. — Trained up to the profession of administering relief to distress, they are driven by distress extreme to ask shelter and bread from a generous people, whose hearts have ever expanded to embrace and relieve the wants of others. They have hitherto received charitable assistance from the voluntary bounty of some worthy individuals: but this resource becoming daily more inadequate to the relief of those whose sufferings claim immediate attention, a general subscription in their favour is become indispensably necessary, to prevent them from perishing in our streets. Those unfortunate helpless men are here under the sacred protection of hospitality; and they will not perish from our neglect. — It was but the other day that they were employed in distributing alms in their own country; and they are now under the painful necessity of begging relief in a foreign land. — Donations will be received at most of the bankers: and a meeting of the subscribers will be held at the London Tavern, to direct the application of the donations.

*Declaration and Address of the Society
instituted for the Purpose of obtaining a
Parliamentary Reform:*

Froemasons Tavern, 26th April, 1792.

At a General Meeting of the Society established on the 11th instant, under the title of *The Friends of the People*, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, William Henry Lambton, Esq. in the Chair,

Received a Report from the Committee appointed by the Resolution

tion of the 19th instant, consisting of the following Persons :—

Wm. Baker, Esq. M. P. Chairman
 Charles Grey, Esq. M. P.
 Samuel Whitbread, jun. Esq. M. P.
 John Wharton, Esq. M. P.
 Rich. Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. M. P.
 Philip Francis, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. Thomas Maitland, M. P.
 Wm. Henry Lambton, Esq. M. P.
 George Rous, Esq.
 John Godfrey, Esq.
 William Cuninghame, Esq.
 James Mackintosh, Esq.

Read a draught of an Address to the People of Great Britain, contained in the Report of the Committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the said Address is approved of and adopted by this Meeting.

Resolved unanimously, That the Declaration already agreed on, together with the said Address, be printed and published, with the names of the Subscribing Members, and that the Committee be instructed to print and publish the same.

DECLARATION.

A Number of persons having seriously reviewed and considered the actual situation of public affairs, and state of the kingdom, and having communicated to each other their opinions on these subjects, have agreed and determined to institute a Society, for the purpose of proposing to parliament and to the country, and of promoting, to the utmost of their power, the following constitutional objects, making the preservation of the constitution, on its true principles, the foundation of all their proceedings.

First.—To restore the freedom of election, and a more equal repre-

sentation of the people in parliament.

Secondly.—To secure to the people a more frequent exercise of their right of electing their representatives.

The persons who have signed their names to this agreement, think that these two fundamental measures will furnish the power and the means of correcting the abuses which appear to them to have arisen from a neglect of the acknowledged principles of the constitution, and of accomplishing those subordinate objects of reform which they deem to be essential to the liberties of the people, and to the good government of the kingdom.

Signed by

Charles Grey, Esq. M. P.
 Hon. Thomas Maitland, M. P.
 George Rous, Esq.
 William Cuninghame, Esq.
 John Tweddell, Esq.
 Earl of Lauderdale.
 Nicolls Rainsford, Esq.
 James Mackintosh, Esq.
 Thomas Christie, Esq.
 Malcolm Laing, Esq.
 Right Hon. Lord Kinnaird.
 James Archdekin, Esq.
 William Harwood, Esq.
 David Godfrey, Esq.
 Higgins Eden, Esq.
 Philip Francis, Esq. M. P.
 Charles Goring, Esq.
 John Hurford Stone, Esq.
 W. H. Lambton, Esq. M. P.
 John Godfrey, Esq.
 George Tierney, Esq.
 Arthur Piggot, Esq.
 J. B. Church, Esq. M. P.
 Gilbert Ironside, Esq.
 T. B. Hollis, Esq.
 William Baker, Esq. M. P.
 Sam. Whitbread, jun. Esq. M. P.
 Dudley

- Dudley North, Esq. M. P.
 Sir John Throckmorton, Bart.
 John Courtenay, Esq. M. P.
 M. A. Taylor, Esq. M. P.
 William Breton, Esq.
 Thomas Rogers, Esq.
 Hon. Thomas Erskine, M. P.
 R. Knight, Esq.
 Thomas Thompson, Esq. M. P.
 Colonel Tarleton, M. P.
 H. Howorth, Esq.
 Mr. Serjeant Bond.
 William Lushington, Esq.
 Right Hon. Lord J. Russell, M. P.
 Samuel Rogers, Esq.
 T. C. Curwen, Esq. M. P.
 Peregrine Deaktry, Esq.
 Richard B. Sheridan, Esq. M. P.
 William Fullarton, Esq.
 Norman Macleod, Esq. M. P.
 James Losh, Esq.
 John Sawbridge, Ald. Esq. M. P.
 Richard Weld, Esq.
 John Claridge, Esq.
 John Wharton, Esq. M. P.
 James Martin, Esq. M. P.
 William Smith, Esq. M. P.
 John Scott, Esq. M. P.
 Sir Bellingham Graham, Bart.
 George Byng, Esq. M. P.
 John Cartwright, Esq.
 Jer. Batley, Esq.
 Ralph Carr, jun. Esq.
 Ralph Milbank, Esq. M. P.
 Henry Howard, Esq.
 Sir J. W. S. Gardiner, Bart.
 B. E. Howard, Esq.
 E. B. Clive, Esq.
 Henry Howard, Esq. M. P.
 John Leach, Esq.
 John Nichols, Esq.
 Joseph Richardson, Esq.
 John Towgood, Esq.
 William Chisholm, Esq.
 John Fazakerly, Esq.
 Richard S. Milnes, Esq. M. P.
 Samuel Shore, Esq.
 Samuel Shore, jun. Esq.
- Charles Warren, Esq.
 Long Kingsman, Esq.
 Edward Jer. Curteis, Esq.
 Samuel Long, Esq. M. P.
 Henry Swann, Esq.
 T. B. Rous, Esq.
 D. O'Bryen, Esq.
 J. Lodge Batley, Esq.
 James West, Esq.
 Richard Carpenter Smith, Esq.
 W. Powlett Powlett, Esq. M. P.
 George Livius, Esq.
 Right Hon. Lord Dier.
 Hon. John Douglas.
 Right Hon. Lord Edw. Fitzgerald
 Rev. Dr. Kippis.
 James Jacque, Esq.
 Francis Love Beckford, Esq.
 Adam Walker, Esq.
 Richard Sharp, Esq.
 Rev. Dr. Joseph Towers.
 John Clerk, Esq.
 Thomas Bell, Esq.
 John Wilson, Esq.
 Andrew Stirling, Esq.

ADDRESS TO

THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

NO man, who is not ready to express his concurrence in our principles, by signing the Declaration, can be admitted into our Society. The objects of it, as we conceive, are of a nature at all times fit to be pursued and recommended to the country. At different periods they have heretofore been avowed and supported by the highest authorities in this kingdom—by eminent individuals, and considerable bodies of men; by Mr. Locke and Judge Blackstone; by the late Earl of Chatham and Sir George Saville; by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox; by petitions from several counties, and by repeated declarations

declarations from the city of London. — In appealing to the avowed opinions of men of established reputation, or of distinguished rank in their country, we do not mean to strengthen the reason, or enforce the necessity of the measure we propose, so much as to obviate all personal imputations, which the enemies of the cause will be ready to throw upon those who support it. It is not that, on our own account, we dread the effect, or regard the impression, which such imputations may produce; but we think it material to the credit and success of our proceedings, to shew that we are not aiming at reforms unthought of by wise and virtuous men: that our opinions neither possess the advantage, nor are liable to the objection of novelty; and that we cannot be accused or suspected of factious purposes or dangerous designs, without extending the same accusation or suspicion to the motives of men whose situation and property, independent of their character, principles, and abilities, have given them a most important stake in the peace and good government of the kingdom.

Convinced by our own reflections, by experience, and by authority, that the thing we propose to do is fit to be done, we have, with equal deliberation, weighed the reasons that may recommend or be objected to the present time, as the most or least proper for bringing it forward. On this point, we have no address to make to the determined enemies of a reform of every kind. Their objection, whether valid or not, is to the substance of the measure, and cannot be abated by circumstances. To those who concur generally in the principle, but who may be in-

clined, by particular reasons, to defer the attempt, we seriously wish to submit the following considerations:—That admitting this to be a season of general tranquillity in the country, it is, on that account, the more proper for temperate reflection and prudent exertions, to accomplish any necessary improvement; it is the time when practical measures for that purpose are most likely to be adopted with discretion, and pursued with moderation. If we are persuaded to wait for other times, of a different complexion, for times of public complaint, or general discontent, we shall then be told, that general remedies are not fit to be proposed in the moment of particular disorder, and that it is our duty to wait for the return of quiet days, unless we mean to create or increase confusion in the country. The result of this dilemma, if it be suffered to prevail, is pure and absolute inactivity at present, and for ever. On the other hand, if it be true, as we are convinced it is, that, in this general appearance of tranquillity, there is some mixture of discontent, as well as of strong and well-grounded opinion, on the subject of abuses in the government and corruptions of the constitution, we wish it to be considered by men, whose judgment has been formed or enlightened by experience, and whose actions are most likely to be directed by prudence, whether, in taking proper measures to remove the cause and objects of such discontent of opinion, the choice of the time be not a material part of the measure; and whether the earliest time that can be taken, for preventing the increase of an existing evil, be not the safest and the best.

The

The example and situation of another kingdom, are held out to deter us from innovations of any kind. We say, that the reforms we have in view, are not innovations. Our intention is, not to change, but to restore; not to displace, but to re-instate the constitution upon its true principles and its original ground. In the conduct of persons most likely to reproach us with a spirit of innovation, we see a solid ground for retorting the imputation. Their professions of admiration of the beauty, and of zeal for the security of the constitution, appear to us too lavish to be sincere, especially when compared with those practical violations with which they suffer this beautiful system to be invaded, and to which they never refuse to give their concurrence. They will not innovate,—but they are no enemies to gradual decay; as if the changes insensibly produced by time, and nourished by neglect, were not in effect the most dangerous innovations. But what security have we, that the dispositions of such men are not something worse than passive? How are we assured that, in praising the constitution, their intention is not to adorn a victim which they wish to sacrifice, or to flatter the beauty they are endeavouring to corrupt? Let their intention be what it may, we answer their accusation in the words of one of the wisest of mankind*: “That time is the greatest innovator; and if time, of course, alter things for the worse, and if wisdom and counsel shall not alter them for the better, what shall be the end?”

By the reform proposed by Lord Chatham †, he declared in the House

of Lords, that he meant *to infuse a portion of new health into the constitution*. The Duke of Richmond has declared ‡, that “his reasons in favour of a parliamentary reform were formed on the experience of twenty-six years; which, whether in or out of government, had equally convinced him, that the restoration of a genuine House of Commons, by a renovation of the rights of the people, was the only remedy against that system of corruption which had brought the nation to disgrace and poverty, and threatened it with the loss of liberty.”

Other authorities in favour of a parliamentary reform, as direct and explicit as these, might be quoted in abundance. The public is possessed of them. We rather wish to encounter, because we are sure we can efface, in every rational mind, the impression, which may have been made by a view of those events which have attended a total change in the constitution of France. We deny the existence of any resemblance whatever between the cases of the two kingdoms; and we utterly disclaim the necessity of resorting to similar remedies.—We do not believe that, at this day, an absolute avowed despotism in the hands of the executive power, would be endured in this country. But who can say to what conclusion the silent unresisted operation of abuses, incessantly acting, and constantly increasing, may lead us hereafter! what habits it may gradually create! what power it may finally establish! The abuses in the government of France were suffered to gather and accumulate, until nothing but an eruption could put an

* Lord Bacon.

† Jan. 22, 1770.

‡ Jan. 17, 1783.

end to them. The discontent of the people was converted into despair. Preventive remedies were either not thought of in time, or were not proposed until it was too late to apply them with effect. The subversion of the ancient government ensued. The inference from this comparison is at once so powerful and so obvious, that we know not by what argument to illustrate or enforce it. We mean to avert for ever from our country the calamities inseparable from such convulsions. If there be, as it is said, in any part of this kingdom, a disposition to promote confusion, or even to arrive at improvement by unconstitutional and irregular courses, we hold ourselves as strictly pledged to resist that disposition, wherever it may appear, as to pursue our objects by unexceptionable methods. If, on the contrary, it be true that the mass of the people are satisfied with the present state of things, or indifferent about it; if they approve of the representation as it stands, the form of election, and the duration of the trust; or if, condemning these things, they are determined, from indolence or despair, not to attempt to correct them,—then indeed the efforts of individuals may be ineffectual, but they cannot be injurious to the peace of the community. If the spirit of the constitution be dead in the hearts of the people, no human industry can revive it.—To affirm that extensive mischief may be done by a statement of facts or arguments which make no general impression on the public mind, is a proposition that contradicts itself, and requires no other refutation. We trust it

will be proved by experiment, that these inconsistent assertions are equally unfounded, and that the people of this country are no more disposed to submit to abuses without complaint, than to look for redress in any proceedings repugnant to the laws, or unwarranted by the constitution. Between anarchy and despotism, speaking for ourselves, we have no choice to make; we have no preference to give. We neither admit the necessity, nor can we endure the idea of resorting to either of these extremities as a refuge from the other. The course we are determined to pursue, is equally distant from both.

Finally, we assert, that it must be blindness not to see, and treachery not to acknowledge.

That “* the instruments of power are not perhaps so open and avowed as they formerly were, and therefore are the less liable to jealous and invidious reflections; but they are not the weaker upon that account. In short, our national debts and taxes have, in their natural consequences, thrown such a weight of power into the executive scale of government, as we cannot think was intended by our patriot ancestors, who gloriously struggled for the abolition of the then formidable parts of the prerogative, and by an unaccountable want of foresight, established this system in their stead.” Our general object is to recover and preserve the true balance of the constitution.

These are the principles of our Association, and, on our steady adherence to them, we look with just confidence to the approbation and support of the people in the profe-

* Blackstone.

cution of our object. A measure, so likely to be opposed by the united strength of various interests, can never succeed but by the declared and hearty concurrence of the nation.

Resolved unanimously, That a motion be made in the House of Commons, at an early period in the next session of parliament, for introducing a parliamentary reform.

Resolved unanimously, That Charles Grey, Esq. be requested to make, and the Hon. Thomas Erskine to second, the above motion.

Signed by the unanimous order of this Meeting.

W. H. LAMBTON, Chairman.

At a Meeting of the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, held at the Freemasons Tavern, on Saturday, May 5, 1792, William Baker, Esq. M. P. in the Chair. The Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M. P. Deputy Chairman :

MR. Baker, from the Committee, brought up the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the Society :—

Resolved, That it appears to this Meeting, that a formal notice having been given in the House of Commons, on Monday the 30th of April, by Charles Grey, Esq. of his intention to bring forward, at an early period in the next session of parliament, a motion for a parliamentary reform, occasion has since been taken to throw out and propagate a variety of aspersions, equally groundless in substance, and opprobrious in terms, against the motives, objects, and proceedings of this Association.

Resolved, That although we are

of opinion that the true objects of our institution have been clearly defined, and distinctly expressed in our Declaration and Address, it may nevertheless be advisable to encounter and repel the calumnies with which we have been attacked, by the following observations, which we willingly submit to the cool and impartial judgment of our country. — That whereas it is objected generally by persons who have not yet ventured to deny the necessity of a reform in the actual representation of the people, at some proper but undetermined period, that the time we have taken, and the mode we have adopted, for bringing forward the measure, are likely to produce the most dangerous consequences in the country; we say that the arguments, which determined us in the choice of the time, have been fully stated in our Address, but have been nowhere answered, nor at all fairly considered. This objection is urged and relied on, as if it had not been foreseen and anticipated. We must content ourselves, therefore, with re-asserting, that a season of quiet and prosperity is the most proper for mild and temperate discussion, as well as for taking moderate and reasonable securities for the future: and that the choice of such a time is alone sufficient to clear us of any intention to promote popular discontent. But we understand it has been particularly asserted, that the present time is improper, because no specific grievance exists; whereas the period, when former proposals for reform were offered to parliament, was perfectly proper, because a grievance did then subsist in the American war; the origin, the continuance, and the calamities of which

which were attributed to, or supposed to be connected with, the imperfect and corrupted state of the representation of the people in parliament. — We do not admit that the immediate non-existence of grievances, which the acknowledged corruption of the institution is at all times equally capable of producing, is any objection against taking securities to prevent the return of such grievances. But we positively affirm, that, in fact, a case has lately occurred, which, on the very principles of the objection, establishes the necessity of a reform in the construction of the House of Commons. We mean the late armament intended to act against Russia, which might have involved the nation in a most impolitic and ruinous war; and to which a large majority of the House of Commons gave their support, in direct contradiction to the real interests, and to the acknowledged sense of the people. — With respect to the mode of our proceeding, we conceive, that the objections urged against it ought to have been as precise, as specific, as the reasons we have assigned in support of it. Instead of comparing the principles, we profess with those of the constitution; instead of canvassing the terms of our declaration, and proving a contradiction between our professions and our conduct, it is thought fit to load us with a loose, unsupported, general charge, expressed in the language of reproach, not of argument; of uniting with certain bodies of men, whose principles and practice, as far as they appear to be such as they are represented, we have not only disclaimed in the strongest terms, but have declared, that we are determined to resist to

the utmost of our ability. Not a single proposition, not one sentence, not even a word in the Declaration and Address, which we have submitted to the public, has been pointed out as liable to an objection of any kind. We do believe that the minds of men are every day more and more enlightened on the subject of the constitution and government of their country, as well as more attentive to it, than in former times: — that disposition has not been created by any efforts of ours: — we are of opinion, that it exists very generally through this kingdom. Is it useful to discourage, is it possible to suppress it? We earnestly recommend it to those who wish well to the peace of the kingdom, to consider seriously, whether, under the acknowledged existence of abuses, a declared resistance to every proposal for amendment may not, in the event, prove favourable to the views of men whose principles are destructive of all good government, and wholly irreconcilable with the object of our Association. — Before the motion, to which one of our members, in compliance with the request of the Society, has pledged himself, can be made, we hope the sense of the country will be distinctly expressed. If, after having done every thing in our power to obtain the reform, which we think wanting, the country shall appear to be satisfied with the present state of representation, we must and shall submit: if, on the contrary, the propriety of our measures shall appear to be generally felt and acknowledged, we shall hold ourselves bound to use every legal and constitutional means of effecting a timely and temperate reform; the only

one which we can propose, and the only one to which we will give our concurrence. Whenever that object is obtained, our Association is at an end:—we go no farther. The people then will possess a more perfect organ to express their sentiments, and a power to correct those abuses, which we call subordinate, and which we believe to proceed principally from the present depraved state of the representation of the people in parliament.

Resolved, That the above resolutions, proposed by the Committee, be agreed to, and adopted by the Society, and that the Committee be instructed to publish the same.

Signed by order of the Committee.

WILLIAM BAKER, M. P.
Chairman.

Friends of the People.

At a General Meeting of the Society of *The Friends of the People*, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, held at the Freemasons Tavern on the 2d of June, 1792,

Sir John Throckmorton, Bart.
in the Chair:

ORDERED, That the following Letter, and the Answer, of the Committee of this Society, be printed and published.

“Committee of the Society for Constitutional Information at Sheffield, to the Committee of the Honourable Society, entitled *The Friends of the People*, in London.

“Gentlemen,

“It is with infinite pleasure we have read and considered your ad-

dress and declaration from your general meeting on the 26th of April last. The principles therein set forth by so large a body of the most respectable and worthy characters, are sufficient testimony and confirmation to us, that so honourable a Society, by signalizing themselves in support of the laudable and general cause of the community, will render themselves most truly worthy of that high and benevolent appellation by which they are already known to us, *The Friends of the People*.

“Your sentiments, your motives, and your plan of obtaining a reform of the abuses of government are perfectly in unison with our ideas: it is our business (to which we have always confined our endeavours) to instruct the people in a temperate and peaceable manner in the necessity of such a reform as you point out; but have never yet attempted to adopt or point out any particular mode of obtaining it, further than you will observe by the inclosed, believing that in due time, men of more respectable characters and greater abilities would step forward. To such we have always had an eye, and upon such we have ever meant to rely for our government, and the adoption of the most eligible plan of a more free and equal representation in the House of Commons, and the removal of the great abuses and impositions by measures altogether inadequate to the interest and welfare of the nation in general, and to the mechanical and laborious part of the community in particular.

“It is therefore with the highest degree of satisfaction that we behold such a respectable body stepping forward in so laudable, so just, and so good a cause. You have our warmest

est wishes, sincerest thanks, and assured endeavours of support in it, to the best of our abilities, in a rational and peaceable way. It is our duty, and it will ever claim our attention strictly to adhere to, to maintain, and be governed by the principles laid down in your declaration. Notwithstanding the gross and falacious insinuations of the enemies of justice and equity, we are assured that no honest man being acquainted with our principles, would have attempted to declare in the House, the design of these associations is completely to overturn the constitution, &c.; and we are sorry that Mr. Baker was under the disagreeable necessity of explaining, in answer to such gross assertions, without having it in his power to speak with precision to the principles and design of this, and the similar societies, and to have them united with yours in his explanation. For this, and similar reasons, we are induced to take the liberty of troubling you with the above, and following sketch. Our Members are now about 2400; yet we have the satisfaction with truth to affirm, that not the least disorder or confusion hath made its appearance amongst us: all is unanimity, peace, and concord. As our members increase, the number of meeting-places are increased in proportion, so as not to exceed at most thirty members at one place. All the circular meetings are held once a fortnight, on the same evening. Our general meeting is held once a month at three different houses, on the same day, generally very crowded; yet good order and regularity are strictly attended to; and we doubt not but what has been suggested to be impossible, will be fully manifested to be not only practi-

cable, but easy to accomplish, viz. to introduce useful knowledge, good order, and regularity, into the minds and morals of the common or lower orders of people.

"We are perfectly satisfied of the integrity and abilities of those respectable characters who constitute the Society of the Friends of the People: but if we may presume to lay before them some thoughts we have had respecting what method would be the best to adopt for obtaining the general sense of the nation before the proposed motion in the next session of parliament takes place, we beg leave, with great deference to that honourable Society to submit the following to their superior judgment. We believe the most likely and effectual plan will be to establish a convention in London by deputies from each county or district, by which means the sentiments of the nation may be obtained without any confusion or disorder.

"Looking up to the Friends of the People as our leaders and directors in this great and necessary business, we shall be happy, and esteem it a great favour, to receive any communication which they may vouch safe to favour us with.

"I have the honour to be,

"with esteem,

"Yours very respectfully,

"SAMUEL ASHTON, Sec.

"By order of Committee.

"Sheffield, May 14, 1792."

The Committee of the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, to the Committee of the Society for Constitutional Information in Sheffield.

No. 52, *Frith-street, London,*

Sir, *May 24, 1792.*

WE beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and to return you our thanks for a confidence which we trust our future conduct will merit from our country.

We have received sincere pleasure, not only from the firm and virtuous tone in which you have spoken your principles, but from the wise and temperate manner in which you have limited their application to practice. We rejoice that "our sentiments, our motives, and our plans of reform, are perfectly in unison with your ideas," because we believe that a conduct in the great body of the people corresponding to such "sentiments," will equally confound the two opposite classes of enemies to the public weal, that it will defeat the hopes of those who would dupe the people into tumult, and that it will silence the slanders of those advocates of corruption who have laboured to render the cause of Liberty odious and terrible to all good citizens, by confounding it with principles of anarchy, and by loading it with the obloquy of provoking civil commotion, and of endangering the destruction of a constitution, justly renowned for the freedom and happiness which it has so long bestowed. — You are pleased to say that "you look up to the Friends of the People as your leaders and directors in this great business." Authorized as we feel ourselves by this proffered guidance, and by that harmony of sentiment which, from the tenor of your letter, we must suppose to exist between you and ourselves, permit us to lay before you some ideas which are dictated by

zeal for our common cause. The cause of liberty can never be endangered by the assault of its enemies, but may sometimes be exposed by the indiscretion of its friends. Its principles are founded on impregnable reason, and its enemies are therefore too dexterous *directly* to attack them. It is not against the reasonings of the champions of corruption (for they have produced none) but it is against their craft and their misrepresentation, that we have found it necessary to defend ourselves by the wariness of our language and our conduct. A similar wariness, as far as the authority of our opinion can extend, we must counsel all societies associated on similar principles for the accomplishment of the same object, to observe. Accused as they are, in common with ourselves, of meditating one object and holding forth another; of seducing the people by a measure so specious and salutary as parliamentary reform, into other measures of desperate tendency and undefinable extent, we can only advise them to follow our example in honestly and solemnly declaring, that "they make the preservation of the constitution, on its true principles, the foundation of all their proceedings," and the measure of all their reform. Language thus explicit, will effectually combat misrepresentations, to which, perhaps, ardent indiscretion may have sometimes furnished pretexts. An early declaration of these opinions, which we sincerely believe you to entertain, will conciliate many to the cause of reform, who are now held in honest neutrality by their fears. The Friends of Order, after such a declaration, justified by consistent conduct, will be no longer driven to seek refuge from anarchy in the bosom of corruption.

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The interested supporters of the present abuses will thus be disarmed; for it is only by confounding reform with commotion, and corruption with the British constitution, that they are enabled to prolong and to defend their usurpations. All our language, as you will perceive from the proceedings which we transmit to you, has been cautious, because all our views are moderate. We are persuaded that you have a similar moderation of views, and we earnestly exhort you to a similar caution in language.

It is only indeed with Societies who express the same moderation of principles, and adopt the same wariness of language, that this Society can entertain any correspondence, or promise any co-operation. We have publicly disclaimed what we condemn, as well as avowed our real object; and on occasion unsought for by us, in conformity with this principle, we have been compelled to decline all intercourse with the Society for Constitutional Information in London; for though we neither wish to attack, nor pretend to dictate, we are certainly entitled to decline all intercourse with men whose views and principles appear to us irreconcilable with our own.

On the particular measure which you suggest for collecting the opinion of the people on the subject of reform, we do not feel ourselves yet prepared to decide. In a more advanced stage of the business, it may become very fit matter for deliberation.

Permit us, Sir, to conclude with congratulating you, and likewise our country, on the admirable principles which your letter contains, and on the intrepid moderation which it entitles us to expect from

you. You will deprive our enemies of every pretext for counterfeiting alarms which they do not feel, and of every opportunity to defeat our measures, by calumniating our intentions.

In the name, and by order of the Committee.

(Signed) C. GRAY, Chairman.

To Samuel Ashton, Esq. Secretary to the Society, &c. in Sheffield.

*Freemasons Tavern, Saturday,
June 9, 1792.*

At a General Meeting of the Society of The Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform, held this Day,

The following Letter, addressed to the Chairman of this Society, was read :

John Wharton, Esq. M. P. in the Chair.

" Sir, *Monday Noon, June 4, 1792.*

" AFTER the strong Declaration and Protest, which some of us thought it our duty to make, at the meeting on the 19th of May, and in which we all heartily concurred, we might perhaps have been justified in adopting that line of conduct which we now find ourselves bound to pursue, immediately on the appearance of the paper from the Society for Constitutional Information, on the 25th of that month, if we had not been anxious, in that moment of critical expectation, to check every symptom of disunion among ourselves, in the sanguine hope that at the meeting on Saturday last, the most decisive measures might have been taken to obviate the fatal effects of that publication.

" You, Sir, will recollect the weighty objections which were made

to Mr. Cooper's admission as a Member of the Association, the specific ground of those objections, and the declared resolution of some of us to renounce our connection with the Association on that very account: And, as we cannot distinguish between the appointment of that gentleman to correspond with the Jacobins at Paris, and the express avowal of a similar correspondence actually carried on under the hand and signature of Mr. Cartwright, we are at a loss to conceive upon what principle the one should have ceased to belong to the Association, which did not equally demand the exclusion of the other.

"No step of this sort appears to have been taken; retaining the same opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, agreeably to those principles which alone induced us to engage in the Association, and which we have repeatedly declared to the public, we feel what is due to our own consistency of conduct; and under this impression, we think it incumbent on us to withdraw our names from a Society, which, by continuing such connections, will, in our opinion, frustrate the attainment of those very objects for which alone the Association was instituted, and to which alone its attention ought to be directed.

"We have, Sir, the honour to be

"Your most obedient

"and humble servants,

(Signed) "JOHN RUSSELL,

"WILLIAM BAKER,

"J. C. CURWEN,

"DUDLEY NORTH,

"J. COURTENAY.

"To the Chairman of the Association for obtaining a Parliamentary Reform."

Resolved unanimously, That if it had occurred to any Member of this Association, that Major Cartwright ought to have been excluded on Saturday last, it would have been an act of public duty in such Member to have brought forward a motion for that purpose.

Resolved unanimously, That no one of the gentlemen who have assigned the continuance of Major Cartwright in the Society as their sole reason for quitting it, did attend at the general meeting on Saturday last.

Resolved unanimously, That it does not appear upon what reasonable ground the five gentlemen, who have now quitted the Association, could have entertained a "sanguine hope" that measures, which even they did not think fit to recommend, should have been proposed by others in their absence.

Resolved unanimously, That at the meeting of the 19th of May, the name of Mr. Cooper was voluntarily withdrawn by the gentleman who had originally proposed him; before any objection had been publicly made, or any thing whatever had been said in the Society upon the subject.

Resolved unanimously, That this Society have entered into no connections whatsoever, inconsistent with their declared principles; but, on the contrary, have publicly declined all intercourse with another Society, whose views and objects appeared to them irreconcilable with the real interests of the people, and the genuine principles of the constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That if this Society had in any instance contradicted, or departed from the declared principles and objects of their institution,

institution, or deviated from the mode which was originally adopted for obtaining them, individuals might then be justified in withdrawing from it.

Resolved unanimously, That no act, proceeding, or resolution of the Association, has been, or can be, pointed out, in which they have contradicted or departed from the declared principles and objects of their institution, or deviated from the mode which was originally adopted for obtaining them.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary be directed to expunge the name of Lord John Russell from the books of this Society.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary be directed to expunge the name of William Baker, Esq. from the books of this Society.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary be directed to expunge the name of John Christian Curwen, Esq. from the books of this Society.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary be directed to expunge the name of Dudley North, Esq. from the books of this Society.

Resolved unanimously, That the Secretary be directed to expunge the name of John Courtenay, Esq. from the books of this Society.

The names of those five gentlemen being expunged, agreeably to the resolutions of the Society,

Ordered, That the proceedings of the Society, on this day, be printed and published.

In name and by order of the Society.

(Signed)

JOHN WHARTON,
Chairman.

Proceedings of the Society of the Friends of the People, at Freemasons Tavern, Dec. 15.

FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

Freemasons Tavern, Dec. 15, 1792.

THE Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the purpose of obtaining a parliamentary reform, after a careful revision of all their declarations, resolutions, and proceedings since their institution, as well as the events which have taken place since their last meeting; and after an attentive consideration of the present state of public affairs,—the apparent disposition of the people at this time—the acknowledged conviction of all men, of all parties, of the necessity of a parliamentary reform; and with no other difference of opinion, but concerning the extent of the measure, or the time for proposing it; and finally, the situation in which this Society is placed by their own engagement, and by the expectations formed of their future conduct, have this day

Unanimously Resolved, That they hold themselves bound by every tie of honour and of duty to persevere in their endeavours to accomplish, through the known channels of the constitution, the object of their association; namely, an effectual reform in the construction of the House of Commons, until the object is obtained, or shall be found to be evidently unattainable by their efforts, or by any of those means in which they can participate. That considering the pains incessantly taken to traduce the character and principles of this Society, first, by endeavouring to confound the idea of a reform in parliament with that of disaffection to the

the established constitution of this kingdom, as if a real representation of the commons were incompatible with the security of a limited monarchy, as if the crown were not safe with an honest unbiassed House of Commons, or as if the idea of such reform had been at all times reprobated, as it now is, by those who occupy the highest station of profit and confidence under the crown; and then by uniting us in the same description and obloquy with persons whom they call republicans and levellers, and with whom, if such doctrines and persons exist, we have no connexion, we think it incumbent on us to declare once more, that we disclaim the views and principles so basely and falsely attributed to us; and that detesting, as we do, the corruption and baseness notoriously prevailing and increasing in every branch and department of government, our sole wish and object is to provide a constitutional instrument and power, by which they may be removed or corrected in a regular parliamentary way. That, calling, as we have done, for the support of the country in their own cause, and for the purposes which we have repeatedly declared, and soliciting the assistance of every man who approves of our design, and may be desirous to promote it, we at the same time most earnestly exhort and conjure the true friends of the cause of reform, to discourage, and resist to the utmost of their ability, every attempt to support it by any other means than those which the laws permit and the constitution warrants. Mistaken zeal is always at the mercy, and too often under the guidance, of real treachery. They who at-

test most to abhor sedition, are sometimes found at the bottom of it themselves; and instances are not wanting to prove, that, under the specious pretence of strengthening the hands of government, a design may be formed of destroying the liberty of the press, of calling in the military power, and finally annihilating the civil government of the country. That whereas we have received assurances from numerous and respectable associations, in different parts of this united kingdom, of their entire concurrence in our declared views and principles, of their confidence in our integrity and prudence, and of their determination to support us, we earnestly hope that those associations, as well as all others who are friends to the same cause, will confine themselves to the same distinct object that we do, and co-operate with us on the principles stated in this and our former declarations. In return, we promise them, that we will exert, and devote our faculties and our labours faithfully, honourably, and steadily, to the great cause of reform in which we are engaged and united with them.

In the name and by the order of the Society. (Signed)

SAMUEL WHITBREAD, Jun.,
Chairman.

*Proceedings of the Society of the Friends
to the Freedom of the Press:*

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

Freemasons Tavern, Dec. 22.

At a General Meeting of Friends
to the Freedom of the Press,
convened this Day by public
Advertisement,

Gerrard

Gerard Noel Edwards, Esq.
M. P. in the Chair,

Unanimously Resolved,

1. That the liberty of the press is a right inseparable from the principles of a free government, and essential to the security of the British constitution.

2. That this liberty consists in the free discussion and examination of the principles of civil government, and of all matters of public opinion.

3. That no writing ought to be considered as a public libel, and made the subject of criminal prosecution, unless such writing shall appear to be published with a design to excite the people to resist the civil magistrate, or obstruct the execution of the existing laws.

4. That such publications may become proper objects of prosecution; and that the executive government is entrusted with powers amply sufficient for that purpose.

5. That we have therefore seen, with uneasiness and alarm, the formation of certain societies, which, under the pretence of supporting the executive magistrate, and defending the government against sedition, have held out general terrors against the circulation of writings, which, without describing them, they term seditious, and entered into subscriptions for the maintenance of prosecutions against them: — a proceeding doubtful as to its legality, unconstitutional in its principle, oppressive in its operation, and destructive to the liberty of the press.

6. That such associations have appeared to us the more exceptionable from an attentive observation of their proceedings; — whilst mu-

tually binding and engaging themselves to enforce the execution of the laws against seditious libels, they have themselves produced and circulated publications containing doctrines long since exploded, and which, if admitted, would prove the Revolution to have been an act of rebellion, and the title of the reigning family to the throne of these kingdoms, to be founded in usurpation and injustice.

7. That a system of jealousy and arbitrary coercion of the people has been at all times dangerous to the stability of the English government.

8. That, anxious to preserve the public peace as connected with public liberty, this meeting considers it as an indispensable duty to warn their fellow-subjects against all proceedings which appear to be inconsistent with either, on whatever pretext they may be grounded; we are therefore determined to oppose, to the utmost of our power, every attempt to prejudice any part of the constitution, to maintain that which appears to be its best security, the freedom of the press; and to use our endeavours to counteract the effect of measures which seem calculated to suppress that liberal sentiment and manly freedom of discussion, which form the life and soul of the British constitution.

9. That the thanks of this meeting are particularly due to the Honourable Thomas Erskine, for his constitutional defence of the freedom of opinion and the liberty of the press, in a late trial: a defence in which he displayed ability, independence, zeal, and eloquence never surpassed on any former occasion at the English bar, though that defence was made under circumstances

circumstances of such peculiar difficulty and embarrassment as required his determined spirit and unshaken fortitude to overcome, and though he had to encounter every prejudice which art or industry could excite.

By order of the Meeting.

(Signed)

GERARD NOEL EDWARDS,
Chairman.

Association for preserving Liberty and Property against Republicans and Levellers.

November 20.

At a Meeting of Gentlemen at the Crown and Anchor Tavern,

John Reeves, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Considerations and Resolutions were entered into and agreed upon :

CONSIDERING the danger to which the public peace and order are exposed by the circulating of mischievous opinions, founded upon plausible but false reasoning ; and that this circulation is principally carried on by the industry of clubs and societies of various denominations in many parts of the kingdom, it appears to us, That it is now become the duty of all persons who wish well to their native country, to endeavour, in their several neighbourhoods, to prevent the sad effects of such mischievous industry ; and that it would greatly tend to promote these good endeavours, if Societies were formed in different parts of the kingdom, whose object should be to support the laws, to suppress seditious publications, and to defend our persons and property a-

gainst the innovations and depredations that seem to be threatened by those who maintain the mischievous opinions before alluded to. These opinions are conveyed in the terms of *The Rights of Man—Liberty and Equality—No King—No Parliament*—and others of the like import ; all of them, in the sense imposed on them, expressing sentiments in direct opposition to the laws of this land, and some of them such as are inconsistent with the well-being of society under any laws whatsoever. It appears to us, the tendency of these opinions is, that we are voluntarily to surrender every thing we now possess ; our religion and our laws, our civil government and civil society ; and that we are to trust to the formation of something new, upon the principles of equality, and under the auspices of speculative men, who have conceived ideas of perfection that never yet were known in the world ; and it appears that the missionaries of this sect are aiming at effecting the overthrow of the present system of government and society, by infusing into the minds of ignorant men causes of discontent adapted to their various stations ; some of which causes are wholly imaginary, and the rest are such as inseparably belong to civil life ; have existed, and ever will exist, under all forms of government ; cannot be removed by any change, and will be aggravated and multiplied a hundred fold by the change proposed.—It appears from history and observation, that the inequality of rank and fortune in this happy country, is more the result of every man's own exertions than of any controuling institution of the state. Men become

come great who have greatly distinguished themselves by the application of talents natural or acquired; and men become rich, who have persevered with industry in the application to trade and commerce, to manufactures, and other useful employments. How many persons now of great rank and fortune, who were born without either! How many rich merchants and traders who begun their career in the lowest employments of the shop and counting-house! In the progress to this advancement they have all, in their stations, contributed their share toward the show of opulence, both public and private; which is to be seen in every part of this island. It is by the effects of this industry that the gentleman is enabled to support his rank and station; and the merchant and tradesman to employ his clerks, journeymen, and apprentices. Hence comes the price of the farmer's corn, and the wages of servants of every description. By this happy inequality, and dependence of one man on another, employment is found for all, in their several vocations to which they have been called by design or accident. This inequality and dependence is so infinitely diversified in this country, that there is no place upon earth where there are so many ways in which a man by his talents and industry may raise himself above his equals. This has hitherto been thought a pre-eminent happiness that was peculiar to ourselves, and ought to be cherished: it has been ascribed to the protecting influence which property has always enjoyed under equal laws; and it has increased of late years in a wonderful degree, by the prosperity which was caused,

and can only be continued by the same influence. We are, upon the fullest deliberation, of opinion, that proposing to pull down this goodly fabric, which has been gradually reared by the successive virtue and industry of all the great and good men who have lived in this island for centuries; and to submit to begin afresh upon a new system of Equality, as it is called, seems a proposition that can be suggested only by the most undisguised wickedness, and entertained by the grossest folly. Because, if so wild a plan was to be carried into execution, and all men were made equal, they would from that moment begin to struggle who should first rise above his equals; and it is beyond all question (if there was any industry, or any virtue; if there was peace and public prosperity; if there was private happiness and public virtue in such new-formed society) there would gradually arise an inequality of rank and fortune. We foresee, from recent experiment, in a neighbouring country, that in the operation of bringing to pass such a transition, the lives and properties of all persons in this island would be exposed to the arbitrary disposal of self-opinionated philosophers and a wild and needy mob, deluded and instigated by them; that with the introduction of equality in rank and fortune, an expectation would be raised in the lower orders, which must first be gratified with plunder, and afterwards would sink into a state of disappointment and abject poverty. When all were equalized, there would no longer be a superfluity to pay the hire of servants; or purchase the productions of art or manufacture; no commerce, no credit; no resource for the active
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but in robbery, and in all those public disorders which make life miserable. Thus would the present generation be certainly ruined; that which is to follow could not propose to itself a remedy, but in pursuing the same arts of peace which had been so capriciously abandoned; and the more they prospered in that pursuit, the more they would contribute to reproduce the inequality which had been before condemned and exploded.—Where then are the blessings of this reform, and to what purpose is misery to be brought on the present generation? It is with grief we see, in a neighbouring country, that the carrying into practice this wild doctrine of Equality and the Rights of Man, has already produced these evils, and others ten thousand times greater. It is not yet publicly known, nor can it enter into the gentle heart of a Briton to conceive, the number of atrocious crimes against God and man that have been committed in support of these opinions. Murders and assassinations have been deliberately planned, and justified by some of these pretended philosophers, as the means to attain their ends of reform. With all their pretences and promises, they have proceeded to violate every right, civil and natural, that should have been observed towards their equals;—the people, who have only changed their masters, groan under new tyrannies of which they never heard or dreamed; and are subjected to the chastisement of one desperate leader after another. The excesses of these ruffian demagogues have no bounds; they have already surpassed the wildest phrenzies of fanaticism,

superstition, and enthusiasm; plundering and murdering at home, and propagating their opinions by the sword in foreign countries;—imposture, fallacy, falsehood, and bloodshed!—their philosophy is the idle talk of school-boys; and their actions are the savage ferociousness of wild beasts. Such are the new lights and the false philosophy of our pretended reformers; and such the effects they have produced where alone they have unfortunately been tried. But, however these poor pretences may have imposed on the understandings of men, in a neighbouring country, bred in ignorance, oppression, and poverty, they can have no influence on the good sense and gravity of Britons, who have been used to the enjoyment of true liberty, and every day feel the blessings of abundance derived from a productive industry, protected by equal laws, and a free government. It is well known that those who are virtuous and honest have many more means of acquiring ease and comfort, wealth and distinction, and in a superior degree in this country than in any other;—it is well known that we already possess, and have long possessed, really and truly that which the pretended reformers would persuade ignorant people they alone can bestow. It has been the pride of Britons to boast of their liberty and property; and although these visionary reformers have chosen to substitute the notion of equality in the place of the latter, it is trusted there are enough who know too well the value of their property, acquired under the influence of true liberty, to surrender it in exchange for an empty name. It is well known,
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and we feel it daily, that we have as much of these pretended new inventions as is necessary and convenient for a well-ordered society. Every one has all the Rights of Man that leave him at liberty to do good to himself and his neighbour, and (what is worth considering) to protect his person and property against open or secret plunderers. He has as much of equality as one man can possess, without diminishing the equality of his neighbour. We are told by our religion (for we have a religion) "that we are to do unto all men as we would that men should do unto us;" and this is realized to us by the firm administration of the law; which suffers no injury to go without a remedy, and affords a remedy equally to the proudest and the poorest.—Such are the Rights of Man; such the liberty and equality which we have long enjoyed. Under these we have lived and prospered, both in public and private, beyond the example of any country; and to maintain them as they are, unimpaired by the fancies of pedant-politicians, or the rude hands of ruffian-leveliers, every true Briton ought to shed his blood. Impressed with these sentiments in favour of our happy establishment, and alarmed by the mischievous endeavours that are now using by wicked men to mislead the uninformed, and to spirit up the discontented by furnishing them with plausible topics, tending to the subversion of the state, and incompatible with all government whatsoever, — we do, as private men, unconnected with any party or description of persons at home, taking no concern in the struggles at this moment making

abroad, but most seriously anxious to preserve the true liberty, and unexampled prosperity we happily enjoy in this kingdom, think it expedient and necessary to form ourselves into an Association for the purpose of discouraging, in every way that lies in our power, the progress of such nefarious designs as are meditated by the wicked and senseless reformers of the present time; and we do hereby resolve and declare as follows:

1st. That the persons present at this meeting do become a Society for discouraging and suppressing seditious publications, tending to disturb the peace of this kingdom, and for supporting a due execution of the laws made for the protection of persons and property.

2d. That this Society do use its best endeavours occasionally to explain these topics of public discussion which have been so perverted by evil-designing men, and to shew, by irrefragable proof, that they are not applicable to the state of this country; that they can produce no good, and certainly must produce great evil.

3d. That this Society will receive with great thanks all communications that shall be made to it for the above purposes.

4th. That it be recommended to all those who are friends to the established law, and to peaceable society, to form themselves, in their different neighbourhoods, into similar societies for promoting the same laudable purposes.

5th. That this society do meet at this place, or elsewhere, every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday.

6th. That these considerations and resolutions be printed in all the public papers, and otherwise

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circulated into all parts of the kingdom.

By order of the Society.

J. MOORE, Secretary.

N. B. All letters and communications are requested to be addressed to the Secretary at this place.

Proceedings at a Meeting of the Ward of Cripplegate Without, Dec. 12.

At a meeting of the deputy common-councilmen, ministers, churchwardens, and other inhabitants of the said ward, held in the parish-church of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, London, on Wednesday, the 12th day of December, 1792,

Mr. Deputy William Staines, in the Chair :

IN consequence of the present state of public affairs, we conceive it the duty of every good citizen to stand forth and endeavour to prevent, as much as possible, whatever machinations may be designed or contrived by ill-disposed or disaffected persons, to the prejudice of our mild and equitable government.

Resolved therefore, That the British constitution, as established at the glorious Revolution of 1688, appears to us better calculated than any other existing form of government to secure the liberty, the property, and happiness of the community.

Resolved, That we conceive there is sufficient energy in the constitution of this country to produce a reform of all abuses in government, in a legal and peaceful manner, whenever it shall appear that the majority of the representatives

of the nation are clearly and decidedly agreed as to the existence of such abuses.

Resolved, That enjoying as we do the blessings of peace, accompanied with an unexampled extension of commerce, and with the cheerful prospect of the gradual alleviation of the public burthens (from the disposition shewn by government in the last session of parliament) all attempts to disturb the tranquillity of the nation are unconstitutional and impolitic, and ought to be resisted by every virtuous citizen.

Resolved, That impressed with these sentiments, and actuated by a sincere and loyal affection to our present most gracious Sovereign, and the illustrious house of Hanover, the inhabitants of this ward will cheerfully co-operate with the civil magistrates in the suppression of all seditious or tumultuous proceedings, and in the support of our happy constitution, and the defence of his Majesty's person and government.

Resolved, That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and published in all the morning papers, and that they be also entered by the ward-clerk in proper books, and left in the quest-house this afternoon till four o'clock, and again to-morrow, and every morning this week, from the hours of ten to twelve, that every inhabitant may have an opportunity of signifying his approbation; and that the deputy, with the common councilmen of this ward, the ministers, church-wardens, overseers of the poor, and sixteen other inhabitants, to be nominated by this meeting, be appointed a committee for carrying these resolutions into effect,

fect, and that any three or more of them be empowered to act.

Resolved, That the following sixteen gentlemen be the other members of the committee, viz.

The Reverend Mr. Thomas Towle,
Mr. Jeremiah Morrell,
Mr. Andrew Wright,
Mr. John Jackson,
Mr. J. B. Cole,
M. J. Budgen,
Mr. Joseph Jackson,
Mr. Thomas Wright,
M. J. Poultney,
Mr. Thomas Cole,
Mr. Joseph Hale,
Mr. J. Banner,
Mr. William Freer,
Mr. J. Wanless,
Mr. John Dubois,
Mr. Edward Peppin.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to the deputy and common councilmen, for their zeal and attention to the duties of their office, in calling this meeting.

Signed by order of the meeting.

WILLIAM STAINES, Chairman.

[There were likewise meetings of all the other wards in the city.]

Resolutions agreed to at a Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parish of St. George, Hanover-Square, Dec. 18.

*Parish of Saint George,
Hanover Square.*

At a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of this Parish, holden, by public Advertisment, at the Festino-rooms in Hanover-square on Tuesday the 18th day of December, 1792,

The Rev. Dr. H. F. Curtney,
Rector, in the Chair.

Resolved, **T**HAT although, from accidental circum-

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stances, we are now late in assembling ourselves on this occasion; yet we desire to be understood as not yielding to any of our fellow-citizens in a firm attachment to our excellent constitution, and a just sense of the blessings we enjoy under it.

That as we hold ourselves bound in duty and gratitude, at all times, to assist in endeavouring to support and maintain that constitution, so we now think ourselves more especially called upon by the peculiar and critical situation of the times, to declare that we will, all and each of us in our respective stations, collectively and individually, contribute every assistance in our power to the due execution of the laws, the maintenance of civil order and government, and the immediate suppression of all riots and tumults, under what pretence soever they may be excited; to discountenance all illegal meetings, and all seditious and inflammatory writings, calculated to mislead and seduce the people from their allegiance, and render them blind to their true interest.

That these resolutions be entered in a book to be provided for that purpose, and to be left at the board-room in Mount-street, to receive the signatures of such inhabitants as shall approve thereof.

That a distinct book be kept for the subscription of such sums of money as different persons may choose to advance, toward the expences of carrying the purposes of this meeting into execution; it not being at all expected that those who sign the resolutions should thereby pledge themselves to advance any money, but be left entirely to their option in that respect. And it is requested that no person would sub-

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subscribe more than two guineas, nor less than two shillings and sixpence.

That, for the better carrying into execution the above purposes, a committee be formed, consisting of the rector, churchwardens, sidersmen, and overseers for the time being, together with any number of other persons not exceeding fifty, who shall meet from time to time, to take such measures as shall be judged necessary. That any nine of the said committee be a quorum empowered to act.

Resolved, That the unanimous thanks of this meeting be given to the Reverend Dr. Courteney, for the zeal and candour which he has exhibited on the present occasion, by proposing resolutions which appear to be so perfectly well-calculated for procuring the peace and security of the inhabitants of the parish of St. George, Hanover-Square.

By order of the meeting.

H. COURTENEY, Chairman.

[All the parishes in the metropolis, as well as in the vicinity, and almost all parts of the kingdom, held similar meetings.]

Resolves of the Convention of Burgeses relative to the Scottish Royal Burghs in Convention, Edinburgh, July 26.

Mr. Grahame, of Gartmore, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, **T**HAT the convention of burgeses, met for the purpose of obtaining from the wisdom and justice of the British legislature a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs of

Scotland, think it their duty at this time, to declare that they entertain the most loyal attachment to their most gracious Sovereign and his illustrious family, the deepest sense of the superior excellence of the British constitution, and the most firm and inflexible determination to maintain for ever the principles on which it is established, and to defend it from every innovation by which it may, in the slightest degree, be hurt or injured.— That in planning and promoting a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs of Scotland, the burgeses consider themselves as having acted in strict conformity to the principles they have thus avowed. Every system of political government, supreme or subordinate, is liable to decay and abuse, and can only be effectually preserved by a wise and temperate correction of those defects which time, corruption, or improper deviations from original principles, have introduced. The constitution has wisely placed the power of remedying these evils in the hands of the legislature, and the burgeses consider those as the best friends of the constitution, who, in a temperate and respectful manner, lay before parliament the abuses which prevail in the department to which they belong, and humbly suggest the constitutional means that occur to them, as the most likely to remedy the existing grievances, to restore such part of our happy constitution to its original purity and vigour, and to prevent the destructive consequences that must infallibly result from the corruption or failure even of the smallest member of the great machine of govern-

government. That although, from the misrepresentations of the enemies of reform, the applications already made to parliament have not met with the success that was expected, yet the burghesses of Scotland are fully persuaded, that when the nature of the grievances of which they complain shall be completely and fully understood, the wisdom and justice of the parliament of Great Britain will not hesitate to afford them redress.

Therefore, resolved unanimously, To pursue, with inflexible perseverance, the most legal and constitutional measures for regulating the internal government of the boroughs, by destroying the present pernicious systems, and never to abandon these salutary measures originating in constitutional right, prompted by the deepest sense of abuse, and directed to objects of the highest public advantage to the national spirit, industry, and prosperity of Scotland. — While, from the great political events of the present times, the public mind appears to be agitated, and even withheld, by a fear of consequences, from expressing their sense of known existing abuses, the burghesses of Scotland feel the greatest satisfaction in reflecting, that the object at which they aim, in correcting the abuses in the internal administration of the royal boroughs, by restoring their ancient governments, has not the remotest tendency to alter or infringe in any respect the political constitution of their country, which they hold in the highest veneration, and are determined to support, convinced that its errors and defects admit of an easy remedy in the most perfect consistency with its fundamenta

principles, which, by the security it affords to private property, and the protection it extends to personal liberty, and to every essential right of the subject, appears to be in the highest degree calculated to preserve the public tranquillity, and, at the same time, to promote the prosperity and happiness of the people, — the ultimate end of all government.

ROBERT GRAHAM, President.
John Ewen, Secretary.

*Scots Borough Reform, in Convention,
Edinburgh, July 29, 1792.*

Mr. Graham, of Gartmore, in the Chair.

THE Convention having read, and deliberately considered the bill prepared and brought into the House of Commons by the Right Honourable the Lord Advocate, “for better regulating the mode of accounting for the common good, and revenues of the royal boroughs,”

Resolved unanimously, First, That without destroying the self-elections of the town-councils, it is utterly impossible ever to establish an effectual method for bringing the magistrates to an account in a proper manner.

Secondly, That even although this object were attainable without the destruction of the self-election, yet the bill proposed by the Lord Advocate is not only totally inadequate to its professed purpose, of better regulating the mode of accounting for the common good of boroughs, but is in effect, though certainly not in the intention of its honourable author, a deception on the burghesses and the legislature, holding out in appearance a complete

plete remedy for the abuses in the administration of the revenues of the burghs, when in reality the enactments of the bill, if passed as it now stands, omitting many necessary limitations on the power and management of magistrates; and containing, among many exceptionable regulations, a provision that the auditors of the accounts of magistrates self-elected shall be nominated by the magistrates themselves; would tend to rivet, if not even to extend the abuses which it professes to correct.

Thirdly, That the Committee of Convention and the Committee of Reform at London, be specially instructed to authorise Mr. Sheridan to communicate these resolutions to the Honourable House of Commons, as containing the fixed and decided sentiments of the burghs of Scotland, associated to obtain a reform in the internal government of the royal burghs in that part of the united kingdom.

Mr. Melis, of Perth, moved a resolution in addition to those reported by the committee, which was seconded by Mr. Bisset of Dundee; and after being considered by the convention, was adopted, with some variations, and is as follows:

Resolved, That this convention cannot, however, omit to express their satisfaction, that this delusive and efficient plan of reform has been submitted to the consideration of parliament, as it must necessarily destroy that unaccountable confidence which parliament has been inclined to repose in the assertions of their enemies. For seven years the opposers of reform uniformly persisted in declaring, that no abuses whatever existed; and even in the course of last session, of parliament, they

boldly averred that the only grievance was the want of a jurisdiction of accounts; while the very gentlemen who first had the candour to make this admission, did in the course of a few weeks, bring in, or send his name to the bringing in of the present bill, which not only provides for a jurisdiction of accounts, but contains regulations for distinguishing the cess from the other taxes for making the cess-rolls accessible to the burghs, for regulating the mode of alienating the property of the burghs, and restraining the powers of the magistracy in that respect; thereby virtually admitting that the taxes were not distinguished, nor access given to the rolls; so that the burghs are at present liable to the illegal exaction of taxes, without the possibility of ascertaining the extent of the illegal exaction, or any means of procuring redress; and that there were instances of misconduct and dilapidation on the part of magistrates, which required to be regulated; all of which particulars had been formerly denied; and therefore, after these recent instances, that parliament has been grossly deceived by the misrepresentations of the enemies of reform, the burghs confidently trust, that when the subject shall be again brought forward, parliament will no longer refuse to hear the complaints of ten thousand respectable citizens, or the evidence they offer of enormous abuses, although any one or all of the officers of the crown, or any individual or individuals, however respectable, should be again pleased to deny the existence of any grievance or abuse, or, as formerly, to argue that the grievances alleged are so atrocious as to surpass all belief.

lief, and, on that ground, to justify the representatives of the people in refusing to admit evidence of their truth and reality.

ROBERT GRAHAME, President.
John Ewen, Secretary.

*Subscription towards the Succour of the
People of Poland.*

Mansion-House, 10th of August, 1792,
Committee of Trustees for managing the proposed Subscription towards the Succour of the People of Poland, viz.

The Right Hon. J. Hopkins, Lord Mayor of London, Chairman.

J. W. Anderson, Esq. and Harvey C. Coombe, Esq. Aldermen and Sheriffs of London and Middlesex,

William Smith, M. P. Clapham, Surry, &c. &c.

THE committee enter on the duties entrusted to them with the cheerful confidence of success. Englishmen estimate truly the value of the object for which the king and people of Poland so ardently, so gloriously contend. Every sympathetic emotion was gratified by the principles and the conduct of their revolution. "The means were as striking to the imagination as satisfactory to the reason, and soothing to the moral sentiments. In contemplating that change, inhumanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. It was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity, and a secrecy, never before known on any occasion."—Such is the description given by a distinguished writer before this system of order, and strength, and peace, provoked the hostility of

foreign powers. The mind cannot conceive an attack upon any sovereign people more outrageous to the rights of nations, more repugnant to justice. Every nation upon earth is interested in the fate of the Polish people; but the hearts of Englishmen swell with indignation. They recall the long continuance of their own struggle for their own constitution, and wish the people of Poland to accomplish the happiness which they finally obtained, without the calamities that led to it. To participate in their cause is an English sentiment; for freedom is in its nature social and beneficent. It has no motive to be selfish; for its own strength is increased by extending to others the blessings it enjoys. With what rapturous sensations then must not Britons concur with the efforts made by a virtuous King at the head of a gallant people, to deliver them from a foreign yoke, and to plant liberty and the arts in the room of slavery and barbarism! It is for government to take measures for the empire; but, without trenching on its functions, individuals may bear testimony to distressed merit, may assist it by their purses, and may discountenance its persecution by the weight of their names. It is not every day that private men can do good to nations, or have the satisfaction, when doing it, of thinking that it must indirectly contribute to the safety of their own country—Such an occasion now presents itself to the becoming pride, the patriotism, the benevolence of Englishmen; and let no man be deterred by an idea that succour will come too late to be effectual.—Ten millions of man united in the cause of their native



home, of their independence, of their posterity,—with such heroism as the Poles in all their former and present adversity have uniformly displayed—with such a king to animate, and such a constitution to reward their toils—with an oath of fidelity upon their consciences, and with the world for spectators, are not to be vanquished in a short campaign!—Their open country may be over-run, but “the unconquerable will” must remain in all its vigour, and which the faintest glimpse of freedom will rally to its standard. Already the report of the spirit stirring in England may have reached their ears; already perhaps, they are soothing the languor of protracted hope, by anticipating the energy of our efforts; and with a gratitude that outruns the service, are putting forth their thanks to the Deity, who has inspired the first people, that in his eternal goodness he made free, to dedicate a part of its opulence (the fruits of that freedom) to their succour!—Already the re-invigorated mind of Poland may have communicated new force to its arm; and the humane, the considerate, the suffering Stanislaus, may have already exclaimed, with an emotion that only such patriotism can feel,—“My expectations are not deceived;—the nation that I venerate will save the people whom I love!”

Polish Subscription.

At a General Meeting of the Subscribers towards a Fund for the Succour of the People of Poland, held at the Mansion-House of London, on Thursday the 27th of September,

The Right Hon. John Hopkins,
Lord Mayor, in the Chair,

It was resolved unanimously, To publish the following Declaration of the Sentiments of this Meeting, the Event of the Fall of Poland under a Foreign Yoke:

DECLARATION.

WE had the hopes of being able to contribute, in some degree, to the assistance of the people of Poland. These hopes have been defeated by the successful operations of a superior force, which the Polish nation, exerting their utmost unassisted efforts in defence of their country, had no power to resist.—Our only duty now is to declare our opinion of these transactions.—The only consolation left us is to reflect, that we have done every thing that depended on individuals to rescue the character of the British nation from the scandal and dishonour of affecting a base neutrality, or of looking on with indifference, while the independence of a great kingdom, and the freedom of a considerable portion of mankind, were sacrificed to lawless violence, and crushed under the dominion of a foreign tyranny. The fact is atrocious; but the precedent is alarming. In the ruin of one helpless inoffensive nation, the other states of Europe, and this country in particular, ought to see an example, and a warning of the principles and practice of ambition, which they may experience in their turn. We cannot be persuaded that the rapid progress and approach of military power; that the apparent resolution of a great confederacy to divide the continent of Europe among them, are objects and events in which this nation has no concern.

cern. Is it a thing to be believed, that the king of Poland would have been deserted, as he has been, by the natural enemies and rivals of Russia, if this conquest had not made part of a more extensive system, concerted among them, of which Poland is only the first victim, and which is to furnish the means of equal aggrandizement to the other contracting parties? We may rely on our internal strength, or we may confide in our situation. But what solid security have we that this powerful confederacy may not be able to create, or collect, a maritime force, sufficient to contend with the navy of Great Britain? If that should ever happen, a single event might lay this island open to the same armies of disciplined barbarians, to which the rest of Europe may have been compelled to submit. When the force is sufficient, the pretences never fail. In the case of Poland there was none. All we have heard is, that it did not suit the views of Russia that a limited monarchy, an hereditary crown, or a reasonable constitution of any kind, should exist in that country;—that the mass of the people should have a law to appeal to, or a government to protect them.—We submit these reflections to the wisdom and generosity of the nation, with a thorough conviction that, on this subject, their wisdom and their generosity will lead them to the same conclusion.—We have no doubt of the success of our former addresses to the public, and that a sum would have been collected, which it would have been honourable in us to offer, and to the Polish nation to have accepted. But the object is gone. We have therefore determined that the seve-

ral sums subscribed shall be returned to the subscribers, deducting a small per centage to defray the expences incurred.

Standing Orders of the House of Commons, of the 7th Day of June, 1792, with respect to Navigable Canals, Aqueducts, and the Navigation of Rivers.

Resolved,

THAT the standing orders of the House, of the 28th of January 1771, the 25th of April 1774, the 15th of November 1775, and the 20th of July 1789, respecting Navigation Bills, be repealed.

Resolved, That, when any application is intended to be made to the House, for leave to bring in a bill for making any cut or canal, for the purposes of navigation, or any cut, canal, or aqueduct, for the purpose of supplying any city, town, or place, with water, or for varying or altering any such cut, canal, or aqueduct already made, or for making or improving the navigation of any river, or for altering any act of parliament passed for any or either of those purposes (in which bill for altering any such act it is intended to give power for raising any farther or additional rates, tolls, or duties) notice of such intended application shall be inserted three times in the London Gazette, in the months of August and September, or either of them, previous to the session of parliament in which such application is intended to be made; and that such notice shall also be inserted in some one newspaper of every county through which any such cut, canal, or aqueduct, is intended to be carried, or in which such cut, canal,

canal, or aqueduct, already made, is intended to be varied or altered, or in which such river, or such part thereof as is intended to be made navigable, or the navigation thereof to be improved, is situated (or, if there is not any newspaper printed in or for such counties respectively, then in the newspaper of some county near or adjoining thereto) three times at the least, in the months of August and September, or either of them, immediately preceding the session of parliament in which such application is intended to be made: and that such notice shall also be given at the general quarter session of the peace which shall be holden for every and each county, riding, or division, through which any such cut, canal, or aqueduct, is intended to be carried, or in which such cut, canal, or aqueduct, already made, is intended to be varied or altered, or in which such river, or such part thereof as is intended to be made navigable, or the navigation thereof to be improved, is situated, at the Michaelmas preceding the session of parliament in which such application is intended to be made, by affixing such notice to the door of the session houses respectively where such general quarter sessions shall be holden.

Resolved, That such several notices shall contain the names of the parishes and townships in, to, or through which any such cut, canal, or aqueduct, is intended to be carried, varied, or altered, or in which such river, or such part thereof as is intended to be made navigable, or the navigation thereof to be improved, is situated.

Resolved, That a map or plan of such intended cut, canal, aqueduct,

or navigation, and also of any intended alteration in any cut, canal, aqueduct, or navigation, already made, shall be deposited, for public inspection, at the office of the Clerk of the Peace of every county, riding, or division, through which such cut, canal, aqueduct, or navigation, is intended to be carried, or such alteration is intended to be made, on or before the eleventh day of November, previous to the session of parliament in which such application is intended to be made; which map or plan shall describe the line of such intended cut, canal, aqueduct, or navigation, or of such intended alteration, and the lands through which the same is intended to be carried, together with a book of reference containing a list of the names of the owners, or reputed owners, and occupiers of such lands respectively.

Resolved, That, before any application is made to the House for any or either of the purposes aforesaid, a previous application shall be made to the owners, or reputed owners, and occupiers of the lands through which any such cut, canal, aqueduct, or navigation, is intended to be carried, or any such alteration is intended to be made; and that separate lists shall be made of the names of such owners and occupiers, distinguishing which of them; upon such application, have assented to, or dissented from, such intended cut, canal, aqueduct, or navigation, or such alteration, or are neuter in respect thereto.

Resolved, That, whenever any petition is presented to the House for any or either of the purposes aforesaid, there shall be presented, with such petition, the lists mentioned in the last preceding resolution, and also

also a duplicate of the map or plan so to be deposited at the office of the Clerk of the Peace, as aforesaid.

Resolved, That, whenever any petition is presented to the House for making, varying, or altering, any such cut, canal, or aqueduct, as aforesaid, or making or improving the navigation of a river, there be annexed to the said petition an estimate of the proposed expence of such undertaking (in cases where provision is intended to be made for raising money to defray such expence) such estimate to be signed by the person or persons making the same: And, if such money is proposed to be raised by subscription, that there be also annexed to the said petition, an account of the money subscribed for that purpose, and the names of the subscribers, with the sums by them subscribed respectively.

Resolved, That, whenever any petition has been presented to the House for the purposes aforesaid, or any or either of them, the committee to whom such petition shall be referred, do examine, in the first place, how far the orders contained in the preceding resolutions have been complied with, and do report the same at the time when they report the matter of any such petition, as it shall appear to them, to the House.

Resolved, That the Clerks of the Peace, or their respective deputies, do make a memorial, in writing,

upon the plan and book of reference deposited with them in manner aforesaid, denoting the time at which the same was lodged in their respective offices; and do, at all seasonable hours of the day, permit any person to view and examine the same, and to make copies or extracts therefrom, such persons paying for the same the usual and accustomed fees paid to such Clerks of the Peace, for the inspection and copying of, or making extracts from, records in their respective offices.

Resolved, That, in all bills presented to the House for any or either of the purposes aforesaid, provision be made for compelling the persons who have subscribed towards carrying any such work into execution, to make payment of the sums severally subscribed by them; and also to oblige the commissioners or trustees to take sufficient security from their treasurer, receiver, or collector, for the faithful execution of his office.

Ordered, That the last nine of the said resolutions be made standing orders of this House.

Ordered, That the said several resolutions be printed; and that copies thereof be sent to the sheriffs of the several counties of Great Britain, and also to the Clerks of the Peace within England and Wales; and that the said Sheriffs do take care that copies of the same be published and distributed within their respective counties.

J. HATSELL,
Cl. Dom. Com.

State of Ireland in 1748 and 1792, compared.

	1748.						1792.							
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.		
Land about Cork, Eng- lish Acre, from	0	12	0	to	1	2	0	2	0	0	to	6	0	0
About Dublin, Irish Acre	2	0	0	—	4	0	0	5	0	0	—	12	0	0
Wool per Stone	0	6	0	—	0	8	0	0	16	0	—	0	17	0
Sheep from	0	4	0	—	0	14	0	0	12	0	—	2	0	0
Oxen fat	4	0	0	—	6	0	0	8	0	0	—	16	0	0
Milch-cows	1	15	0	—	2	5	6	5	0	0	—	10	0	0

Corn was occasionally very low and very high; but so unequal was the country to feed itself, that Dublin alone paid to foreign parts for wheat and flour, above 100,000*l.* annually. — There is not only now an ample supply, but Ireland has upon an average exported latterly 300,000 barrels of wheat, and 500,000 barrels of oats.

*An Account of the Number of Vessels, their Tonnage and Men,
belonging to England, 1792.*

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
A BERYSTWICH	104	3,833	379
Aldborough	20	1,141	91
Arundel	32	2,288	134
Barnstaple	80	6,773	394
Beaumaris	332	13,522	1,056
Berwick	42	2,842	213
Bideford	57	3,756	243
Blackney, &c.	25	2,481	130
Boston	80	4,184	277
Bridgewater	32	1,800	125
Bridlington	38	4,973	274
Bristol	307	43,851	3,670
Cardiff	22	874	26
Cardigan	241	6,591	704
Carlisle	15	615	45
Chepstow	34	2,836	210
Chester	32	2,373	150
Chichester	86	4,801	316
Colchester	149	3,951	434
Cowes	120	2,542	317
Dartmouth	284	16,146	1,929
Deal	3	87	14
Dover	135	6,527	834
Exeter	157	13,444	1,049
Falmouth	48	5,004	505
Carried forward	2,475	157,235	13,519

Brought

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	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Brought forward	2,475	157,235	13,519
Faversham	318	6,364	724
Fowey	52	2,374	214
Gloucester	44	1,660	113
Gweek	10	340	28
Harwich	136	6,533	832
Hull	467	58,039	3,645
Ilfracombe	59	2,732	242
Ipswich	88	4,403	298
Lancaster	106	10,650	895
Llanelly	51	2,139	135
Looe	12	594	52
Lyme	26	1,304	102
Lynn Regis	145	16,777	992
Malden	167	4,913	482
Milford	103	4,077	348
Minehead	29	1,248	95
Newcastle	551	121,174	6,123
Newhaven	18	1,379	90
Padstow	28	1,146	92
Penryn	10	421	45
Penzance	33	2,143	163
Plymouth	114	6,442	501
Poole	217	19,234	1,415
Portsmouth	120	4,215	340
Poulton and Preston	31	1,665	77
Rocheſter	200	7,386	652
Rye	87	3,340	415
St. Ives	34	1,731	147
Sandwich	89	5,020	399
Scarborough	175	25,849	1,452
Shoreham	30	1,418	129
Southampton	196	9,167	673
Southwold	21	1,441	104
Stockton	56	5,575	368
Sunderland	393	57,552	3,020
Swansea	116	6,304	388
Truro	10	667	43
Wells	51	3,263	250
Weymouth	115	6,102	510
Whitby	262	50,790	2,825
Whitehaven	470	56,022	3,494
Wisbeach	35	1,856	112
Woodbridge	22	1,510	87
Yarmouth	403	35,797	2,756
Scilly	14	267	31
Liverpool	584	92,098	8,076
London	1,861	374,223	30,255
Total	10,633	1,186,611	87,718

Account.

Account of the Goods, Wares, and Merchandize, imported into Great Britain, from all Parts of the World, from the 5th of January 1792, to the 5th of January 1793.

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duties.
A RRANGOES	No. 1,077,080	L. 1,645	L. 284
Artificial flowers	-	2,283	627
Adhes, pearl	61,806 cwt.	84,714	1,012
pet	67,068	88,625	1,257
other	-	3,738	270
Barilla	107,359	59,487	28,131
Bark of oak	191,830	37,531	687
Beads, coral	3,656 lb.	822	807
mother of pearl	1,126	1,126	-
Beer, spruce	1,812 barrels	4,106	1,090
Books, bound	1,359 cwt.	10,924	1,307
unbound	1,274	10,359	565
Bottles, glass	23,680 dozen	2,834	1,830
Boxes, pill	7,638 gross	1,951	524
Brimstone	51,048 cwt.	26,111	17,004
Bristles, undressed	90,957	20,465	6,253
Bugle, great	256,768 lb.	9,628	1,689
Cabinet ware	-	2,763	284
Canes, walking	57,774	288	504
Capers	98,573 lb.	1,112	738
Carpets	1,026	2,490	945
Cattle, cows, and oxen	23,644	70,483	-
horses	4,179	45,562	1,469
swine	6,881	3,440	-
Chine ware	-	15,067	24,361
Clocks	-	4,798	1,317
Cloth, woollen	-	9,979	1,197
Colours, painters	42,065 lb.	1,051	350
Copper ore	10,914 cwt.	1,364	409
unwrought	4,678	18,719	2,456
Cordage	2,565	2,378	1,087
Cork	32,242	28,714	5,910
Corn, barley	118,526 quarters	96,155	5,417
beans	38,451	26,910	3,973
Indian	-	2,838	259
oatmeal	92,109 bolls	33,318	3,855
oats	934,907 quarters	560,943	13,103
pease	4,801	5,041	121
rye	13,026	18,237	570
wheat	20,201	31,650	740
flour	7,756	2,316	60
Cottons	-	3,964	938
Cowries	1,258 cwt.	2,881	4,223
Cyder	228	1,489	1
			Drugs,

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duties.
Drugs, almonds, bitter	No. 210	L. 351	L. 147
aloes, epatica	20,462	298	349
succotrina	13,055 lb.	163	755
allum, roche	438	186	20
antimon. crud.	1,212	610	284
arsenic	898	1,863	232
asafetida	11,400	1,140	30
balsam, artificial	2,936	1,104	220
balf. capivi	5,670	696	208
natural	4,822	3,080	361
benjamin	38,823	870	304
borax, refined	13,253	3,973	441
unrefined	23,846	4,473	2
buds of Caffia	45,986	2,011	537
cambogium	5,235	109	92
camphire, unrefined	1		
cantharides	7,859	1,178	392
cardamons	20,995 lb.	1,049	
caffia lignea	54,967	4,122	1,520
castoreum	5,365	1,877	536
cinabrium	11,006	2,474	282
coculus, India	5,510	689	114
coloquintida	4,885	977	122
cortex Peru	175,788	21,973	6,592
cream of tartar	5,520 cwt.	13,800	1,288
elebrous	15,124 lb.	504	94
essence of lemons	10,122	3,374	1,012
ginseng	15,095	1,509	503
gum Arabic	9,411	19,999	218
copal	47,216	1,967	1,573
guaiaci	5,740	861	215
Senegal	8,260	1,7554	2,380
Tragacanth	5,129	256	64
hartshorn	37,349	578	124
isinglafs	1,677	20,131	39
jalap	1,595	202	59
juniper berries	17,868	35,660	3,940
lead, black	2,005	8,007	658
manna	38,767	8,392	969
myrrh	9,849	861	246
oil, castor	2,675	1,194	267
palm	4,608	4,608	1,613
perfumed	21,100	5,275	1,582
turpentine	30,190	399	126
opium	21,783	2,993	1,656
pistachia nuts	41,733	2,086	180
quicksilver	136,116	27,202	2,619
			radix

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duties.
radix ipetacuana	No. 3,666	L. 1,282	L. 905
serpentaria	11,284	1,410	423
rhubarb	6,935	4,334	520
faccarum saturn	224,690	11,234	2,808
farfaparilla	66,757	3,349	2,211
fenna	11,404	856	284
fuccus liquoritia	4,734	22,020	6,628
tamarinds	98,444	641	817
tapioca	17,180	859	143
verdigrise	179,610	11,225	2,250
other drugs		15,682	4,110
Dye stuffs, &c. anotto	33,226	3,322	
archelia	3,012	2,638	
argol	8,931 cwt.	11,163	
berries	2,122	6,368	1,167
boxwood	181 tons	1,449	396
brazil	44	2,462	33
braziletto	49	331	
camwood	189	1,517	
cochineal	297,684 lb.	237,537	
ebony	117 tons	1,900	
fustic	58,545	51,792	
galls	1,409	2,466	
indigo	1,867,754 lb.	205,451	
lignumvitæ	353 tons	1,651	
logwood	5,504	64,926	
madder	42,778 cwt.	88,555	
roots	21,469	210,404	
mahogany	7,486 tons	79,555	45
niccoragua	498	4,894	
redwood	597	23,885	
saffiore	61,216 lb.	4,081	
saffron	1,816	999	227
shellac	23,729	1,077	91
shumac		25,996	8,448
smalts	684,123	14,235	11,402
sticklack	3,367	42	
valonia	6,219 cwt.	1,554	
weld	269	269	11
Earthen ware		14,516	1,853
Elephants teeth	2,628	15,768	3,462
Essence of spruce	32,940 lb.	841	231
Fans, paper		4,837	923
Feathers for beds	9,014 cwt.	28,470	11,875
ostrich, undressed	2,177 lb.	1,306	390
Fish, anchovies	8,664 barrels	1,528	902
cod	20,400 cwt.	11,460	

Fish.

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duties.
Fish, herrings, red	No. 5,703 barrels	L. 8,825	
white	4,873	7,242	
oysters	110,594 bushels	38,707	L. 2,764
salmon	227 barrels	455	
stock	1,730 cwt.	2,682	180
other	-	2,164	387
Flax, undressed	243,324	478,579	45
Flower roots and trees	-	1,603	441
Fruit, lemons & oranges	52,716,417	37,615	11,641
nuts, small	62,060 bushels	7,241	2,327
chestnuts	9,005	2,230	637
olives	209 hogheads	1,466	368
Gauze	-	3,192	319
Glass plates	-	36,446	8,791
Glue	3,098 cwt.	5,368	684
Grocery, almonds, Jord.	1,600	3,610	3,699
not Jord.	2,384	5,385	2,761
aniseed	2,195	3,623	2,542
barley, pearl	1,335	1,335	589
cinnamon	3,897 lb.	779	851
cloves	12,045	3,011	1,592
cocoa	3,933	9,833	1,749
coffee	69,028	481,713	36,961
currants	50,607	53,132	59,043
figs	13,559	8,597	7,096
ginger	7,136	8,920	3,936
mace	4,984	3,115	996
nutmegs	23,981	4,796	2,377
pepper	4,859,860	80,997	19,190
pimento	1,911,582	48,160	24,013
prunes	4,033 cwt.	3,123	2,432
raisins, Denia	50,576	27,816	17,912
Faro	2,108	1,159	843
Lexia	33,393	25,356	13,357
Lipari	10,311	6,444	4,253
Smyrna	7,049	5,111	4,023
solis	30,462	25,225	28,431
rice	234,025	175,310	11,443
sago	75,269	940	1,298
succads	19,456 lb.	1,267	598
sugar, brown	1,989,230	2,720,802	1,486,101
tea	13,031,376	1,303,137	137,622
truffles	1,257	502	141
turmeric	123,684	1,238	791
vermicelli	61,179	1,531	507
Hair, goat	58,329	1,093	1
horse	61,823	7,752	2,316
			Hair,

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Hair, human	No. 11,523	L. 3,841	L. 1,152
ox or cow	1,166 cwt.	1,750	475
Hardware	-	4,593	437
Hats, chip	22,340 dozen	13,962	4,063
straw	6,180	3,862	849
Hemp, rough	614,362 cwt.	522,207	111,963
Hides, horie	No. 17,525	6,056	655
Indian	9,550	2,865	557
losh	15,901 lb.	1,192	662
ox or cow	253,512	109,476	4,573
tanned	77 and 73,010 lb.	2,472	1,480
Inkle wrought	2,353 dozen	4,170	3,495
unwrought	10,645	754	155
Iron, bar	57,693 tons	563,823	167,114
cast	3,191	8,974	2,171
drawn	42	718	424
pig	3,318	3,478	46
Kelp	1,693	4,827	1,390
Lacbone	2,785 yards	278	205
Lard, hog	158,691 lb.	2,017	2
Linen, cambrics	20,589 pieces	20,430	10,306
canvals, Heff.	16,635 cwt.	58,916	22,728
spruce	13,123	26,561	11,899
damask nap.	20,660	774	429
tabling Sil.	58,245	4,302	2,388
nap. and tow. Holl.	18	1	1
diaper nap.	45,999	1,149	949
tabling, Sil.	2,610	228	139
nap. and tow. Fr.	433	21	13
Ruffia broad, about 22½	287	1,150	353
tow and nap.	446	1,115	343
drilling	1,943	4,336	4,401
east country, narrow	3	10	4
French	1,758	253	105
German, above 31½	54	324	163
36	5	34	18
not above 31½	33,942	144,587	41,714
Holland and Flanders	5,610	841	373
hinderlands, brown	212	319	174
Irish, plain	38,142,248 yd.	1,369,263	
above 36 in.	20,013	3	1
under 36	107	266	66
lawns, French	3,590	5,360	1,899
Sil. Holl. white	2,180	702	414
not Holl. white	1,787	590	275
Portugal or Span.	13	1	1
Ruffia broad, above 22½	17,208	72,626	21,149
31½	877	5,255	1,619
			Ruffia

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Linen, Russia broad, above 36	No. 5,934	37,784	20,736
45	8	75	39
narrow	10,391	22,204	8,527
printed	15	79	63
Russia tow. and nap.	3,194 yards	7,987	2,462
fail-cloth	349	1,750	742
fails, made		1,489	669
ticks	535	536	153
ticking	445 yards	89	48
other linen		186	104
Marbles	1,736	1,312	433
Mats, Russia	900,690	10,983	4,956
cane	483	603	
Molasses	17,015	11,310	2,552
Moss, rock	231 tons	2,033	57
Musical instruments		2,806	437
Natron	1,967	14,755	4,057
Ochre	3,605 bush.	1,802	360
Oil, ordinary	1,912 tons	53,728	13,432
fallad	79,958	11,019	4,331
train	10,739	184,539	769
Paper		4,353	2,418
Pictures	1,813	5,006	3,521
P. goods, India calico	940,611	470,511	390,278
muffin	277,047 & 1,544	320,855	167,527
nankeen	57,385	11,477	
prohibited	328,159, & 1,431	167,660	20,729
Pitch	896	8,056	553
Pomatum		4,009	1,129
Prov. Bacon	60,555	85,908	2,348
beef	62,660	123,486	
butter	227,806	316,930	3,175
cheese	29,493	42,838	2,261
pork	45,162	86,889	
Quills, goose	26,482	4,064	659
Rags	5,371	20,403	
Rape cakes	1,164	3,452	615
Rosin	1,982	843	201
Salt	8,621	13,003	2,351
petre	51,181 cwt.	31,733	7,021
Seeds, clover	42,592	27,298	5,806
garden	60,088 lb.	2,541	372
linfeed	380,378 bu.	63,754	
onion	621 cwt.	2,870	548
rape or cole	6,083 qrs.	6,083	2,425
Shells, mother of pearl	36,468	683	103
Ships hulls and materials		3,064	138
Vol. XXXIV.	H		Ships

Goods	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Shruff	No. 1,196 cwt.	3,290	15
Silk, Bengal, raw	425,235 lb.	155,919	58,231
China, raw	102,279	37,502	29,095
Italian and Turkey, raw	404,381	229,517	60,473
throw	436,831	524,086	159,737
wrought	800	1,240	1,409
waste	133,326	15,071	4,144
Skins, bear, black	31,200	10,155	8,573
beaver	225,599	39,488	982
calabar	6,910	2,804	633
calf, raw	45,171 doz.	67,795	3,073
tanned	387,184 lb.	9,683	7,252
coney	39,983 doz.	2,035	577
deer, in hair	465,522	58,296	3,879
clk	4,595	1,257	76
fox, ordinary	56,044	3,503	1,050
goat, raw	23,665 doz.	23,680	8
tanned	1,088	380	1,904
hare	1,512 cwt.	2,227	69
kid, in hair	422,999	6,790	3,944
dressed	110,201	1,983	1,363
lamb, undressed	5,156 cwt.	2,578	709
martin	131,540	32,883	9,043
mink	83,558	6,422	1,764
mufguash	231,532	5,787	1,591
otter	40,801	7,142	2,890
raccoon	208,407	5,210	1,432
seal	262,651	10,958	1,478
wolf	16,685	4,172	5,283
other skins		5,492	2,888
Snuff	16,556 lb.	4,139	689
Soap, hard	159 cwt.	336	310
Spirits, brandy	1,179,544 gallons	139,375	44,229
cordial water	3,704	1,846	524
geneva	607,246	34,118	22,772
rum	3,027,032	270,041	63,065
Statues, bufts, &c.		2,115	581
Steel, long	905 cwt.	1,267	573
Stockings, worsted	10,020 dozen	13,527	
Stones, blocks of marble	22,176 feet	4,372	2,217
paving, Guern.	5,967 tons	5,967	
sweep-washers dirt	160	1,609	
Tallow	201,856 cwt.	220,461	
Tapes, open	4,086 dozen	1,220	336
Tar	10,036 lafts	89,578	6,043
Tarras	15,054 bushels	878	376
			Thread,

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Thread, Bruges sifters	773 dozen	657	383
Tobacco	11,397 lafts	5,948	1,567
Brazil	44,057,916	416,915	270,235
Tortoiseshell	68,960	6,896	
Tow	10,203½	2,306	637
Toys	6,026 cwt.	3,939	828
Turpentine		3,412	1,134
Twist for bandstrings	116,542	55,667	13,064
Water, Piermont	5,278 5-6th dozen knots	1,847	693
Wax, bees	4,878 dozen bottles	1,634	447
Whale-fins	2,646 cwt.	12,662	4,185
Wine, Canary	5,788	46,081	460
French	158 tuns 0 hhds. 0 gals.	5,384	2,961
Madeira	1,617 1 9	40,142	45,472
Port	1,252 0 42½	26,728	23,138
Rhenish	26,938 3 -23	667,184	481,933
Spanish	139 1 1	4,075	4,719
other wines	5,395 0 20½	118,691	97,187
Wood, balks, 5 to 8 in. sq.	24 3 .55	605	710
battens	795 cwt. 1 qr. 27 lb.	7,286	2,147
oak	10,135 0 18	12,264	13,762
paling	498 .2 23	3,975	32
scale	4,862 1 21	1,661	1,250
wainfcot	1,586 1 11	793	877
cedar	32,462½ inches and 8 ton 0 qrs. 5 lb.	2,501	1,293
deals above 20 f. long	127 0 3 0	882	
under 20 f.	569 cwt. 0 qrs. 13 lb.	4,929	3,185
deal ends	49,394 0 15	101,773	132,330
lathwood	4,779 0 18	2,771	4,276
rafts, 12 in. diam.	6,735½ fathoms	12,360	4,738
8 to 12	3,617	43,505	1,213
6 to 8	6,727	25,910	1,153
oak planks	7,601	10,802	437
pine bds. & planks 19,608 c. 12 q. & 1,872 c. 27 lb.	6,290 cwt. 28½ qrs.	18,289	4,601
staves	68,822 cwt. 3 qrs. 6 lb. 59,729		
not above 36 in.	2,295 3 11	778	465
above 36 & und. 50	7,627 .3 18	6,462	2,781
50	60 1,793 .2 27	1,492	900
60	72 8,825 .1 8	7,447	6,635
72	42 3 10	28	36
timber, fir	260,922 loads 40 feet	202,770	84,927
oak	6,927 7	10,313	1,211
ufers, 5 & und. 8 in. sq.	404 cwt. 1 qr. 21 lb.	2,017	1,100
balks, under 5 in.	397 0 14	837	429
ufers, under 5 in. sq.	260 2 9	518	281
wainfcot	6588 loads 21½ feet	8,580	3,275
other wood		12,123	2,939

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Wood, cotton	No. 34,907,497 lafts	L. 1,129,203	
Wool, coney	15,324½	1,723	L. 111
sheeps	163,157	4,078	
Spanish	4,350,819	262,861	
Yarn, cotton	24,850½	966	338
linen, raw	9,524,060	465,261	23
mohair	53,813	7,399	1,569
woollen bay	8,348 cwt. 14 lb.	19,104	11
Zaffre	38,134 lafts	3,448	961
Miscellaneous articles		83,732	38,476
Total		L. 19,659,358	5,021,594

British Merchandize exported, from Jan. 5, 1793, to Jan. 5, 1793.

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
A LUM	No. 24,124 cwt. 0 qr. 13 lb.	L. 25,325	L. 1,407
Apothecary ware	23,778	2	10
Apparel, garments	81,916	20,479	
Bark, tanners	11,947 tons 13 cwt. 0 qr.	35,841	
Beer	20,809 tuns 5 hhds. 50 gals.	105,378	
Books, printed	6,481 cwt. 3 qrs. 3 lb.	26,615	
Bricks	7,832,404	3,869	
Brass, wrought	62,770 cwt. 2 qrs. 22 lb.	282,469	
wire	921	1	10
Cabinet ware		14,737	
Candles, tallow	153,207 doz. 2 lb.	34,471	
wax	17,601 lb.	2,198	
Cards, new wool	230 doz. 0	107	6
old wool	2,542	6	42
playing	830 cwt. 1 qr.	934	
Cattle, horses	2,070	20,392	569
mules	362	3,620	
Chariots and coaches	542=566	26,305	
Coal, tar, and varnish	753 bls. 228 gals.	1,062	
Coals (Newcastle measure)	111,230 chald. 1 bush.	266,215	85,691
(Winton measure)	280,946	9	315,883
canal	453 tons 10 cwt. 0 qr.	453	66
great	30,160	6	0
Culm (Newcastle measure)	324 chald. 5½ bush.	7,540	7,579
(Winton measure)	7,126	28	643
Colours for painters		7,126	416
Copperas	54,949 cwt. 1 qr. 9 lb.	91,305	
Cordage, new	59,776	1	17
old	26,044	2	25
		29,951	
			Copper,

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	No.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Copper, wrought	82,606	2 7lb.	L. 437,043	
unwrought	5,347	1 14	26,738	
Corn, barley	26,744	qrs. 6½ bush.	17,474	
hulled	98	0	58	
beans	10,810	1	7,032	
bar	1,568	0	939	
malt	20,620	5	17,726	
oats	13,640	1	7,383	
oatmeal	529	4	475	
pease	4,432	6½	5,303	
rye	14,608	3	13,514	
wheat	224,190	4	303,057	
flour	46,121	4	94,930	
Cottons & linens, checked	264,987½	pieces	328,945	
printed	1,116,024½	sq. yds.	150,494	
Ditto from 6d to 18d bef. printed	9,030,798½	sq. yds.	889,154	
under 3s before dyed	3,952		246	
Cottons dimity	373,535½	yds.	15,077	
fustians	165,959½	pieces	165,959	
stuffs, plain	1,304,298		169,419	
white	174,547		10,701	
Manchester			60,700	
Cyder	1,435	tuns 1 hhd. 30 gals.	9,885	
Drugs, Epsom salts	1,999	cwt. 0 qr. 25 lb.	3,079	
sal ammoniac	1,598	0 24	16,799	
Fish, cod, dry	18,984	1 19	10,582	
herrings, red	14,664½	bls.	20,275	
white	64,550½		69,736	
oysters	9,962	bush.	4,482	
pilchards	49,326	hhd.	86,320	
salmon	3,602½	bls.	8,224	
other fish			691	
Flax, drest	2,025	cwt. 1 qr. 10 lb.	4,050	
undrest	160	0 0	304	
Fishing-tackle			8,788	
Glue	508	3 22	966	L. 23
Glass and earthenware	25,333,677	pieces	65,096	
green	102,226	cwt. 1 qr. 5 lb.	47,513	
white flint	2,521	2 14	3,102	
for windows	10,377	3 25	15,047	
Gloves, plain leather	16,201	doz. 6	4,865	
Gaize	9,925½	yds.	1,232	
Grindlestones	744 & 8,000½	chald.	13,065	
Gunpowder	2,450,061	lbs.	74,309	
Haberdashery	60,125	cwt. 1 qr. 6 lbs.	143,895	
Hats, beaver	46,213	doz.	235,694	Hats,
	H 3			

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Hats, Carolina	No. 6,932	L. 8,255	
felt	97,939 3	120,418	
Hops	16,776 cwt. 1 qr. 24 lb.	67,104	
Hoops for barrels	7,587,397	9,484	
several sorts		2,347	
Iron, bar	0 tons 6,630 c. 0 q. 0 lb.	3,315	
cast	0 35,312 0 18	26,836	
pig	1,519 7 2 20	2,792	
nails	0 42,920 2 13	74,976	
wrought	0 467,715 2 16	1,271,603	
Lead	14,234 17 3 21	160,140	27,943
ore	674 0 2 18	7,701	423
red	0 9,668 2 7	14,307	
white	2,807 cwt. 1 qr. 25 lb.	5,806	
Lime	9,705 0 0	8,372	
Leather, tanned	8,876 1 24	31,755	517
wrought	1,266,568 2 0	141,435	
Linen, not for bounty	58,411 pieces	102,219	
British, at 2s 6d per yd.	240,060½	30,007	
for bounty, under 5d	462	7	
5d to 6d	48,362	1,108	
6d to 18d.	9,225,258	461,262	
buckrams	61,859½	3,092	
checked, 7d to 18d	1,236,270½	65,034	
diaper, 6d to 18d	108,864	5,443	
sheeting, 6d to 18d	29,647	1,482	
fail-cloth.	1,851,164 ells	93,574	
cambricks	269	94	
gauzes	2,753	653	
catgut	11,346½	567	
kentings	119,599	23,919	
check, under 7d	54,441	1,361	
2s 3d	606	68	
lawns	64,339½	11,528	
flowered	2,746	525	
flowered muslin	7,702	1,380	
muslin	827,898	107,957	
muslinet	201,626.	27,274	
other linens		154,652	
Litharge of lead	9,228 cwt. 3 qrs. 15 lb.	4,157	115
Molasses	5,731 0 3	6,447	
Moss, rock	233 3 1	1,231	
Oil, linseed	22,486 0 0	2,745	
train	477 tons 2 qrs. 32 lb.	7,708	
vitriol		14,259	
Pantiles	771,537	1,621	

Pewter

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.			Value.	Duty.
Pewter	No. 28,731	cwt. 2 qrs. 6 lb.		L. 100,560	
Plate wrought, gold	246	oz. 19 dr.		1,902	
silver	96,160	10		35,876	
Provisions, bacon	7,173½	fitches		5,738	
hams	321	cwt. 1 qr. 1 lb.		1,011	
beef and pork	3,716½	barrels		9,991	
tripe	1,732	kegs		3,031	
biscuit	51,301	cwt. 10 lb.		38,180	
butter	5,933½	firkins		5,770	
cheese	25,138	cwt. 2 qrs. 21 lb.		30,160	
potatoes	13,246	cwt. and 34,454		4,286	
salt, rock		1,804,718 bushels		22,662	
white	2,488,265½			62,623	
Seeds, clover	197	cwt. 1 qr. 16 lb.		549	
Silk in pieces	120,979	0 13 8 12		212,012	
fewing	42,013	0 2½		73,184	
Skins, coney, black	2,210	3 24		3,979	L. 332
other skins				3,518	37
Soap, hard	9,970	3 6		28,015	
soft	75½	firkins and 62,452 lb.		1,300	
Spirits, British	376,230	gallons		30,564	
Starch	2,484	cwt. 0 qrs. 2 lb.		3,040	
Stationary				27,267	
Stained paper	48,210	0 0		1,211	
Steel	60,158	0 9		85,738	
Stones, slate	9,628,100	0 0		7,191	
Sugar, refined	223,706	1 8		622,033	
bastard	2,510	2 19		5,322	
Stockings, thread	50,062	8 0		102,437	
Thread	45,844½	lb.		20,630	
gauze	2,027	yds.		506	
Tin	57,684	cwt. 2 qrs. 17 lb.		210,553	5,714
plates				49,851	
Tobacco-pipes	106,496½	grofs		5,497	
Tow	5,768	cwt. 1 qr.		5,638	
Vinegar	492	tuns 1 hhd. 34½ gal.		3,966	
Watches, gold		484		7,260	
metal		595		1,190	
silver		14,005		52,530	
Whale-fins	158	cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lb.		1,293	
Wool, sheep's		5,054½	tods	5,054	
Woollen goods, bays, Barnstaple		3,402	pieces	6,793	
double		87,006		346,744	
minikin		986		7,719	
fingle		69,379		145,078	
blanketing				12,337	

H 4

Woollen

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.
Woollen goods, caps, plain Monmouth	732 doz.	L. 915	
worsted	11,009	2,770	
carpeting	-	9,837	
cloths, long	98,389 $\frac{1}{2}$ pieces	892,114	
remnants	6,474 lb.	636	
short	93,528 $\frac{1}{2}$ pieces	1,135,681	
Spanish	2,875 $\frac{1}{2}$	28,650	
white	478	4,779	L. 131
cottons, Kendal	815,981	45,103	
Welch plains	204,277	11,378	
flannel	1,251,063 yds.	78,168	
frizes	149,203	15,541	
gartering of worsted	35,261 gros	1,736	
kerfies	1,017 pieces	1,909	
North. doz. single	20	75	
double	469	2,462	
perpets & ferges	4,149,888	578,979	
rugs	498	261	
stockings, woollen	10,799 doz.	11,377	
worsted	138,755	187,652	
yarn	793	475	
stuffs	5,171,652 lb. 00 oz.	784,630	
of silk program	86	11	
incle	37,163	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,131
worsted	52,469	1	10,949
waistcoat pieces	413	6	1,094
woollens	126,318 cwt. 20 lb.	795,804	
other woollens	-	25,637	
Miscellaneous articles	-	3,184,118	21
Total		L. 18,336,851	149200

Foreign Goods exported, from January 5, 1792, to January 5, 1793.

ARRANGOES	-	No. 471,535	L. 2591
Athes, pearl	-	5,301 c. 19. 5 lb.	8920
pot	-	13,196 3 1	21,523
Barilla	-	4,246 0 0	2,996
Bark, oak	-	5,074 2 27	2,478
Beads, coral	-	2,776 lb 2	902
mother of pearl	-	1,049 $\frac{1}{2}$	364
Books, bound	-	2 c. 19. 7 lb.	9
unbound	-	0 3 15	3
Boxes, pill	-	936 gros 5	273
Brimstone	-	11,715 c.	10,324
Briffles, undressed	-	3,398 doz 2	934
Bugle, great	-	275,961 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	16,097
			Cane

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Canes, walking	No. 257,863	5,157
Capers	854 lb.	16
Carpets	No. 4	15
China ware	413,375 pieces	9,564
Colours for painters	3,363 lb.	98
Cork	35c. 2q. 17 lb.	319
Corn, barley	774 qrs. 5 bush.	500
beans	846 2	1,269
oatmeal	62 1	46
oats	10,300 0	7,214
pease	1,196 3	2,332
rye	1,542 6	1,918
wheat	26,791 5	52,110
flour	11,101 1 14	5,552
Cottons		960
Couries	1,670c. 2q. 2 lb.	10,021
Drugs, almonds, bitter	348 3 19	954
aloes, epatica	8,182 lb.	305
succetrina	7,391	277
alum, roach	335c. 3q. 19	503
antimonium, crud.	31 0 19	25
arsenic	120 2 19	281
asafoetida	14,766 lb.	1,845
halfam, artificial	208 1/2	88
capaivi	857 1/2	193
natural	364 1/2	263
benjamin	16,636	1,039
borax, refined	5,354	1,883
buds of Cassia	41,100	3,718
cambogium	2,793	232
camphire, refined	1,557	233
unrefined	21,843	1,592
cantharides	2,224 1/2	667
cardamons	7,574	1,325
cassia lignea	135,651 1/2	17,984
castoreum	4,344	9,132
cinabrium	1,719	623
coculus, India	35	6
coloquintida	287	71
cortex Peru	22,845 1/2	3,572
cream of tartar	146c. 1q. 13 lb.	419
eleborus	189	5
essence of lemons	145	72
ginseng	60,136	6,013
gums, Arabic	54c. 2q. 4 lb	152
copal	5,025 lb.	251
gum guiaci	227	

Drugs,

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Drugs, Gum Senegal	No. 1,010	L. 2,818
Tragacanth	2,473	125
ifinglafs	146 c. 3q. 3lb	2,054
jalap	2,960 lb	431
juniper berries	374 c. 2q. 0lb.	936
lead, black	15 0 18	38
manna	5,256 lb.	723
myrrh	12,561 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,360
oils, castor	602 c. 0q. 0lb.	361
palm	162 2 23	203
perfumed	623 0 10	187
turpentine	523 lb.	6
opium	7,757	1,942
pistachia nuts	3,904	260
quicksilver	3,182	954
radix ipecacuana	4,201	1,044
serpentaria	535	107
rhubarb, Russia	651	808
East India	3,463	4,330
saccharum saturn.	14,328	7,162
sarsaparilla	20,967	2,486
senna	3,890 $\frac{1}{2}$	486
fuccus liquoritia	2 c. 0q. 6lb.	13
tamarinds	17,812 lb.	111
tapioca	4,752	207
verdigrise	1,986	190
other drugs	-	5,429
Dye stuffs, &c. anatto	2,526	368
archelia	ot. 60 c. 3q. 21 lb	61
argol	0 204 1 24	223
berries	0 324 0 23	891
boxwood	11 9 3 5	163
brazil	127 6 1 3	9,548
braziletto	78 0 3 27	663
cochineal	93,594 lb	100,294
ebony	13 t. 15 c. 2q. 26 lb.	289
fustic	1429 12 3 7	19,265
galls	0 389 1 4	955
indigo	899,659 lb.	172,458
lignumvitæ	44 f. 9 c. 2q. 12 lb.	266
logwood	1811 12 0 4	38,553
madder	301 0 0 0	771
mahogany	553 16 0 0	5,537
niccoragua	384 5 3 12	4,664
redwood	455 19 2 6	24,643
saffiore	9,322	737
saffron	1,619	1,133
		Dye

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Dye stuffs, &c. sanders red	257c. 3q. 20lb.	L. 644
shillac	10,431lb.	1,238
shumac	493c. 3q. 17lb.	195
smalts	102,015lb.	2,129
sticklack	80,526	2,654
valonia	60c. 0q. 0lb.	25
Elephants teeth	1215 2 1	9,624
Essence of spruce	2,885½lb.	178
Fans, paper	150,261	1,727
Feathers for beds	26c. 0q. 6lb.	124
ostrich, undressed	138lb.	100
Fish, anchovies	117½bls.	29
cod	7,197c. 2q. 24lb.	7,197
herrings, red	1,127bls.	1,594
white	392	632
salmon	198	642
stock	612c. 2q. 6lb.	612
other fish	-	59
Flax, undressed	14,088 3 8	30,318
Fruit, lemons and oranges	No. 1,412,750	1,563
nuts, chefnuts	108 bush.	32
small	838	125
olives	7 hhds. 58 gals.	79
Glass plates	-	316
Glue	51c. 3q. 10lb.	95
Grocery, almonds, Jord.	82 3 12	227
not Jord.	67 2 15	187
aniseed	255 1 20	523
barley, pearl	105 0 3	115
cinnamon	628lb.	158
cloves	1,198	446
cocoa	2,745 cwt.	10,944
coffee, B. plant.	52,844 cwt.	764,908
E. India	5,776c. 1q. 21lb.	83,758
currants	7,524 1 6	13,923
figs	1,665 3 17	1,208
ginger	5,200 2 24	11,308
mace	676½lb.	638
nutmegs	3,077½	999
pepper	1,348,903	65,901
pimento	1,810,770½	38,913
prunes	423c. 3q. 17lb.	368
raifins, Denia	10,275 3 16	10,275
Lexia	594 2 24	592
Lipari.	252 1 21	252
Smyrna	2,181 0 0	1,910
solis	2,401 0 0	2,697
		Grocery,

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Grocery, rice	No. 174,959 c. 0 q. 0 lb.	L. 174,864
sago	26,111 0 0	1,142
succads	116 0 0	7
sugar, brown	239,561 0 0	537,288
E. India	3,506 3 21	19,949
tea	2,312,898 1 lb.	341,607
truffles	227	113
turmeric	30,908	644
vermicelli	1,438	35
Hair, goat, ordinary	8,671	412
horse	13,126	2,080
human	24	12
ox or cow	96 c. 1 q. 18 lb.	173
Hats, chip	Doz. 7,701 6	4,813
straw	587 7	367
Hemp, rough	23,703 c. 1 q. 12 lb.	29,571
Hides, Indian	8,603	3,853
ox or cow	8,312	3,740
Incl. wrought	Doz. 116 11 lb.	280
Iron, bar	9,184 t. 8 c. 3 q. 1 lb.	122,847
drawn or hammered	0 15 3 26	17
Kelp	127 2 3 24	400
Lace bone	187 1/2 yds.	327
Lard, hog's	2,757	51
Linen, cambric	3,954 1/2 pcs.	5,044
canvas, Heff.	543 c. 0 q. 15 lb.	1,884
spruce	1,692 1 21	6,317
damask, nap.	2,335 0 0	161
tabling, Sil.	1,904 1/2 0 0	196
diaper nap. Sil.	4,638 0 0	158
tabling Sil.	947 0 0	101
Ruff. bd. above 22 1/2	57 3 19	319
towelling and nap.	0 3 16	3
drilling	574 1 19	1,682
Germ. under 31 1/2	10,458 1 23	57,326
Holl. & Fland. ells	1,751 1/2 ells	284
hinderlands, plain	306,172 yds.	19,412
6 to 18 d	5,598,446	279,922
und. 36 l.	134 c. 7 ells	1,072
diaper	8,468 yds.	423
sheeting, 6 to 18 d	61,403	3,069
lawns, French	673 1/2	825
Silk Holl. white	2,680 1/2	1,072
not whited	1,932	772
Port, or Span. bd. above 22 1/2	3,535 c. 1 q. 4 lb.	18,493
31 1/2	304 3 15	2,880
36	3,262 3 15	27,453
		Port,

THE CHRONICLE.

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Port. or Span. narrow	No. 68 0 14	L. 177
Towel and napkin	172 3 7	623
Sail cloth	22 3 7	146
Ticks	440	444
Other linen		87
Marbles	1 c. oq. olb.	1
Mats, Russia	8,882	163
Cane	1,469	175
Molasses	qt. 2,924 c. 1 q. 7 lb.	2,181
Moss, rock	2 11 2 12	36
Ochre	1,534 bush.	536
Oil, ordinary	116 t. o c. 1 q. olb.	5049
fallad	16,000 gals.	1,200
train	53 t. 3 c. 37 q. olb.	792
Callicoes	470,617 pcs.	835,551
Muslin	269,658	621,713
Nankin	22,767	8,385
Prohibited	516,839	475,848
Pitch	115 c. 3 q. olb.	1,767
Prov. bacon	773 2 22	2,874
beef	18,949 1/2 bls.	35,801
butter	20,664 c. 2 q. 15 lb.	29,375
cheese	355 2 0	462
pork	16,422 bls.	31,837
Rags	20 t. 1 c. oq. 23 lb.	102
Rosin	ot 1,146 1 14	568
Salt	1,791 bush. 10 pks.	8,650
petre	2,339 c. oq. 26 lb.	7,602
Seeds, clover	296 1 27	177
garden	1,308 lb.	59
linseed	6,604	2,223
onion	o c. 3 q. olb.	2
Shells, mother of pearl	2,812 lb.	138
Silk, Bengal, raw	13,406	8,713
China, raw	5,310	3,451
Italian and Turkey, raw	15,798 6	12,426
thrown	10,579 10	15,869
wrought	379 13	645
Skins, bear, black	21,344	9,038
beaver	144,329	34,278
Calabar	6,646 2 q	2,769
coney	3,049 doz. 8	1,177
deer, in hair	168,116	25,215
elk	5,253	2,093
fox, ordinary	13,476	1,066
goat, raw	306 doz.	260
tanned	25 c. oq. olb.	22
hare	25 0 10	28
		Skins,

APPENDIX TO

Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Skins, martin	No. 106,746lb.	L. 9,784
mink	79,309	7,241
musquash	261,092	2,745
otter	54,546	16,363
raccoon	183,535	6,117
seal	25,305	1,792
wolf	14,525	4,357
other skins		819
Snuff	583lb.	25
Spirits, brandy	10,348½ gals.	2,582
cordial water	40	20
geneva	12,610	3,132
rum	577,325½	170,041
Steel, long	ot. 36c. 2q. 13lb.	67
Paving of Guernsey	20t. 0 0 0	20
Tallow	0 495 0 3	5,364
Tapes, open	656 doz 2	221
Tar	427 lafts 11½	5,354
Thread, sisters	168½	108
Tobacco	29,352,363lb.	566,703
Brazil	26,635	2,663
manufactured	1,830,103	34,553
Tortoiseshell	4,175	1356
Toys		5
Turpentine	455c. 3q. 10lb.	609
Twist for bandstrings	464 7 0	209
Water, Piermont	0 3 0	1
Wax, bees	475 2 16	3,281
Whale-fins	345 2 14	3,283
Wine, Canary	11 3 40	493
French	337 2 59	18,390
Madeira	301 1 16	10,105
Port	611 1 58	20,567
Rhenish	73 2 27	3,979
Spanish	170 1 43	5,933
other wines	1 3 43	96
Wood battens	20 2 18	32
Boards, oak	3 0 0	12
scalé	4 2 0	3
wainfcot	15 inch.	1
deals above 20 f. long	90c. 0q. 10lb.	180
under 20 feet	90 0 6	244
Deal ends	13 0 10	26
Lathwood	120½ fathoms	276
Masts, 12 inches diameter.	3	45
6 and under 8	79	175
Pine boards and planks	Loads, 1,928 and 2,024	18
		Staves

THE CHRONICLE:

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Goods.	Quantity.	Value.
Staves -	No. 10,092 c. 1q. 4lb.	L. 8,626
under 36 inches	15 0 0	9
above 36 & under 50	46 2 20	29
60 & under 72	2,191 2 20	2,164
Timber for -	Loads 91 18	91
Oak -	20 30	83
Under 8 and under 8 inches	00. 2q. 0lb.	3
under 3 inches	1 3 27	4
Veneer cot logs -	70 17 0	105
Cherry wood -	-	97
Wool, cotton -	48,303lb.	1,517
Turkey, -	616,683	21,839
Pers. plant. -	820,479	23,293
coney -	200	12
Spanish -	87,323	8,732
Yarn, cotton	4,504	253
linen, raw -	283	40
mohair -	9,376	1,875
Miscellaneous articles -	-	94
Total -		<u>658,344</u>
Golden coin and ingots	85,283	341,132
Silver in bullion and coin -	7,031,410	<u>1,757,852</u>
Total -		L. 2,098,984

APPENDIX TO

An Abstract of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, that have cleared out from the Ports of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, to the Coast of Africa, for the Purpose of purchasing Slaves, in the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1792.

PORTS.	1789.		1790.		1791.		TOTAL.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
London -	9	1738	15	3097	25	3943	49	8778
Bristol -	15	2693	27	4968	22	4069	64	11728
Liverpool	61	11081	94	18260	97	18634	252	47955
Totals -	85	15510	136	26325	144	26626	365	68461

Average of the Three Years, viz.

London	-	16	2926
Bristol	-	22	3909
Liverpool	-	84	15985
Total Average	-	122	22820

24th May, 1792.

J. DALLEY,

Affistant to the Register General of Shipping.

An Abstract of the Number of Vessels, with the Amount of their Tonnage, that have cleared out from the Ports of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, to the Coast of Africa, for the Purpose of purchasing Slaves, from 5th January 1792, to 4th May 1792,

	Ships.	Tons.
London -	8	1569
Bristol -	11	2180
Liverpool -	39	7446
Total -	58	11195

14th May, 1792.

J. DALLEY,

Affistant to the Register General of Shipping.

An Account of the Number of Slaves which have been imported from Africa into the British West India Islands, between the 5th of January 1789, and the 5th of January 1792, distinguishing each Year; and of the Number retained in the British West India Islands, and the Number re-exported thence to the Settlements of Foreign Powers.

	1789.			1790.			1791.		
	Imported.	Exported.	Retained.	Imported.	Exported.	Retained.	Imported.	Exported.	Retained.
Antigua	311	140	171	—	—	—	268	—	268
Barbadoes	444	399	45	126	72	54	382	100	282
Dominica	3312	2357	955	2142	1690	452	2352	2099	253
Grenada	6490	3440	3050	3921	3143	778	9373	6362	3011
Jamaica	9898	2030	7868	14064	1970	12094	15293	2915	12378
Montserrat	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
St. Kitt's	67	332	—	—	—	—	62	—	62
St. Vincent's	903	58	845	1552	611	941	4029	1346	—
Tortola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	—
Bahama	—	—	—	—	—	—	64	—	64
Total	21425	8756	12669	31805	7487	14318	31823	12866	18957

*Inspector General's Office,
Custom-house, London, 10th of May, 1792.*

THOMAS IRVING,
Inspector General of the Imports and Exports
of Great Britain and the British Colonies.

Abstract

APPENDIX TO

Abstract State of the Newfoundland Fishery, from the Year 1699 to 1791, taken from the Returns of the Admirals who commanded on that Station.

Average of Years.	Number of Ships.	Burden of Ships.	Number of Men belonging to the Ships.	Number of Passengers.	Number of Boats.	Quintals of Fish made.	Quintals of Fish carried to Market.	Tierces of Salmon carried to Market.	Tons of Train Oil made.	Number of Inhabitants remaining in the Country in Winter
1699, 1700, 1701	192	799 ¹	4026	—	1314	276320	154370	—	2049	3506
1714, 1715, 1716	161	3998	2119	—	982	730	102563	—	891	3501
1749, 1750, 1751	288	33512	4108	3149	1370	432318	422116	1308	2532	5855
1764, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 1770, 2, 3, 4	526	40691	5435	6441	2163	626276	524296	5146	2682	12340
1782, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 1790, 1	478	49273	4475	4662	2271	641915	643331	2770	2398	15141

*Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade,
W^hitchurch and April, 1792.*

A true Copy,

Taken from the Admirals Returns in this Office.

Geo. QUARRERS, C. P. C. T.

An Account of the Income and Charges upon the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarter ended the 5th day of January, 1793; together with the Surplus remaining for the Disposition of Parliament.

INCOME.

	£.	s.	d.
C ONSOLIDATED duties of Excise	1894778	13	0½
Do. of Customs	961981	2	8
Do. of Stamps	289026	0	0
Do. of Salt	100458	2	7½
Do. of Letter Money	89000	0	0
Tax on Hackney Coaches and Chairs	9700	0	0
Do. on Hawkers and Pedlars	400	0	0
Do. on Houses and Windows, 1786	137155	17	0½
Do. on Inhabited Houses, 1779	61910	5	7½
Do. on Horses	51382	9	1
Do. on Male Servants	45532	10	1
Arrears of Female Servants	8324	9	10
Tax on Four-wheel Carriages	67433	3	3
Do. on Two-wheel do.	16488	16	3½
Arrears of the Tax on Waggon's	1714	0	5
Do. on Carts	2052	6	7½
Tax of 1s per lib. on Salaries, &c. anno 1758	12834	12	0½
Do. of 6d per lib. on do. anno 1721	13290	0	0
Seizures of uncustomed and prohibited goods	7393	10	1
Sheriffs Proffers	25	7	9
Rent of Alum Mines	480	0	0
Compositions by the Bank of England, in lieu of a Stamp			
Duty on Bills and Notes issued by them	6000	0	0
Stamp Duties on Bills of Exchange, Receipts, &c. pursuant to an act 31 Geo. III.	32150	0	0
Reserved on the 10th Oct. 1792, for the Use of the Public, in respect of the Annuities for the Nominees appointed by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, pursuant to an act 30 Geo. III.	12277	16	4½
Arrears of the 53d 4s Aid, anno 1789	L. 8550	0	0
Do. 54th 4s Aid, anno 1790	3004	15	11
	11554	15	11
Imprest Money repaid by James and John Meyrick, Esqrs. arising from the Sale of Commissions in several regiments vacated by the promotion of Officers	L. 799	7	6
Do. by Kender Mason, Esq. on his account, as Contractor in East Florida	1000	0	0
Do. by Archibald Robertson, Deputy Quarter Master at New York	186	13	4
	1986	0	10
	385322	2	5½

APPENDIX TO

	Brought forward	£. 3835322	s. 2	d. 6½
Money paid by Charles Long, Esq. for interest upon 187,000l. for annuities granted by act of Parliament, 29 Geo. III.	—	—	—	—
		4026	16	11
Total Income of the Consolidated Fund in the quarter ended 5th Jan. 1793		£. 3839348	19	4½

CHARGE.

EXCHEQUER.

Annuities, 2-7ths Excise for two and three lives, for three months, due 5th January, 1793	2048	18	0
£.3700 per week Excise, with the salaries to the Officers of the Receipt of His Majesty's Exchequer, for three months, due ditto	7957	11	8.
1706 with do.	6181	2	10½
1707 with do.	2038	0	6½
per 1st act 1708, with do.	1229	13	1½
2d act 1708, with do.	2649	6	3½
Annuities on Lives, anno 1745, for 6 months, due do.	6159	2	6
1746, for do. due do.	11233	5	0
1757, for do. due do.	12283	12	6
1778, for do. due do.	1384	16	6
1779, for do. due do.	2587	9	3½

SOUTH-SEA COMPANY.

Annuity and Management on 24,065,034l. 13s. 11½d. their present capital, for one quarter, due 5th Ja- nuary, 1793	183993	13	3½
Annuity and Management on 1,919,600l. for half a year, due the same time, after abating the sum of 106l. 17s. 6d. for the half 213l. 15s. after the rate of 562l. 10s. per million, on the principal sum of 380,000l. purchased by the Commissioners appoint- ed for the Reduction of the National Debt, before 5th July, 1792	29227	0	3

BANK OF ENGLAND.

Annuity and Management on 107,999,696l. 5s. 1½d.
3 per cent. consolidated annuities, for half a year,
due 5th January, 1793, after abating the sum of
706l. 10s. for the half of 1413l. after the rate of
450l. per million, on the principal sum of 3140000l.
purchased by the Commissioners appointed for the

Reduction

THE CHRONICLE.

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Reduction of the National Debt, before 5th of July, 1792	£. . .
Annuity and Management on 17869993l. 9s. 10d. after the rate of 5l. per cent. per annum, for half a year, due 5th January, 1793	1634453 17 6
Annuity and Management on 1000000l. after the rate of 3l. per cent. per annum, for half a year, due 5th January, 1793	450770 11 8½
Annuities granted by the acts of the 4th and 5th of King William and Queen Mary, and charged upon the 9d. per barrel Excise, commonly called 14l. per cents, which ceased upon the 5th February, 1792, and is to be placed to the account of the Commissioners appointed for the reduction of the National Debt, for three months, due do.	15225 0 0
Annuities granted by the acts of the 5th and 6th of the same reign, for ninety-six years (commonly called Tonnage) which ceased on the 5th day of February, 1792, and is to be placed to the account of the Commissioners afore said, for three months, due do.	12128 15 7½
Bank of England, on their capital of 3200000l. after the rate of 3l. per cent. per annum, for one quarter, due 12th of November, 1792	1591 8 0
Do. on 4000000l. purchased of the South-Sea Company, for three months, due 5th of January, 1793	25000 0 0
Do. on 500000l. at 3l. per cent. per annum, for do.	30474 10 10½
Do. on 1250000l. at do. for do.	3750 0 0
Do. on 1750000l. at do. for do.	9375 0 0
Do. on 986800l. at do. for do.	13125 0 0
To the Chief Cashier of the Bank of England, to reimburse so much paid for fees of various natures paid at the Treasury, Exchequer, and other offices, in relation to the accounts of the several Bank annuities, to 5th of July, 1791	7401 0 0
	896 16 6

EAST INDIA COMPANY,

On their capital of 3200000l. at 3l. per cent. per ann. for three months, due 5th of January, 1793	24000 0 0
Do. 1000000l. at do. lent anno 1744	7500 0 0
To the Judges of England and Wales, on their several additional allowances, for three months, due 5th of January, 1793	3262 10 0
To Charles Bembridge, Esq. late Secretary and Accountant in the office for managing the former duties on Wine Licences, for do.	32 10 0
	To

	£.	s.	d.
To Charles Bembridge, Esq. more, as late Messenger to the above office, for do.	5	0	0
To Ann Cals, late Office Keeper to the above office, for do.	5	0	0
To the Officers in the Exchequer Bill Office, on their salaries, for do.	162	10	0
For the support of his Majesty's Household, for do.	224500	0	0
To his Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York and Albany, on his annuity of 14000l. for do.	3500	0	0
To her Royal Highness Frederica Ulrike Catherine, Duchess of York and Albany, on her annuity of 4000l. for do.	1000	0	0
To his Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Clarence, on his annuity of 12000l. for do.	3000	0	0
To his Royal Highness William Henry Duke of Gloucester, on do. 8000l. for do.	2000	0	0
To do. on do. 9000l. for do.	2250	0	0
To the Representatives of Arthur Clallow, Esq. on do. 3000l. for do.	750	0	0
To the Earl of Chatham, on do. 4000l. for do.	1000	0	0
To Lord Rodney, on do. 2000l. for do.	500	0	0
To Lord Heathfield, on do. 1500l. for do.	372	0	0
To Lord Sondes, late one of the Auditors of the Imprest, on do. 7000l. for do.	1750	0	0
To Lord Bute, another, on do. 7000l. for do.	1750	0	0
To Philip Deare, Esq. on do. 200l. for do.	75	0	0
To John Wigglesworth, Esq. on do. 300l. for do.	75	0	0
To Charles Harris, Esq. on do. 200l. for do.	50	0	0
To Sir William Musgrave, Bart. one of the Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts, on do. 1000l. for do.	250	0	0
To John Thomas Batt, Esq. another, on do. 1000l. for do.	250	0	0
To John Martin Leake, Esq. another, on do. 1000l. for do.	250	0	0
To Sir John Dick, Bart. another, on do. 500l. for do.	125	0	0
To William Molleson, Esq. another, on do. 500l. for do.	125	0	0
To John Penn, Esq. of Stoke Pogis, in the county of Berks, one of the heirs of the late William Penn, Esq. on do. 3000l. for do.	750	0	0
To John Penn, Esq. of Doyer Street, another, on do. 1000l. for do.	250	0	0
To Lady Dorchester, Guy Carleton, and Thomas Carleton, Esqrs. on their annuity of 1000l. for do.	250	0	0
For Clerks Contingencies in the Office for auditing the Public Accounts, for do.	1500	0	0
To Robert Hepburne, jun. Esq. Master of his Majesty's Mint in Scotland	1200	0	0

To

To George Earl of Leicester, Master of his Majesty's Mint in England, for three months, due 5th of January, 1793	£. s. d.
	3450 0 0
To John Reeves, Esq. on account of the deficiency of the fees, granted by an act 32 Geo. III. for the more effectual administration of the Office of a Justice of the Peace in such parts of the counties of Middlesex and Surry as lie in or near the metropolis, &c. to defray the charges and expences attending the execution of the said act	3291 11 4½
To the Usher of the Exchequer, for necessaries for the quarter ended 5th of July, 1792	L. 514 8 4½
Do. 10th of October, 1792	499 12 ½
	1014 0 10½
To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons, the sum of 1099l. 9s. to complete the sum of 1500l. for the quarter, ended 25th of December, 1792, on 6000l. per ann. the sum of 400l. 11s. having been received net at the Exchequer, on the allowance of 5l. a day, out of the Civil List; and also the further sum of 80l. to reimburse the like sum paid for two years taxes on offices and pensions, for the perquisites of his office, to Michaelmas, 1792; making together the sum of	1179 9 0
Total charge upon the Consolidated Fund, in the quarter ended 5th January 1793	2764593 8 5½
To the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for reducing the National Debt	L. 250000 0 0
To complete the sum of 300000l. granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund, for the service of the year 1789	389059 11 5½
Surplus remaining upon 5th of January, 1793 for the disposition of Parliament	435696 1 7½
Total surplus of the quarter ended 5th of January, 1793	1074755 13 0½
	L. 3839348 16 6½
	4s

An Account of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties of Customs in England and Scotland; distinguishing (as far as possible) the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the Four Quarters next preceeding the 10th of October, 1792.

Net Produce, subject to the
Payment of Bounties, and
Charges of Management.

SPECIES OF GOODS.		L.	s.	d.
A SHES, pearl	—	1070	19	2
— pot	—	1055	6	3½
Barilla	—	29723	17.	7
Beads, coral	—	164	7	6½
Books, bound	—	1148	11	11½
Bottles, glass	—	1758	2	1
Brimstone	—	4666	13	11½
Bristles, undrest	—	5529	10	8
Bugle, great	—	1232	16	3½
Callicoes	—	95773	9	8½
Capers	—	380	5	3
Carpets, Turkey	—	835	7	6
China ware	—	18519	17	10½
Copper, unwrought	—	1794	15	4
Cork	—	5483	8	9
Corn, oats	—	12904	10	5
wheat	—	376	3	5½
Drugs, aloes cicotrina	—	592	14	11½
balsam capaiva	—	176	13	11
borax refined	—	528	6	10
cassia lignea	—	97	19	3
cortex Peru	—	4585	6	3½
cream of tartar	—	1170	7	4½
gum copal	—	1388	15	11½
guaiaci	—	241	11	0½
Senegal	—	3346	17	1½
jalap	—	783	8	0
juniper berries	—	4958	19	1½
lead, black	—	428	3	5
manna	—	490	13	6
oil, perfumed	—	1456	4	9
turpentine	—	94	1	11
opium	—	1677	9	8
quicksilver	—	2968	7	11
radix, ipecacuana	—	201	12	10½
saccharum saturni	—	2622	11	10½
sarsaparilla	—	2049	3	6
				Drugs

	L.	s.	d.
Drugs, fenna	76	8	7½
succus liquoritia	6174	0	6
tamarinds	702	12	11
verdigrise	2126	16	11
Dye stuffs, smalts	9962	19	10½
Elephants teeth	2495	11	3½
Feathers for beds	10875	0	9½
Fish, anchovies	977	12	7½
oysters	2908	9	0
Fruit, lemons and oranges	10888	1	2½
nuts, small	2368	11	8½
Glass plates	8247	11	9
Glue	599	10	2½
Grocery, almonds, Jordan	3198	3	0½
not Jordan	1912	17	10½
anniseeds	1968	3	10
cinnamon	628	13	0
cloves	1194	15	0½
cocoa	1780	17	4½
coffee	20603	16	11½
currants	61296	7	5½
figs	6739	13	11½
ginger	300	11	7½
mace	1039	11	4
nutmegs	1944	7	6
pepper	16856	2	0½
pimento	11917	7	3½
prunes	3915	16	10½
raisins, denia	20386	13	3
faro	478	2	9½
lexia	12469	4	1½
lipari	2863	7	7½
Smyrna	2687	19	1½
solis	20212	1	10½
rice	8435	1	5½
sago	1415	18	9½
succads	648	14	3
sugar, brown	1354752	2	11½
tea	118622	15	0
turmeric	174	11	9
Hair, horse	1290	0	6
human	841	2	6
Hats, chip	3034	15	5
straw	771	12	1
Hemp, rough	109833	0	7½
Hides, Indian	139	19	2½
			Hides,

	L.	s.	d.
Hides, losh	565	1	0
ox or cow	4518	5	10
Iron, wrought	5183	11	6½
Iron, bar	149556	2	0½
cask	1789	3	4½
Kelp	1892	13	6½
Linen, cambrics	10441	14	10½
canvas heff.	21186	16	9
spruce	7231	0	0½
damask tabling, fl.	1893	16	9½
diaper napkining, fl.	739	7	9
Germany, narrow, not above 31½	29621	15	4½
lawns, French	2228	0	0
Russia, broad, above 22½	20089	6	3½
31½	1316	6	5½
36	8601	18	2½
drilling	4042	6	2½
narrow	6534	4	9
towelling and napkining	2100	13	3½
Mats, Russia	4250	18	4½
Melasses	2365	6	3½
Muffin	118786	4	8½
Oil, ordinary	14314	8	2½
sallad	4300	16	5
Paper, foolscap, Genoa, second	993	8	9
Pictures	3397	0	0
Pitch	521	9	1½
Salt	2568	7	9½
Salt petre	6749	11	3½
Seeds, clover	5147	2	11½
Silk, Italian and Turkey, raw	57206	17	0
Bengal, raw	57410	17	5
China, raw	30128	10	2
Italian, thrown	152831	7	2
wrought	838	6	10
Skins, bear, black	1213	10	6
Beayer	1023	10	8½
Calf, undrest	2889	1	7½
tanned	6540	18	11½
Deer, in hair	3381	10	8
Fox, ordinary	914	4	11
Goat, tanned	2091	16	8
Kid, drest	1136	19	0
kid, undrest	4217	0	8½
Martin	2937	3	8
Mink	549	15	4½
			Skins,

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	L.	s.	d.
Skins, Musquash	397	3	2½
Otter	863	6	3½
Raccoon	391	9	8½
Seal	1377	0	5
Wolf	1652	11	4
Snuff	856	2	6
Soap, hard	477	19	8½
Spirits, brandy—customs only	49647	4	10½
Geneva do.	23890	13	6½
rum do.	46958	18	4
Stones, blocks of marble	1670	0	5
Tapes, open	306	10	8½
Tar	6042	18	3
Thread, sifters	1853	5	1
Tobacco—customs only	220310	13	9
Tow	1033	17	5½
Turpentine	14662	2	0
Wax, bees	4275	12	2½
Wine, Canary—customs only	1536	9	1
French do.	32826	19	2
Madeira do.	28342	8	10½
Port do.	467309	3	5
Rhenish do.	3770	7	11½
Spanish do.	84120	4	6
Wood, balks	1263	14	5½
Battens	12963	3	8½
Deals	129986	3	6
Deal ends	4044	3	1½
Lathwood	4761	14	0½
Masts	2726	12	5
Oak plank	3327	5	4½
Paling boards	1200	4	3½
Scaleboards	747	19	8½
Staves	7682	10	9½
Timber, fir	83793	1	10½
oak	662	14	4½
Ufers	1257	16	1½
Wainscot boards	1257	10	8½
logs	2646	15	10½
Yarn, cotton	389	19	6
Mohair	1300	10	9
Alum	3268	12	2½
Coals exported to foreign parts	121064	4	1
Lead	27348	2	2
Tin	5683	13	6
Subsidy on sundry small articles	3445	19	3½
Coals, coast-ways	680036	19	8½
			Duties

APPENDIX TO

	L.	s.	d.
Duties on windows, by the 24th Geo. III.	229924	10	9
Sundry small articles—also small balances remaining in the hand of different collectors in the different ports of Great Britain	196923	15	10
	5248361	1	14

DISCHARGE.

By Bounties	648103	1	11½
Management	384712	15	6½
Exchequer Payments—(See a note below)	4136990	15	4½
Monies issued out of the revenue in Scotland, applicable to his Majesty's civil government	78545	8	2
	5248361	1	1

Note—In the above payments into the Exchequer, amounting to 4136990l. 15s. 4½d. is included a sum of 150712l. 3s. 4½d. which is applicable to the special purpose directed by the act of the 31st of his Majesty.

THOMAS IRVING,

Inspector General of the Imports and Exports
of Great Britain and the British Colonies.

EXCISE.

An Account of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties of Excise in England and Scotland; distinguishing (as far as possible) the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to One Thousand Pounds or more, in the Four Quarters next proceeding the 10th of October 1792.

	L.	s.	d.
AUCTIONS	79241	0	0
Beer	2012373	0	0
Bricks and tiles	118714	0	0
Candles	268768	0	0
Coaches built for sale	2197	0	0
			Cocoa

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	L.	s.	d.
Cocoa nuts and coffee	38408	0	0
Cyder, perry, and verjuice	23596	0	0
Glass	143040	0	0
Hides, skins, vellum, and parchment	233960	0	0
Hops	82776	0	0
Malt, perpetual duty	612235	0	0
Metheglin, or mead, and vinegar	22950	0	0
Paper	68805	0	0
Printed goods	201982	0	0
Soap	350264	0	0
Spirits { British	644104	0	0
{ Foreign	704392	0	0
Starch	104402	0	0
Sweets	13488	0	0
Tea	462248	15	8½
Tobacco and Snuff, commenced 11th October, 1789	313241	0	0
Verjuice is with Cyder and Perry.			
Vinegar is with Metheglin.			
Wine	273962	0	0
Wire	2280	0	0
Licences to auctioneers is with Auctions.			
coachmakers is with Coaches.			
dealers in coffee, chocolate, and tea	13412	0	0
makers and sellers of wax and spermaceti-			
candles, is with Candles.			
makers of, and dealers in, exciseable com-			
modities	44695	0	0
retailers of spirituous liquors	160794	0	0
retailers of wine	30264	0	0
sellers of gold and silver plate	8625	0	0
manufacturers and dealers in tobacco and			
snuff, is with Tobacco and Snuff.			
Duties com-			
menced 5th			
Jan. 1791. { Spirits { British	111307	0	0
{ Foreign	142737	0	0
{ Malt	118033	0	0
Total of duties, except malt annual	7507203	15	8½
Annual malt, mum cyder, and perry	607200	0	0
Total of England	8114403	15	8½

APPENDIX TO

An Account of the Duties of Excise paid into the Exchequer, by the Commissioners of Excise in England, in One Year, between the 10th of October 1791, and 10th of October 1792, on the Part of Scotland.

	L.	s.	d.
AUCTIONS	4000	0	0
Beer and ale	25000	0	0
Bricks and tiles	3000	0	0
Candles	8000	0	0
Cocoa nuts and coffee			
General licences	3600	0	0
Glass	12000	0	0
Hides and skins	2000	0	0
Malt, perpetual duty	29500	0	0
Paper	6000	0	0
Printed goods	68000	0	0
Soap	20000	0	0
Spirits { British	42000	0	0
{ Foreign	18000	0	0
Starch	8000	0	0
Tobacco and snuff	33000	0	0
Wine	30000	0	0
Licences { Tea	500	0	0
{ Plate	500	0	0
{ Spirituous liquor	6000	0	0
Malt, perpetual duty, commenced 5th of January, 1791	6000	0	0
Foreign spirits, additional	4000	0	0
British spirits, do.	3000	0	0
Total of duties, except malt annual	331500	0	0
Annual malt, mum, cyder, and perry	14500	0	0
Total of Scotland	346000	0	0
Perpetual Duties { England	7507203	15	8½
{ Scotland	331500	0	0
Total of perpetual duties	7838703	15	8½
Malt Annual Duties { England	607200	0	0
{ Scotland	14500	0	0
Total of malt annual, &c.	621700	0	0
Total	8460403	15	8½

*Excise Office, London,
12 Dec. 1792.*

JAMES WEBB, Accomptant General,
JAMES BROWNE, P. Comptroller.

*An Account of the Total Net Produce of the Duties arising from the Stamp Revenue, that have amounted to 1000*l.* or more, in the Four Quarters next preceeding the 10th of October 1792.*

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
C ONSOLIDATED duties	748470	15	6
Insurance	120633	10	8
Burials, &c.	4776	10	4
Hats	12184	11	3
Plate	28967	17	5
Post horse duty	195016	16	8
Medicine	12738	18	7
Game	46163	7	0
Attornies	24882	8	5
Pawnbrokers	4520	4	6
Glove	6231	7	11
Perfumery	5858	10	6
Judges duty	1373	13	10
Bills of exchange	156587	7	8
Receipts	48666	4	9
Additional game, 1791	19833	16	7
Apprentice duty	8521	5	9

1445447 7 4

Memorandum.

The Tax on Bills of Exchange, as above	156587	7	8
Do Receipts	48666	4	9

205253 12 5

Of the produce of these taxes, the average produce of 3 years is directed by an act 31st Geo. III. to be carried to the Consolidated Fund

128600 0 0

And the remainder is applicable towards paying principal and interest of Exchequer Bills, issued anno 1791

76653 12 5

J. LLOYD, pro Compt.

Stamp Office, Dec. 24th 1792.

An Account of the Total Net Produce, paid into the Exchequer, of the Duties, under the Head of Incidents; distinguishing (as far as possible) in each Branch the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which shall have amounted to 1000l. or more, in the Four Quarters next preceding the 10th of October, 1792.

CONSOLIDATED Salt, 1787	L. 377232	4	3
Letter money, per week	159000	0	0
Letter money, 1760	227484	3	9½
Seizures, 1760	28522	9	11
Alienation duty	2272	15	4
Hawkers, 1710	3828	11	4
Hackney coaches, 1711	8400	0	0
Ditto, 1784	10000	0	0
6d. per lib. on pensions	47780	0	0
1s. deduct. on salaries	43517	9	3½
First fruits	4339	10	1½
Tenths	9902	14	3½
Male servants, 1785	100065	11	0½
Female ditto	33298	11	1½
4-Wheel carriages	165246	8	1½
2-Wheel ditto	35733	11	5½
Waggons	19909	19	10½
Carts	10262	18	1½
Horses	123267	8	2½
Shops	1002	10	3
10l. per cent.	85956	2	3½
Houses and windows, 1766	387923	15	10
Houses, 1778	146827	10	11
	2031574	5	7½
The produce of duties under 1000l. amounts to	1616	15	3
	2033191	0	10½

M ONEY paid by Charles Long, Esq. for interest on 187,000l. for annuities granted by an Act of Parliament, 29th George the Third	L. 4026	16	11
Do. by Messrs. Meyrick, arising from the sale of commissions in several regiments, vacated by the promotions of officers	2549	7	6
Do. by Messrs. Bishop and Brumell, do.	798	17	0
Do. by Alexander Adair, do.	1501	18	0
Do. by James Ruffel, do.	549	8	6
	Money		

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	L.	s.	d.
Money paid by Messrs. Rofs and Ogilvie, do.	1713	18	0
Do. by Nathaniel Collyer, do.	549	8	6
Do. by Messrs. Lamb and Cock, do.	1101	18	6
Do. by Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, do.	13628	8	6
Imprest Money repaid by Messrs. Pomroy and Kender Mason, executors of Kender Mason, on account of an agreement for victualling 3000 militia in East Florida	2000	0	0
Do. by Lieutenant Colonel George Clerk, late Barrack-Master in North America	140	2	4½
Do. by Daniel Macnamara, Esq. agent to the executors of Richard Rigby, Esq. late paymaster of the forces	16884	15	6
Imprest Money repaid by Peregrine Francis Thomas, Esq.	81	18	4
Money paid by Edward Roberts, Esq. for the Consol. Fund	1171	6	4
Do. by ———— Armstrong, arising from the sale of commissions in several regiments, vacated by the promotion of officers	3198	10	0
Do. by Humphrey Donaldson, for do.	1799	8	0
Do. by Richard Moleworth, for do.	149	9	0
Do. by Kender Mason, Esq. Extor. of Kender Mason, on his account, as Contractor in East Florida	1000	0	0
Do. by William Brummell, Esq. Agent for the Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital	3000	0	0
Do. by the Executors of John Cowan, late Agent in East Florida	351	11	11
Do. by Sarah Dickenson and Granville Sharp, Executors of Elizabeth Oglethorpe, Extri. of James Oglethorpe, late Agent in South Carolina and Georgia	841	17	8
Money paid by Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, on account of Colonel Allan Maclean, for the purchase of a ship for transporting the late 84th regiment	1028	2	6
Do. by John Johnstone, Esq. Executor of George Johnstone, Esq. late Governor of West Florida, in the years 1765, 1766, and 1767	179	19	0½
Do. by George Watts, Esq. Recorder General of the Isle of Man	5000	0	0
Do. paid by William Cowder, Agent to the 16th regiment of Dragoons	171	4	7
Do. paid by William Mitford, Esq. remitted from Barbadoes	338	3	4
Do. by Timothy Nucella, Jun. on account of life-annuities granted in the year 1746	20	0	0
Do. by Senhouse Wilson, Esq. Recorder General of the Isle of Man	1	13	9½

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K

Imprest

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Imprest Money, repaid by Captain John Barnes, by the Hands of Captain William Twiss	251	5	0
Do. by Lord Barrington, late Treasurer of the Navy	2914	13	5½
Money paid by the Right. Hon. William Pitt, for the Use of Government	20	0	0
Do. by William Mifford, remitted from Canada, on Account of a Debt to the Public	796	18	8
Imprest Money repaid by the Rt. Hon. Lord Howe, late Treasurer of the Navy	150	15	5
Money paid by William Barr, Esq. appointed to provide the Necessaries for the Hospital in Canada	17	2	8
Do. by Kender Mason, Executor of Kender Mason, Esq. on his Account, as Contractor in East Florida	1000	0	0
Do. by Alex. Anderson, on Account of William Nesbitt, Clerk of the Council in St. John's Island, for the Year 1792	100	0	0
	<hr/>		
	69028	19	0
Total of Incidents	2033191	0	10½
	<hr/>		
	2102219	19	10½
	<hr/>		

Exchequer, the 19th Day of Dec. 1792.

Ex. per NEWCASTLE.

An Account of the Total Produce of the Duties of Customs, Excise, Stamps, and Incidents, respectively, for One Year, ended the 10th Day of October, 1792; distinguishing (as far as possible) in each Branch, the Produce on every separate Article, the Duties on which have amounted to One Thousand Pounds, or more, in the Four Quarters of the said Year.

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
T HE total produce of the duties of Customs for one year, ended the 10th day of October, 1792	4,136,999	15	4½
Do. of the Excise for one year, ended do. (exclusive of 621,700l. the produce of the annual malt duties)	9,838,703	15	8½
Do. of the Stamp Duties for one year, ended do.	1,445,447	7	4
Do. of Incidents at the receipt of the Exchequer, for one year, ended do.	2,102,219	19	10½
	<hr/>		
	L. 15,523,170	18	3½
	<hr/>		

Supplies

THE CHRONICLE.

147

Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1792.

N A V Y.

	FEB. 9.	L.	s.	d.
F OR 16,000 men, including 4425 marines		832,000	0	0
	FEB. 13			
To discharge the navy debt	—	131,000	0	0
	FEB. 14.			
Ordinary, including half-pay	—	672,482	0	0
Extraordinaries	—	350,000	0	0
		<u>L. 1,985,482</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

A R M Y.

FEB. 16.

For 17,013 men as guards and garrisons, from December 25, 1791, to June 24, 1792	—	285,064	12	9
For 15,701 do. from June 25 to December 24, 1792	—	275,140	19	3
Forces in the Plantations, &c. from December 1791 to June 25	—	170,193	9	6½
Do. from June 25 to December 24, 1792	—	149,294	13	5
Difference between British and Irish establishment, from December 25, 1791, to June 24	—	4,250	12	8
Do. from June 25 to December 24, 1792	—	2,903	4	7
Forces in the East Indies	—	8,345	16	2
Recruiting, contingencies, &c.	—	98,037	15	0
Full pay to supernumerary officers	—	15,064	11	0
General and staff-officers	—	6,427	0	6
Allowances to the paymaster-general, &c.	—	52,338	5	2
Reduced officers of land-forces and marines	—	159,797	10	0
Do. horse-guards	—	202	10	0
Officers late in the service of the States-General	—	3,161	10	10
Reduced officers of British American forces	—	55,092	10	0
Allowances to ditto	—	4,907	10	0
Chelsea pensioners	—	173,104	3	11
Widows pensions	—	9,381	13	10
Scotch roads and bridges	—	4,660	0	0
Garrison and staff-officers in 1791	—	1,785	3	8
	FEB. 28.			
Extraordinaries in 1791	—	340,306	8	0
		<u>L. 1,819,460</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>

ORDNANCE.

FEB. 16.

Ordinance, previous to December 31, 1783, not provided for

Do. not provided for in 1790

Ordinance for 1792

L. 877 11 2

43,225 18 5

377,898 8 8

L. 422,001 11 3

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

FEB. 9.

To discharge exchequer bills

5,500,000 0 0

FEB. 14.

Civil establishment of Nova Scotia

5,376 17 6

Do. New Brunswick

4,520 0 0

Do. St. John's Island

2,020 0 0

Do. Cape Breton

1,803 0 0

Do. Newfoundland

1,306 7 6

Do. Bahama Islands

4,180 0 0

Chief justice of the Bermuda Islands

580 0 0

Do. of Dominica

600 0 0

Civil list establishment of Upper Canada

6,565 7 0

Do. New South Wales

4,726 0 0

FEB. 20.

To the fund for paying off exchequer bills

100,000 0 0

To the bank for the reduction of national debt

400,000 0 0

FEB. 28.

Convicts in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours

6,401 4 8

Do. on the Thames

17,023 17 2

Sending provisions, &c. to New South Wales

22,179 12 6

Secretary of commissioners for regulating the shipping of slaves

100 0 0

Prosecution of Mr. Hastings

6,347 11 6

To Thomas Cotton, Esq. to pay bills of exchange

1,926 9 10½

Compensation to the owners of slave ships

4,141 11 7½

African forts

13,000 0 0

Extraordinary expences of the mint

9,819 18 7

Prosecution of offenders against the corn laws

707 3 8

Presents to the inhabitants of the north-west coast of America

10,329 15 4

Compensation

MARCH 19.

Compensation for losses sustained on evacuating the			
Musquito Shore	—	12,262	19 9
Addres money	—	26,043	3 3
American and East Florida sufferers	—	284,992	15 5½
Allowances to American civil officers, sufferers	—	28,000	0 0
		<u>L.6,474,950</u>	<u>15 5</u>

DEFICIENCY.

FEB. 14.

Deficiency of grants for 1791	—	436,990	18 0½
Navy	—	L.1,985,482	0 0
Army	—	1,819,460	0 4
Ordnance	—	422,001	11 3
Miscellaneous services	—	6,474,950	15 5½
Deficiency	—	436,990	18 0½
		<u>L.11,138,885</u>	<u>5 1</u>

Ways and Means for raising the Supplies for 1792.

FEB. 13.

Land tax and malt-duty	—	2,750,000	0 0
------------------------	---	-----------	-----

FEB. 20.

Surplus of consolidated fund to January 5, 1792	—	155,495	19 0½
Do. to April 5, 1792	—	486,000	0 0
Do. to April 5, 1793	—	2,300,000	0 0

FEB. 28.

Exchequer bills	—	5,500,000	0 0
-----------------	---	-----------	-----

MARCH 29.

Profit on 50,000 lottery tickets, at 6l. 5s. each	—	312,500	0 0
		<u>11,503,995</u>	<u>19 0½</u>
		<u>11,138,813</u>	<u>5 1</u>
Excess of ways and means		<u>L. 365,182</u>	<u>13 11½</u>

Public Acts passed in the Second Session of the Seventeenth Parliament of Great Britain.

Feb. 15.

AN act to extend the provisions of certain acts respecting the trials of controverted elections of members of parliament.

March 9.

Land-tax act.

Malt-duty act.

Marine mutiny act.

Act for repealing the duties on female servants.

Act for ditto, on window-lights in houses containing less than seven windows.

Act for repealing the duties on waggons, &c. granted by an act 23 Geo. III.

March 10.

Mutiny act

Act for repealing the duties on malt, granted 31 Geo. III.

Act for repealing a part of the duty on tallow candles.

March 30

Two acts for raising money by exchequer bills.

Act for regulating the commercial intercourse with America.

April 5.

Act to make provision for the establishment of the Duke and Dukes of York, and to settle an annuity on the Dukes, in case of the death of his Royal Highness.

Act granting 400,000*l.* to be paid to the bank, for the reduction of the national debt.

Act for the better execution of warrants against offenders against the excise laws.

Act repealing certain regulations with respect to certificates on the exportation of tea into Ireland or America.

Act for the more effectual preventing of frauds on the excise by common brewers.

Act to compel auctioneers to declare whether sales have been held under the notices required by law.

April 30.

Act to raise a sum of money by lottery.

Act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia.

Act to indemnify persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

Act to prevent frauds on the excise in the soap manufactory.

Act to enable the bank of Scotland to increase their capital stock.

May 8.

Act for granting a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund.

Act to explain and amend an act 31 Geo. II. for the encouragement of seamen in the royal navy.

Act to explain and amend an act 26 Geo. III. for the preventing of frauds in the payment of seamen's wages.

June 11.

Act for the amendment of the law in proceedings upon information in the nature of *quo warranto*.

June

June 15.

Act for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace in and near the metropolis.

Act granting relief to pastors, ministers, and lay-persons of the episcopal communion in Scotland.

Act for establishing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

Act to remove doubts respecting the functions of justices in cases of libel.

Act for preventing the counterfeiting of certificates in the characters of servants.

STATE

OF THE

BAROMETER AND THERMOMETER,

For the Year 1792.

	Thermometer.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain.
1792.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.				Inches.
January	53	19	37.2	30.47	28.94	29.66	—	—	—	1.810
February	56	16.5	40	30.40	29.53	29.98	—	—	—	0.712
March	56	26	44.3	30.51	29.07	29.77	85	48	64.3	1.791
April	66	38	52	30.52	29.12	29.90	75	44	59.6	1.550
May	67	42.5	53.3	30.39	29.32	29.97	72	43	56.7	1.624
June	79.5	49	58.1	30.27	29.41	29.93	67	40	57.7	1.624
July	76	53	61.7	30.19	29.52	29.88	80	46	60.9	2.299
August	84	54	65.7	30.30	29.40	29.93	80	45	59.1	2.065
September	69	42	55.1	30.34	29.09	29.79	81	48	60.5	1.910
October	62	39	51	30.42	29.26	29.79	84	58	69.8	1.884
November	58	35	45.5	30.44	29.32	30.02	84	59	68.9	0.454
December	53	31.5	41.9	30.35	29	29.85	81	58	69.9	1.766
Whole year.			50.5			29.87				19.489

PRICES OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1791.

The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down in that Month.

	Bank Stock.	3 pr ct Reduc.	3 pr ct Confol.	4 pr ct Confol.	5 per cent.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India An.	India Bonds.	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exche. Bills.	Lourey Tickets.
Jan.	200 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	103 1/2	119 1/2	26 1/2	13 1/2	192 1/2	89 1/2	99	100 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	Par.	19	17 13 0
Feb.	199 1/2	88 1/2	89 1/2	102 1/2	115 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	184 1/2	85 1/2	85	106 1/2	88 1/2	91 1/2	1/2 dif.	17	17 1 0
	210	97	96 1/2	105 1/2	121 1/2	27 1/2	13 1/2	212 1/2	92 1/2	104	107 1/2	96 1/2	96 1/2	Par.	17	18 1 0
Mar.	210 1/2	94	93 1/2	102 1/2	116 1/2	26 1/2	12 1/2	193 1/2	88	95	107 1/2	93 1/2	93 1/2	1/2 dif.	12	17 19 0
	219 1/2	97 1/2	97 1/2	105 1/2	120	27 1/2	12 1/2	216 1/2	92	115	106 1/2	97 1/2	90 1/2	1/2 Pre.	7	—
Apr.	217 1/2	96 1/2	95 1/2	104 1/2	119	27 1/2	—	210 1/2	91 1/2	105	105 1/2	90 1/2	95 1/2	Par.	5	—
	202 1/2	89 1/2	90 1/2	108 1/2	117 1/2	25 1/2	12 1/2	205 1/2	84 1/2	100	100	88 1/2	91 1/2	1/2 dif.	7	16 19 6
May	209 1/2	93 1/2	94 1/2	100 1/2	119 1/2	27	12 1/2	213 1/2	88	108	103 1/2	99	93 1/2	1/2 dif.	5	16 13 0
	192 1/2	85 1/2	87	96 1/2	117 1/2	24 1/2	11 1/2	199	84 1/2	98	99 1/2	89 1/2	83 1/2	1/2 dif.	7	16 17 0
June	200 1/2	93	94 1/2	100 1/2	120	26 1/2	12 1/2	202	87	107	101 1/2	92 1/2	—	1/2 dif.	4	16 3 0
	201 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	99 1/2	119 1/2	26 1/2	11 1/2	205 1/2	85 1/2	99	—	91 1/2	—	1/2 dif.	7	16 14 6
July	208 1/2	93 1/2	94 1/2	103 1/2	118 1/2	26 1/2	12 1/2	213 1/2	87 1/2	117	102 1/2	92 1/2	92 1/2	1/2 dif.	5	16 8 6
	203 1/2	91 1/2	92 1/2	100 1/2	117 1/2	26 1/2	11 1/2	203 1/2	86 1/2	104	99 1/2	91 1/2	90 1/2	1/2 dif.	7	16 12 6
Aug.	207 1/2	92 1/2	93 1/2	102 1/2	118 1/2	26 1/2	12 1/2	200 1/2	87 1/2	117	161	92 1/2	91 1/2	1/2 dif.	20	16 12 0
	199 1/2	89	88	100 1/2	117	26 1/2	12 1/2	200 1/2	85 1/2	108	98 1/2	89 1/2	—	1/2 dif.	12	16 10 0
Sept.	206 1/2	91 1/2	91 1/2	100 1/2	118 1/2	26 1/2	12 1/2	216 1/2	—	110	—	91 1/2	90 1/2	1/2 dif.	12	16 16 0
	202 1/2	90	89 1/2	101 1/2	116 1/2	25 1/2	11 1/2	202	—	102	—	89 1/2	89 1/2	1/2 dif.	7	16 12 0
Oct.	206 1/2	90	91 1/2	102 1/2	118 1/2	25 1/2	11 1/2	212 1/2	85 1/2	111	—	90 1/2	90 1/2	1/2 dif.	13	16 16 6
	200 1/2	89 1/2	89 1/2	101 1/2	116 1/2	25 1/2	11 1/2	209 1/2	85 1/2	101	—	88 1/2	89 1/2	1/2 dif.	10	16 13 0
Nov.	200 1/2	89 1/2	90 1/2	100 1/2	118 1/2	25 1/2	12	212 1/2	85 1/2	111	99 1/2	89 1/2	82 1/2	1/2 dif.	15 pre.	16 16 6
	173 1/2	76 1/2	77 1/2	90 1/2	111	23 1/2	10 1/2	2	70 1/2	148	89	89	75 1/2	1/2 dif.	5 dif.	16 10 6
Dec.	179 1/2	82 1/2	81 1/2	96 1/2	114 1/2	23 1/2	10 1/2	191	74 1/2	prem.	85	85	—	1/2 dif.	20 dif.	16 10 0
	166 1/2	75 1/2	74	88 1/2	104 1/2	21 1/2	10 1/2	170	72 1/2	30 dif.	84 1/2	73	—	1/2 dif.	33 dif.	16 6

A GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From Dec. 13, 1791, to Dec. 11, 1792.

Christenings { Males 9934 } 19348.
 { Females 9414 }

Buried { Males 10276 } 20223.
 { Females 9937 }

Increased in the Burials this Year 1453.

Died under 2 Years	6541	20 and 30	1384	60 and 70	1434	100 &
Between 2 and 5	2162	30 — 40	1807	70 — 80	1104	102 &
5 — 10	753	40 — 50	2102	80 — 90	380	104 &
10 — 20	664	50 — 60	1830	90 — 100	49	&c. &c.

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES					
Abortive and Still-born	772	Evil	8	Measles	450	Broken Limbs	3
Abicels	29	Fever, malignant		Miscarriage		Bruised	4
Aged	1165	Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2236	Mortification	234	Bit by a Mad Dog	1
Ague		Fistula	3	Palsy	76	Burnt	15
Apoplexy	86	Flux	4	Pleurisy	21	Choaked	2
Asthma and Phthisic	460	French Pox	32	Quinsy	12	Drowned	116
Bedridden	13	Gout	90	Rheumatism	8	Excessive Drinking	15
Bleeding	16	Gravel, Strangury, and Stone	52	Rickets	3	Executed *	11
Bloody Flux	1	Grief	9	Scurvy	5	Found Dead	9
Bursten and Rupture	15	Head-Ach	1	Small Pox	1568	Fractured	3
Cancer	69	Headmouldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	54	Sore Throat	13	Frighted	1
Childbed	201	Jaundice	63	Sores and Ulcers	11	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	71
Cold	4	Imposthume	1	St. Anthony's Fire	2	Killed themselves	31
Colic, Gripes, Twisting of the Guts	5	Inflammation	303	Stoppage in the Stomach	13	Murdered	6
Consumption	5255	Leprosy	1	Suddenly	142	Poisoned	4
Convulsions	4646	Lethargy	3	Surfeit	2	Scalded	7
Cough and Hooping-Cough	311	Livergrown	1	Swelling	4	Stabbed	1
Dropfy	901	Lunatic	57	Teeth	419	Starved	5
				Thrush	36	Suffocated	4
				Vomiting and Loofes	3		
				Worms	7		
						Total	309

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey, 25; of which number 11 only have been reported as buried within the Bills of Mortality.

APPENDIX TO

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-house Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of January, 1793.

EXPORTED.

1792.	BRITISH.	FOREIGN.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.		
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	L. s. d.		
Wheat	220,689	24,525			
Do. Flour	46,606	cwts. qrs. lbs. 11,101 1 14			
Rye	14,608	qrs. 1,542			
Barley	25,830	709			
Malt	18,359				
Oats	12,160	11,255	69,426 0 4 Bo.		
Oatmeal	398	62	Drawbacks Nil.		
Beans	10,747	846			
Pease	4,355	1,196			
Biscuit	cwt. 48,560				
SCOTLAND.					
Wheat	qrs. 3,506	qrs. 2,267			
Do. Flour	cwt. qr. lbs. 1,274 1 4				
Do Meal	1,334 3 3				
Barley	qrs. 964	64			
Do. hulled	24				
Malt	1,661				
Oats	1,479	Irish.			
Oatmeal	cwt. qrs. lb. 525 2 3	cwt. 12 0 0	1,039 1 3 Bo.		
Beans	qrs. 63		Drawbacks Nil.		
Pease	82				
Bar	1,576				
Biscuit	cwt. qr. lb. 2,232 3 0				
Groats	qrs. 3				

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.		Quarters.	Duties received.		
Wheat	-	17,515	}	18,284	12 10
Do. Flour	-	cwt. 7,756 qr. 3 lb. 6			
Rye	-	13,026			
Barley	-	87,915			
Oats	-	810,575			
Oatmeal	-	8,095			
Beans	-	38,451			
Pease	-	4,900			
Indian Corn	-	5,677			
SCOTLAND.		Quarters.	Duties received.		
Wheat	-	2,676	}	6,327	16 4
Barley	-	30,610			
Oats	-	124,330			
Oatmeal	-	65,399			
Pease	-	6			

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the Standard Winchester Bushel, for the Year 1792.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 3½	3 10½	3 4	2 3½	3 11

N. B. The price of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel, 6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 31, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE many proofs which you have given of your affectionate attachment to my person and family, leave me no doubt of your participating in the satisfaction which I derive from the happy event of the marriage which has been celebrated between my son the Duke of York, and the eldest daughter of my good brother and ally the King of Prussia; and I am persuaded that I may expect your cheerful concurrence in enabling me to make a suitable provision for their establishment.

Since I last met you in parliament, a definitive treaty has been concluded under my mediation, and that of my allies, the King of Prussia and the States General of the United Provinces, between the Emperor and the Ottoman Porte, on principals which appear the best calculated to prevent future disputes between those powers.

Our intervention has also been employed with a view to promote a pacification between the Empress of Russia and the Porte; and conditions have been agreed upon between us and the former of those powers, which we undertook to recommend to the Porte, as the re-

establishment of peace, on such terms appeared to be, under all the existing circumstances, a desirable event for the several interests of Europe. I am in expectation of speedily receiving the account of the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, preliminaries having been some time since agreed upon between those powers.

I have directed copies of the definitive treaty between the Emperor and the Porte to be laid before you, as well as such papers as are necessary to shew the terms of peace which have been under discussion during the negotiation with the court of Petersburg.

I regret that I am not yet enabled to inform you of the termination of the war in India; but the success which has already attended the distinguished bravery and exertion of the officers and troops under the able conduct of Lord Cornwallis, affords reasonable ground to hope, that the war may speedily be brought to an honourable conclusion.

The friendly assurances which I receive from foreign powers, and the general state of affairs in Europe, appear to promise to my subjects the continuance of their present tranquillity. Under these circumstances, I am induced to think that some immediate reduction may safely

safely be made in our naval and military establishments; and my regard for the interests of my subjects renders me at all times desirous of availing myself of every favourable opportunity to diminish the public expences.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am persuaded it will give you great satisfaction to learn that the extraordinary expences incurred in the course of last year, have, in a great measure, been already defrayed by the grants of the session. The state of our resources will, I trust, be found more than sufficient to provide for the remaining part of these expences, as well as for the current service of the year, the estimates of which I have directed to be laid before you.

I entertain the pleasing hope, that the reduction which may be found practicable in the establishments, and the continued increase of the revenue, will enable you, after making due provision for the several branches of the public service, to enter upon a system of gradually relieving my subjects from some part of the existing taxes, at the same time giving additional efficacy to the plan for the reduction of the national debt, on the success of which our future ease and security essentially depend. With a view to this important object, let me also recommend it to you to turn your attention to the consideration of such measures as the state of the funds, and of public credit, may render practicable and expedient, towards a reduction in the rate of interest of such of the annuities which are now redeemable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The continued and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country, will, I am confident, animate you in the pursuit of every measure which may be conducive to the public interest. It must at the same time operate as the strongest encouragement to a spirit of useful industry among all classes of my subjects; and above all, must confirm and increase their steady and zealous attachment to that constitution which we have found, by long experience, to unite the inestimable blessings of liberty and order, and to which, under the favour of Providence, all our other advantages are principally to be ascribed.

*Speech of Mr. Speaker to his Majesty,
April 5, 1792.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

IT is my duty to tender to your Majesty two bills, in the name and on the behalf of the Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled.

In pursuance of your Majesty's recommendation, your Commons cheerfully proceeded to make a provision for the establishment of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York; and they trust that the bill which they have passed for this purpose, will fully manifest their just sense of what is due to the rank and dignity of their Royal Highnesses, as well as the satisfaction they derive from an event which, whilst it promotes the comfort and happiness of your Majesty and your illustrious family, is also materially conducive to the interests and honour of your people.

Other

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Other objects, no less interesting to your Majesty's mind, constantly directed as it is to the welfare of your subjects, have also engaged the attention of your Commons. The prosperous and improving condition of the public revenue, and the reductions which have been found practicable in the naval and military establishments, afforded the means of which your Commons thought it their duty to avail themselves of making a large addition to the fund, to be applied in the course of the present year, to the reduction of the public debt. Their conduct upon this, as upon other occasions, was governed by the conviction that the efficiency and success of the plan which has been established by parliament for this important purpose, must essentially tend to the future ease and permanent security of these kingdoms. In the adoption of these measures, your Commons have felt peculiar satisfaction, by finding themselves enabled, at the same time, to give some immediate relief to your Majesty's subjects, whose firmness in sustaining the burdens rendered necessary by a due regard to the maintenance of public credit, and whose spirit of enterprise and useful industry have so effectually contributed to advance to the pre-eminence they have attained, the general interests and prosperity of the empire.

Your Commons, Sir, contemplate with just satisfaction the continued and progressive improvement in the internal situation of the country; to preserve, augment, and diffuse the blessings of which we are in possession, they consider as the most important of their duties; and actuated by this principle, which comprehends a zealous and

firm attachment to the form of government under which we live, and a faithful attention to the interests and happiness of all classes of their fellow-subjects, they are persuaded that those measures which are the result of it, cannot fail to receive your Majesty's most gracious approbation.

The bills which I have in my hand are severally intituled, "An act to enable his Majesty to make provision for the establishment of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York and Albany; and also to settle an annuity on her Royal Highness during the term of her natural life, to commence from the decease of his said Royal Highness, in case her said Royal Highness shall survive him."

"An act for granting to his Majesty the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, to be issued and paid to the governor and company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt."

To which your Commons, with all humility, intreat your Majesty's royal assent.

His Majesty's Proclamation for Preventing Seditious Meetings and Writings, May 21, 1792.

By the King.—A PROCLAMATION.
GEORGE REX.

WHEREAS divers wicked and seditious writings have been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, tending to excite tumult and disorder, by endeavouring to raise groundless jealousies and discontents in the minds of our faithful and loving subjects, respect-
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ing the laws and happy constitution of government, civil and religious, established in this kingdom, and endeavouring to vilify and bring into contempt the wise and wholesome provisions made at the time of the glorious Revolution, and since strengthened and confirmed by subsequent laws, for the preservation and security of the rights and liberties of our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas divers writings have also been printed, published, and industriously dispersed, recommending the said wicked and seditious publications to the attention of all our faithful and loving subjects: and whereas we have also reason to believe, that correspondences have been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts, with a view to forward the criminal and wicked purposes above mentioned: and whereas the wealth, happiness, and prosperity of this kingdom do, under divine Providence, chiefly depend upon a due submission to the laws, a just confidence in the integrity and wisdom of parliament, and a continuance of that zealous attachment to the government and constitution of the kingdom, which has ever prevailed in the minds of the people thereof: and whereas there is nothing which we so earnestly desire as to secure the public peace and prosperity, and to preserve to all our loving subjects the full enjoyment of their rights and liberties, both religious and civil; we therefore being resolved, as far as in us lies, to repress the wicked and seditious practices aforesaid, and to deter all persons from following so pernicious an example, have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, solemn-

ly warning all our loving subjects, as they tender their own happiness and that of their posterity, to guard against all such attempts which aim at the subversion of all regular government within this kingdom, and which are inconsistent with the peace and order of society; and earnestly exhorting them, at all times, and to the utmost of their power, to avoid and discourage all proceedings tending to produce riots and tumults. And we do strictly charge and command all our magistrates in and throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do make diligent enquiry, in order to discover the authors and printers of such wicked and seditious writings as aforesaid, and all others who shall disperse the same; and we do further charge and command all our sheriffs, justices of the peace, chief magistrates of our cities, boroughs, and corporations, and all other our officers and magistrates throughout our kingdom of Great Britain, that they do, in their several and respective stations, take the most immediate and effectual care to suppress and prevent all riots, tumults, and other disorders, which may be attempted to be raised or made by any person or persons; which, on whatever pretext they may be grounded, are not only contrary to law, but dangerous to the most important interests of this kingdom: and we do further require and command all and every our magistrates aforesaid, that they do, from time to time, transmit to one of our principal secretaries of state due and full information of such persons as shall be found offending as aforesaid, or in any degree aiding or abetting therein; it being our determination, for the preservation of the peace

peace and happiness of our faithful and loving subjects, to carry the laws vigorously into execution against such offenders as aforesaid.

Given at our court at the Queen's House, the 21st day of May, 1792, in the 32d year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Joint Address of both Houses of Parliament to his Majesty, June 2d, 1792.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, have taken into our most serious consideration your Majesty's royal proclamation, which has, by your Majesty's command, been laid before us: and we beg leave to testify to your Majesty our warm and grateful sense of this fresh proof of your Majesty's constant solicitude for the welfare and happiness of your people. We cannot see without indignation the attempts which have been made to weaken in the minds of your Majesty's subjects the sentiments of obedience to the laws, and of attachment to the form of government, civil and religious, so happily established within this realm. The advantages which, under the government of your Majesty and your illustrious ancestors, have been derived from legal and well-regulated freedom, and the unexampled blessings which we actually enjoy, afford to your Majesty's subjects peculiar motives to reflect with gratitude on their present situation, and to beware of those delusive theories

which are inconsistent with the relations and duties of all civil society. And we deem it, under the present circumstances, the peculiar duty of every good citizen to discourage and counteract every attempt, direct and indirect, against public order and tranquillity. We are confident, that the sentiments which we now express to your Majesty are the general sentiments of the nation; they must feel with us, that real liberty can only exist under the protection of law, and the authority of efficient and regular government; and they have seen, by happy experience, that the mixed form of our legislature comprehends and provides for the various interests of the community through all its several descriptions; and maintains and preserves those gradations of property and condition which furnish the great incentives to useful industry, and are equally essential to the vigour and exertion of every part, and to the stability and welfare of the whole. They therefore know, that the collective strength and prosperity of the empire, its wealth, its credit, and its commerce, as well as the only security for the persons, the property, and the liberties of each individual, are essentially connected with the preservation of the established constitution.

Impressed with these opinions, we think it our duty to assure your Majesty of our firm determination to support your Majesty in the resolution which your Majesty has adopted; and we are fully persuaded, that every exertion which may be necessary, will be seconded by the zeal and gratitude of a free and loyal people.

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His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I THANK you very warmly for this loyal, dutiful, and seasonable address.

My utmost endeavours shall never be wanting to maintain among my people a just sense of the advantages of our present constitution, the source of legal and well-regulated freedom: and, at the same time, to secure to them, by a due exertion of the laws, a continuance of all the unexampled blessings which they now enjoy. It is the greatest satisfaction to me to reflect that, in these endeavours, I shall receive the firm and united assistance of my parliament; and I feel the same conviction and confidence which is expressed by you, that our exertions for this purpose will be seconded by the zeal and public spirit of my people, whose happiness forms the first object of all my wishes.

*Speech of Mr. Speaker to his Majesty,
June 15th, 1792.*

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's faithful Commons, not content with having carried into effect a bill, the principle and tendency of which is highly interesting to public credit, and to the prosperity of the kingdom, have also made provision for preventing the future permanent increase of the national debt, by having resolved, that on all future loans means should be found for their discharge; which operation, it is the hope of the Commons, no necessity will ever prevent; as, by such provision, your Majesty's loyal

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subjects will be guarded from those difficulties in which they have been involved, and which could only be supported by that public spirit and patriotic zeal which pervaded all ranks of your Majesty's people. Other objects have also occupied the attention of the Commons, who have the satisfaction of releasing your Majesty's subjects from several of the burdens under which they have laboured. The Commons have also taken measures to promote the commerce, the manufactures, and the revenue of the empire. Your Majesty may be assured of the determination of your faithful Commons to maintain the happy constitution of the country, from which the people look for an increase of their blessings, and for the security and continuance of those of which they are actually possessed. Your Majesty's faithful Commons trust, that the giving to juries the right of deciding on all cases of libels, will be highly advantageous, as it gives uniformity to the law, and security to the property, the lives, and liberties of your Majesty's subjects. Your Majesty's faithful Commons are sensible of the enjoyments arising from the present form of government, the preservation of which they are fully convinced is determined to be persevered in by a great and loyal people.

Protest against the Address of the House of Lords to his Majesty, on the Proclamation.

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BECAUSE I think the honour and dignity of parliament trifled with, by a solemn call, with-

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out any adequate cause, and upon slight pretences, to make unnecessary professions of attachment to the constitution, and of zeal for his Majesty's government, and to concur in applauding his Majesty's ministers for advising this extraordinary measure of a royal proclamation, and a recurrence to the authority of parliament; a measure not called for, and which appears to me much more calculated to awake causeless apprehensions, and excite unnecessary alarm among a people affectionate to the King and obedient to the laws, than to answer any of those salutary purposes for which alone ministers should presume to use the royal name and authority.

Because those writings which his Majesty's ministers now consider as likely to disturb the public peace, and excite dangerous tumults, and of which the prosecution is, on a sudden, deemed by them indispensable to the preservation of order and the security of government, have been permitted, for a considerable time past, to be openly, and, as is asserted, industriously disseminated through every part of the kingdom; and therefore if the principles thus propagated be so subversive of all order, and destructive of all government, and are at the same time so unfortunately calculated to make a rapid, alarming, and fatal progress in the minds of a peaceable and enlightened people, as ministers have in debate maintained, it would well become the care and wisdom of parliament, instead of committing its authority in the measures of executive government, and taking part in the ordinary execution of the laws, to enquire why so important a discovery was not made at an earlier period; and why the

ministers have so long permitted the salutary terrors of the law to sleep over offences, the prosecution of which so highly imported the public safety.

Because, if it be expedient to punish the authors and publishers of seditious writings, I think it the province of the executive government to determine upon that expediency, and to put the law in motion; and I cannot but consider as pernicious in its example, and unconstitutional in its principle, the present attempt made by the ministers to shelter themselves, justify their conduct, and cover what, according to their argument, has been their criminal negligence, by a measure of parliament. I believe the laws to be sufficiently efficacious for the punishment of such offenders as are described in the royal proclamation; and I see no reason why parliament should take from his Majesty's ministers any part of the responsibility which appertains to their stations, of advising the crown, and directing its law-officers as to the fit seasons and proper occasions on which any of the laws for preserving the public peace should be enforced; nor can I observe, without expressing my marked disapprobation, that the confidence which the public still place in the wisdom and integrity of parliament, notwithstanding all the attempts made by the present ministers to destroy it, is insidiously laid hold of by them to create public prejudice, and excite public indignation against those who are represented as obnoxious to the laws, and objects of prosecution. A sense of justice might have taught the ministers, that to fair and impartial trials, uninfluenced by any previous declaration, unprejudiced

by any previous interference of parliament, even the authors and publishers of those writings that have at last awakened the attention of ministers, are entitled; and a sense of decorum should have restrained them from lessening the dignity, and committing the honour of parliament, by making it, indirectly indeed, but to the common sense of mankind obviously, a party in public prosecutions, which parliament is thus made to sanction and direct, and on which this house, in the highest and last resort, may have to sit in the impartial and uninterested but awful character of judges.

Because, in this measure, by which ministers in effect confess and record their past inattention to the dangers which they now deprecate, and their present inability to discharge the ordinary duties of their station, without the extraordinary aid of parliament, the public cannot fail to perceive that weakness and inefficiency in his Majesty's councils, which are more hurtful to the true interests, and more derogatory from the just authority of government than any imaginary progress which, with great injustice to a loyal people, ministers attribute to the principles asserted in the writings of which they complain.

Because, when I consider how long the ministers have viewed with unconcern the circulation of those opinions, at the consequence of which they now affect to be alarmed; and when I recollect that of all those societies for the purpose of obtaining a reform in the representation of the people, and mentioned in the debate, one only is of recent origin, I have but too much reason to believe that, under whatever form they have disguised their

design, the real object of ministers has been to subject to suspicion and distrust the principles, misrepresent the views, and calumniate the intentions of that association of respectable persons lately formed, for purposes the most virtuous and constitutional, upon principles the most pure and disinterested, to be pursued by means the most legal and peaceful; wielding no weapons but those of truth and reason; using no efforts but those of argument, unsupported by party; appealing only to the sense and judgment of a public deeply interested in the objects of their pursuit, and not presuming to demand any personal credit but what may be derived from their steadiness, consistency, and integrity. This society appears to be the only one which has excited the jealousy of those ministers from whom justice has extorted an admission in debate, that nothing offensive, or even improper, has proceeded from it; of those ministers, some of whom have themselves engaged, but to a much greater extent, and upon much broader principles, in the prosecution of the same general objects, the attainment of which they declared not only indispensable, but alone capable of preserving the liberties of the people, and perpetuating the blessings of the constitution; but which objects, with the peaceful possession of power and emolument, they have long neglected and lost sight of, and now, at last, in the face of the public, in defiance of the most solemn engagements, unblushingly abandon. — Such are the ministers who have presumed to use the royal name and authority to a proclamation by which, insinuating the existence of dangers, of which even some of their

most confidential friends have declared their disbelief, they vainly hope to divert the attention of a discerning public from their apostasy from principles, and their dereliction of opinions, which paved their way to power, and for which they stood deliberately and repeatedly pledged to a generous, confiding, and at last deluded people.

Because, if the objects of that association, thus particularly aimed at by his Majesty's ministers, were not expressly justified by their former principles and professions as the act itself of associating to pursue those objects, is sanctioned by their former conduct and example, I should still see nothing in it to discommend, but much to applaud. A moderate and temperate reform of the abuses of the constitution is due to the people, who being on their part just to the monarchical and aristocratical branches of the constitution, who commit no invasion of the rights, and seek no abridgement of the powers of either, are entitled to have their own share in the legislation of their country freed from the unjust usurpations of others, and to possess uninvaded, and to exercise uncontrolled by the other branches of the government, those rights which this happy constitution, in the matchless excellence of its principles, has solely and exclusively allotted to the people. A reform of such a character and description may lessen the means, and diminish the opportunities of corrupting legislation, both in its source and in its progress; it may reduce the influence by which unconstitutional ministers preserve their power, but it will save the nation from their profusion, and perpetuate that constitution which all equally profess

to venerate. Such a reform, I believe, cannot, with perfect safety, be long delayed;—the more readily and cheerfully those rights which belong only to the people are restored by those who at present, in too many instances, possess and exercise them, the more firm and established will be the present happy form of our government; the more safe from risk and danger will be the just prerogatives of the crown, and the peculiar acknowledged hereditary privileges of this House.

LAUDERDALE.

Protest against the Bill to remove Doubts respecting the Functions of Juries in Cases of Libels.

DISSENTIENT,

1st. **B**ECAUSE the rule laid down by the bill, contrary to the determination of the judges, and the unvaried practice of ages, subverts a fundamental and important principle of English jurisprudence, which, leaving to the jury the trial of the fact, reserves to the court the decision of the law. It was truly said by Lord Hardwicke, in the court of King's Bench, that if these came to be confounded, it would prove the confusion and destruction of the law of England.

2^{dly}. Because juries can in no case decide, whether a matter of record be sufficient upon which to found judgment. The bill admits the criminality of the writing set forth in the indictment or information to be matter of law, whereupon judgment may be arrested, notwithstanding the jury have found the defendant guilty. This shews that the question is upon the record, and distinctly separated from the

the province of the jury, which is only to try facts.

3dly. Because, by confining the rule to an indictment or information for a libel, it is admitted that it does not apply to the trial of a general issue, in an action for the same libel, or any sort of action, or any sort of indictment or information; but as the same principle and the same rule must apply to all general issues, or to none, the rule, as declared by the bill, is absolutely erroneous.

THURLOW, C. BATHURST,
KENYON, ABINGDON,
WALSINGHAM,
JOHN BANGOR.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, June 15, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT close the present session of parliament without returning you my particular thanks for the attention and diligence with which you have applied yourselves to the dispatch of the public business, and especially to the important objects which I recommended to your consideration.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The readiness with which you have granted the necessary supplies, and the fresh proof which you have given of your constant affection for my person and family, in enabling me to provide for the establishment of my son, the Duke of York, call for my warmest acknowledgments. I have also observed, with the utmost satisfaction, the measures which you have adopted for the diminution of the public burdens; while you have, at the same time, made

additional provision for the reduction of the present national debt, and established a permanent system for preventing the dangerous accumulation of debt in future.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have seen with great concern the commencement of hostilities in different parts of Europe. In the present situation of affairs, it will be my principal care to maintain that harmony and good understanding which subsist between me and the several belligerent powers, and to preserve to my people the uninterrupted blessings of peace. And the assurances which I receive from all quarters, of a friendly disposition towards this country, afford me the pleasing hope of succeeding in these endeavours.

The recent expressions of your uniform and zealous attachment to the established government and constitution, leave me no room to doubt, that you will, in your several counties, be active and vigilant to maintain those sentiments in the minds of my faithful people: and I have the happiness of receiving continued and additional proofs of their just sense of their numerous and increasing advantages which they now enjoy under the protection and distinguished favour of Providence.

Proclamation for calling out the Militia.

By the King.—A PROCLAMATION,

GEORGE REX.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of our reign, entitled, "An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the militia in that part of Great

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Britain called England," it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for us, in the cases and in manner therein mentioned, the occasion being first declared in council, and notified by proclamation, if no parliament shall be then sitting, to order and direct the drawing out and embodying of our militia forces, or any part thereof. And whereas we have received information that in breach of the laws, and notwithstanding our royal proclamation of the 21st day of May last, the utmost industry is still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established constitution of this realm, and to destroy all order and government therein; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, has lately shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection: And whereas, under the present circumstances, it is more particularly necessary that, for the immediate suppression of such attempts, some addition should be made, as the exigency of the case may require, to the force which may be in readiness to act for the support of the civil magistrate, — we therefore being determined to exert the powers vested in us by law for the protection of the persons, liberties, and properties of our faithful subjects, and fully relying on their zeal and attachment to our person and government, and to the happy constitution established in these kingdoms, have thought fit to declare in our council, our royal intention, for the causes aforesaid, to draw out and embody such part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide for the said important objects. And we do here-

by, in pursuance of the said recited act, notify to all our loving subjects our said intention, and the causes and occasions thereof.

Given at our court at Windsor, the 1st day of December, 1792, and in the 33d year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Proclamation for the Meeting of Parliament.

By the King.—A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE REX.

WHEREAS by an act passed in the twenty-sixth year of our reign, entitled, "An act for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the militia in that part of Great Britain called England," it is enacted, That whenever we shall cause the militia to be drawn out and embodied, on the occasions and in the manner therein mentioned, if the parliament shall be separated by such adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within fourteen days, we may and shall issue our proclamation for the meeting of the parliament within fourteen days, and the parliament shall accordingly meet and sit upon such days as shall be appointed by such proclamation, and continue to sit and act in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same day: and whereas we have thought fit, in pursuance of the said act, this day to declare in our council, certain causes and occasions moving us to order and direct, that such part of our militia forces as may more immediately enable us to provide

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vide for the important objects therein mentioned, should be drawn out and embodied: and whereas, in pursuance of the said recited act, we have thought fit on this day to issue our royal proclamation, notifying the causes and occasions so declared in council as aforesaid: and whereas our parliament now stands prorogued to Thursday the third day of January next, we therefore, by the advice of our privy council, do hereby publish and declare our royal will and pleasure, that our said parliament shall, on Thursday the thirteenth day of this instant December, be held for the dispatch of divers weighty and important affairs. And the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs of the House of Commons, are hereby required to give attendance at Westminster on the said thirteenth day of December.

Given at our court at Windsor, the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two, and in the thirty-third year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, December 13th, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemon,

HAVING judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia of this kingdom, I have, in pursuance of the provisions of the law, called you together within the time limited for that purpose; and it is on every account a great satisfaction to me to meet you in parliament at this conjuncture.

I should have been happy if I

could have announced to you the secure and undisturbed continuance of all the blessings which my subjects have derived from a state of tranquillity; but events have recently occurred, which require our united vigilance and exertion, in order to preserve the advantages which we have hitherto enjoyed.

The seditious practices which had been in a great measure checked by your firm and explicit declaration in the last session, and by the general concurrence of my people in the same sentiments, have of late been more openly renewed, and with increased activity.

A spirit of tumult and disorder (the natural consequence of such practices) has shewn itself in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and this design has evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries.

I have carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs in France; but it is impossible for me to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well

as to adopt towards my allies, the States General, who have observed the same neutrality with myself, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, I have felt it my indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which I am entrusted by law : and I have also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation to my naval and military force ; being persuaded that these exertions are necessary in the present state of affairs, and are best calculated both to maintain internal tranquillity, and to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preserving the blessings of peace.

Nothing will be neglected on my part that can contribute to that important object, consistently with the security of my kingdoms, and with the faithful performance of engagements which we are bound equally by interest and honour to fulfil.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, and I have no doubt that you will be ready to make a due provision for the several branches of the public service.

You will certainly join with me in lamenting any necessity for extraordinary expences, which may for a time prevent the application of additional sums beyond those which are already annually appropriated to the reduction of the public debt, or retard the relief which my subjects might have derived from a farther diminution of taxes. But

I am confident you will feel, that those great ends will ultimately be best promoted by such exertions as are necessary for our present and future safety and tranquillity. And it is a great consolation to me to reflect, that you will find ample resources for effectually defraying the expence of vigorous preparations, from the excess of the actual revenue beyond the ordinary expenditure.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have great pleasure in acquainting you, that the brilliant successes of the British arms in India, under the able conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis, have led to the termination of the war, by an advantageous and honourable peace, the terms of which are peculiarly satisfactory to me, from their tendency to secure the future tranquillity of the British dominions in that part of the world.

Your attention will now naturally be directed to the taking such measures for the future government of those valuable possessions as shall appear, from experience and full consideration, most likely to provide for their internal prosperity, and to secure the important advantages which may be derived from thence to the commerce and revenue of this country.

I am persuaded that it will be the object of your immediate consideration, to adopt such measures as may be necessary, under the present circumstances, for enforcing obedience to the laws, and for repressing every attempt to disturb the peace and tranquillity of these kingdoms.

You will be sensible how much depends on the result of your deliberations ; and your uniform conduct

is the best pledge that nothing will be wanting on your part which can contribute to the present security and permanent advantage of the country.

I retain a deep and unalterable sense of the repeated proofs which I have received of your cordial and affectionate attachment to me; and I place an entire reliance on the continuance of those sentiments, as well as on your firm determination to defend and maintain that constitution which has so long protected the liberties, and promoted the happiness of every class of my subjects.

In endeavouring to preserve, and to transmit to posterity, the inestimable blessings which, under the favour of Providence, you have yourselves experienced, you may be assured of my zealous and cordial co-operation; and our joint efforts will, I doubt not, be rendered completely effectual, by the decided support of a free and loyal people.

Speech of the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to both Houses of Parliament, January 19, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE it in command from his Majesty to acquaint you, that since the close of the last session, preliminaries of peace have been signed between Russia and the Porte, and those powers are now engaged in negotiation for a definitive treaty, which his Majesty trusts will complete the restoration of tranquillity among the different powers of Europe.—His Majesty, convinced of the interest you take in what

ever concerns his domestic happiness, commands me to acquaint you of the marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of York and the Princess Royal of Prussia.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay before you the national accounts; and I trust you will make such provisions as are necessary for the exigencies of the state, and the honourable support of his Majesty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The constant attention you have shewn to the interests of Ireland, makes it unnecessary to recommend to you a continuance of that wise system of policy from which your country has received such inestimable advantages in the increase of her trade, her credit, and manufactures. It is equally unnecessary for me particularly to point out the encouragement of your agriculture, and attention to your linen manufacture. The Protestant charter-schools, and other charitable institutions will receive your accustomed consideration.

You may be assured of my zealous co-operation to forward every measure that may contribute to the public welfare. I shall pay unremitting attention to the due execution of the law, and the maintenance of good order and government, so essential to the continuance of that freedom, prosperity, and happiness, which Ireland enjoys under his Majesty's auspicious reign, and under our excellent constitution,

Speech

170 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1792

Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons of Ireland, on presenting the Bills of Supply, April 18, 1792.

May it please your Excellency,

THE Commons of Ireland attend with the supplies.

While they may look back with a conscious pride to their spirited and successful measures for preventing an increase of national debt, as one great cause of the extension of trade, agriculture, and manufactures, which has with a rapid and uninterrupted progress raised this kingdom to a state of prosperity and wealth never before experienced in it, they know that the continuance of that prosperity would soon cease, if it were not cherished and maintained by our most excellent constitution; a constitution in which liberty and order are so happily blended, that every subject equally enjoys their influence, and feels his person, his industry, and property, equally and effectually protected by it.

Its preservation therefore must ever be the great object of their care; and there is no principle on which it is founded so essential to its preservation, nor more justly dear to their patriotic and loyal feelings, than that which has settled the throne of these realms on his Majesty's illustrious house; on it, and on the provisions for securing a Protestant parliament, depends a Protestant ascendancy; and with it the continuance of the many blessings we now enjoy.

The bills which I hold contain the usual grants; and I have the most sincere happiness in presenting them to your Excellency, whose knowledge of the true interests of Ireland, and whose anxiety to promote its

welfare, has been proved to us by the firmest vigilance and prudence of your administration.

These supplies are contained in the bills which I have the honour of presenting to your Excellency for the royal assent.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament, April 18th, 1792.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE dispatch you have given to the national business, enables me to close the session, and to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

His Majesty commands me to thank you for the supplies you have voted for the public service: you may depend upon their faithful application to the purposes for which they were granted.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have his Majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that has guided your proceedings during the present session, especially in the liberal indulgences you have afforded to your Roman Catholic brethren, by establishing the legality of inter-marriage, by admitting them to the profession of the law and the benefits of education; and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures.

Your knowledge of the true interests of your country is plainly marked in the measure you have adopted for carrying into effect a reciprocal preference in the corn-
trade

trade with Great Britain : a system beneficial to both countries, and peculiarly advantageous to the agriculture of Ireland, that source of your wealth and prosperity. The further steps you have taken to check the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and your wise regulations for the charitable institutions, prove your attention to the interests of the lower orders of the people.

I shall firmly rely on your cordial co-operation for the support of public order, and the enforcing obedience to the laws ; by which alone the fruits of national industry can be secured : and when you reflect upon the flourishing resources, the increasing wealth, and unexampled prosperity of the country, you will not fail to impress upon the minds of the people, that the maintenance of our free and happy constitution will ensure the continuance of these invaluable blessings.

TREATY WITH TIPPOO SULTAUN.

Definitive Treaty of perpetual Friendship for the Adjustment of Affairs between the Honourable English East India Company, the Nawaub Asph Jah Behander, and Row Pundit Paudhann Behander, and Tippoo Sultaun : settled the 17th Day of March, 1792, of the Christian Æra, answering to the 23d Day of the Month of Rejeeb, 1206 of the Hejeree, by Sir John Kennaway, Bart. on the Part of the Right Honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c. and Meer Aahum Behander, on the Part of the Nawaub Aziem ul Omrah Behander, and Bachajee Pundit, on the Part of Hurry Ram Pundit

Tantia Behander, on one Part ; and by Golam Ally Khan Behander, and Ally Resa Khan, on the Behalf of Tippoo Sultaun, according to the under-mentioned Articles, which, by the Blessing of God, shall be binding on their Heirs and Successors as long as the Sun and Moon endure ; and the Conditions of them be invariably observed by the Contracting Parties.

Art. I. **T**HE friendship subsisting between the Hon. Company and the Circar of Tippoo Sultaun, agreeable to former treaties, the first with the late Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan, bearing date the 8th of August 1770, and the other with Tippoo Sultaun of the 11th of March 1784, is hereby confirmed and increased, and the articles of the two former treaties are to remain in full force, excepting such of them as by the present engagement are otherwise adjusted ; and the 8th article of the second above mentioned treaty, confirming all the privileges and immunities of trade which the Nawaub Hyder Ally Khan granted to the said Company, by the treaty entered into in the year 1770, is also, by virtue of the present treaty, renewed and confirmed.

Art. II. In the 4th article of the preliminary treaty entered into between the allied powers and the said Tippoo Sultaun, dated the 22d of February, 1792, it is written, " until the due performance of the three foregoing articles" (the first article stipulating the cession of half the country ; the second the immediate payment of half of the sum of money agreed to be paid, and the remainder in specie only, at three instalments, not exceeding four months each instalment ; and the third

third engaging for the release of prisoners) "two of the sons of the said Tippoo Sultaun shall be detained as hostages;" which articles are confirmed by the present instrument. Accordingly the said Tippoo Sultaun shall divide the sum, agreed to be paid at three instalments above-mentioned, into three equal parts, and shall pay to the said three powers their respective shares, at the exchange affixed for the amount, to be paid immediately at such places, on the boundaries of the allies, as shall be determined on by them; and, after the performance of the remaining two articles above mentioned, that is to say, the cession of one half the country, and the release of the prisoners, in case the amount of three instalments to be paid by Tippoo Sultaun to the three powers prior to the expiration of the period stipulated for it, the said sons of Tippoo Sultaun shall be immediately dismissed, and all pecuniary demands between the contracting parties shall cease and be at an end.

Art. III. By the first article of the preliminary treaty it is agreed, that one half of the dominions which were in the possession of the said Tippoo Sultaun at the commencement of the war, shall be ceded to the allies, adjacent to their respective boundaries, and subject to their selection. Accordingly, the general abstract of the countries composing half the dominions of Tippoo Sultaun, to be ceded to the allies agreeably to their respective shares, is hereunto subjoined, and the detail of them is inserted in a separate schedule, bearing the seal and signature of Tippoo Sultaun.

Districts ceded to the Honourable English Company.

	Pagodas.
Calicut, 63 talooks . . .	8,48,765
Palgautchery	88,000
Dindigul and Pulnaveerpa- chry, 2 talooks	90,000
Salem	24,000
Koosh	8,000
Namkool	16,000
Sunkagherry	40,000
Barah-Nohul, 9 talooks, viz. Bara-Mohul, Coveripul- tun, Verbudderdroog, Pay- cotta, Kangoondie, Daram- poury, Tengrycottah, Pen- nagur, Coverypoor . . .	1,34,000
Ahtoor Arruntgurry . . .	81,000
Permuttee	12,000
Shadmungul	20,000
Vamloor	16,000

Total 13,16,765

[Districts of the same annual revenue are ceded to the Nawaub Asoph Jah Behauder, and to Row Pundit Purdam Behauder.]

Art. IV. Whatever part of Namkul Sunkagherry, Salem Ournpoor, Attoor, and Permuttee, which is above stated, are comprised within the division ceded to the aforesaid Company, shall be situated to the northward and eastward of the river Caveri; or if there should be any other talook, or villages of talooks, situated as above described, they shall belong to the said Company, and others of equal value shall be relinquished by the said Company to Tippoo Sultaun in exchange for them; and if, of the above districts, there shall be any talooks, or villages of talooks, situated to the westward and southward of the said river, they shall be relinquished to Tippoo

Tippoo Sultaun, in exchange for others of equal value to the said Company.

Art. V. On the ratification and mutual exchange of this definitive treaty, such districts and forts as are to be ceded by Tippoo Sultaun, shall be delivered up without any cavil or demand for outstanding balances; and such talooks and forts as are to be relinquished by the three powers to Tippoo Sultaun, shall in the same manner be delivered up; and orders to this effect, addressed to the aumils and commanders of forts, shall be immediately prepared and delivered to each respectively of the contracting parties: on the receipt of which orders, the discharge of money stipulated to be paid immediately, and the release of prisoners on all sides, of which the contracting parties, considering God as present, and a witness, shall release, without cavil, all that are in existence, and shall not detain a single person. The armies of the allied powers shall march from Seringapatam; such forts and places, nevertheless, as shall be in the possession of the said Company, and on the road by which the said armies are to march, shall not be given up until the said armies shall have moved the stores, grain, &c. and sick which are in them, and shall have passed them on their return. As far as possible no delay shall be allowed to occur in the said stores, &c. being removed.

Art. VI. Whatever guns and shot shall be left by Tippoo Sultaun in the forts which he has agreed to cede to the allied powers, an equal number of guns and shot shall be left in the forts, which the allied powers

have agreed to restore to Tippoo Sultaun.

Art. VII. The contracting parties agree that zemindars and aumildars being in balance to either party, and repairing to the country of either party, protection shall not be given them, and they shall be restored. If hereafter it should happen that any disputes arise on the boundaries of the allies and the said Tippoo Sultaun, such disputes shall be adjusted with the knowledge and approbation of all parties.

Art. VIII. The polygars and zemindars of this country, who in the course of the present war have attached themselves and been serviceable to the allies, shall not on that account, in any shape or manner, be injured or molested by Tippoo Sultaun.

Signed and sealed in camp, near Seringapatam, this 18th day of March, 1792.

CORNWALLIS.

Confidential Letter from the King of the French to the King of England.

Paris, May 1.

Sir—My Brother,

I SEND this letter by M. Chauvelin, whom I have appointed my Minister Plenipotentiary at your Majesty's court. I embrace this opportunity to express to your Majesty how sensible I am of all the public marks of affection you have given me. I thank you for not having become a party to the concert formed by certain powers against France. From this I see you have formed a better judgment of my true

true interests, and a more correct opinion of the state of France. Between our two countries new connections ought to take place. I think I see the remains of that rivalry which has done so much mischief to both, wearing daily away. It becomes two kings, who have distinguished their reigns by a constant desire to promote the happiness of their people, to connect themselves by such ties as will appear to be durable, in proportion as the two nations shall have clearer views of their own interests. I have every reason to be satisfied with your Majesty's Ambassador at my court. If I do not give the same rank to the minister whom I have sent to yours, you will nevertheless perceive that by associating in the mission with him, M. de Tal-lerand, who by the letter of the constitution, can sustain no public character, I consider the success of the alliance in which I wish you to concur, with as much zeal as I do, as of the highest importance. I consider it as necessary to the stability, to the respective constitutions, and the internal tranquillity of our two kingdoms; and I will add, that our union ought to command peace to Europe.

I am your good brother,
(Signed) Louis.

Note delivered by M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, May 12, 1792.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of the French, is ordered by his court to transmit to his Excellency Lord Grenville, Secretary of State to his Britannic Majesty for the department of foreign affairs, the following note:—

The King of the French, in sending a Minister Plenipotentiary to London, has especially charged him to commence his mission by manifesting to the British government the powerful reasons which have determined France to a war with the King of Hungary and Bohemia. He has thought that he owes this manifestation to the purity of the intentions which animate him, as well as to the laws of good neighbourhood, and to the value which he attaches to every thing which may maintain confidence and friendship between two empires, who have at this moment, more than ever, reasons for drawing near each other, and uniting themselves together.

Having become King of a free nation, after having sworn to support the constitution it has given herself, he cannot but deeply feel all the attacks designed against that constitution; and his probity alone would have induced him to prevent and combat them.

The King has seen a great conspiracy formed against France, the agents of this league concealing, under an insulted pity for him, the preparations of their designs; and his Majesty has had the grief to count among them Frenchmen, whose fidelity appeared to be guaranteed by so many powerful motives and private ties.

The King has not been sparing of the means of persuasion to bring them back to their duty, and to break this threatening league, which supported and strengthened their guilty hopes. But the Emperor Leopold, the promoter and declared leader of this great conspiracy, and after his decease Francis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, have never

never sincerely answered any of the candid and reiterated demands of the King.

After being wearied by delays and vague answers, the impatience of the French increasing daily by new provocations, those princes have successively avowed the coalition of the powers against France. They never justified themselves for the part they had taken in it, or for that they were still taking. Far from shewing themselves disposed to dissolve it by their influence, they have sought to connect it with facts which, in the first place, were foreign to it, and upon which France has never refused doing justice to the interested parties. And, as if the King of Hungary were desirous of consecrating the perpetuity of the attack he makes on the sovereignty of the French empire, he has declared that this coalition, equally injurious to the King and to the nation, could not cease until France should remove the serious causes which had given rise to it; that is to say, so long as France, jealous of her independence, would not give up the smallest point of her new constitution.

Such an answer, preceded and supported by preparations most evidently hostile, and by an ill-concealed protection of the rebels, must have appeared to the National Assembly, to the King, and to all France, as a manifest aggression; for it is commencing war to announce that troops are assembled and called in all quarters, in order to constrain the inhabitants of a country to alter the form of government which they have freely chosen, and sworn to defend.

Such is the sense and, as it were, the substance of all the evasive an-

swers of the Emperor and King of Hungary's ministers to the simple and candid explanations which the King required of them.

Thus the King saw himself forced into a war, which was already declared against him; but, religiously faithful to the principles of the constitution, whatever may finally be the fate of arms in this war, France rejects all ideas of aggrandizement. She will preserve her limits, her liberty, her constitution, her inalienable right of reforming herself, whenever she may think proper: she will never consent that, under any relation, foreign powers should attempt to dictate, or even dare to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her. But this, very pride, so natural and so just, is a sure pledge to all the powers from whom she shall have received no provocation, not only of her constant pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will know how to shew at all times for the laws, the customs, and all the forms of government of different nations.

The King, indeed, wishes it to be known, that he would publicly and severely disavow all those of his agents at foreign courts in peace with France, who should dare to depart an instant from that respect, either by fomenting or favouring insurrections against the established order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the interior policy of such states, under pretence of a proselytism, which, exercised in the dominions of friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

The King hopes that the British government will see in this exposition the incontrovertible justice, and

and the necessity of the war, which the French nation maintains against the King of Hungary and Bohemia; and that he will moreover find in it that common principle of liberty and independence of which they ought not to be less jealous than France. For England is free likewise, because she determined to be so; and assuredly she did not suffer other powers to attempt to compel her to alter the constitution she had adopted, to lend the smallest assistance to rebellious subjects, or to pretend to interfere, under any pretence, in her interior disputes.

Perfuated that his Britannic Majesty is not less ardently desirous than himself of seeing the good understanding and union between the two countries consolidated and strengthened, the King demands that, conformably to the 4th article of the treaty of navigation and commerce of the 26th September 1786, his Britannic Majesty shall remind all his subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and publish it in the accustomed manner in those two kingdoms, and in the islands and countries dependent upon them, an express prohibition to exercise against France, or against ships of France, any hostility, by cruising on the seas, or to take out any patent, commission, or letters of reprisals, from the different princes or states who are or shall be at war with France; or to make use, in any manner, of such patents or commissions.

The King requires besides, that all articles of the aforesaid treaty, which relate to the case of one of the contracting powers being at war, and especially the 3d, 16th, 24, 39th, 40th, and 41st articles, shall be punctually observed and executed, in the same manner as

his Majesty is determined to act on his part, respecting all the stipulations of this treaty.

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of France,
CHAUVELIN.

*London, 12 May, 1792,
4th Year of French Liberty.*

Note from Lord Grenville to M. Chauvelin, dated May 24th, 1792.

THE undersigned Secretary of State to the King has had the honour of laying before his Majesty the official note which Monsieur Chauvelin transmitted to him the 15th instant. He has orders to testify to that minister how truly sensible his Majesty ever is to the proofs of friendship and confidence which he receives on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, and with how much sincerity he returns them by sentiments perfectly reciprocal.

His Majesty could not learn without the deepest regret, that a war has broken out between his Most Christian Majesty and his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia. This sentiment is equally inspired by his love for humanity, by the interest he takes in the maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, and by his sincere wishes for the personal happiness of their Most Christian and Apostolic Majesties, and for the prosperity of their dominions. In the present circumstances, he thinks it right to abstain from entering into a discussion of the motives and the steps on each side which have brought on a rupture so afflicting to a sovereign, the neighbour and friend of the two belligerent parties.

Confining himself, therefore, to expressions

expressions of the wishes he will never cease to form for the speedy and permanent re-establishment of peace, he does not hesitate, however, to give to his Most Christian Majesty the direct and positive assurance of his readiness to fulfil in the most exact manner the stipulations of the treaty of navigation and commerce of which his Most Christian Majesty requires the execution.

Faithful to all his engagements, his Majesty will pay the strictest attention to the preservation of the good understanding which so happily subsists between him and his Most Christian Majesty; expecting with confidence that, animated with the same sentiments, his Most Christian Majesty will not fail to contribute to the same end, by causing, on his part, the rights of his Majesty and his allies to be respected, and by rigorously forbidding any step which might affect the friendship which his Majesty has ever desired to consolidate and perpetuate for the happiness of the two empires.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitchall, 24th May, 1792.

In Consequence of the preceding Memoirs, the following Proclamation was published by the British Ministry.

By the King.—A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE REX.

WHEREAS hostilities have broken out between the Most Christian King and the King of Hungary,—his Majesty, for the preservation and continuance of friendship and amity between him and their said Majesties, doth by this his royal proclamation (with the advice of his privy council)

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strictly prohibit and forbid all his subjects whatsoever to take any commission at sea from any foreign prince or state, against any other foreign prince or state now in amity with his Majesty, or their subjects, or by virtue or under colour of any such commission already taken, or hereafter to be taken, to set or employ any vessel or ship of war, or to serve as mariners in any ship which shall be employed against any prince or state now in amity with his Majesty, or their subjects, during the present war. And all his Majesty's subjects are required to take notice of this his royal command, and to conform themselves to the same, upon pain of incurring his Majesty's high displeasure, and of being punished with the utmost severity of law and justice. And whereas the Most Christian King hath caused application to be made to his Majesty, that his Majesty would, conformably to the article of the treaty of navigation and commerce, concluded at Versailles the 26th of September, 1786, renew and publish, in all his dominions and countries, the strict and express prohibitions contained in the said article; his Majesty doth hereby strictly forbid all his subjects to receive any commission for arming and acting at sea as privateers, or letters of reprisals, from any enemy of the Most Christian King; or, by virtue or under colour of such commissions or reprisals, to disturb, infect, or anywise damage his subjects; or to arm ships as privateers, or to go out to sea therewith, under the severest punishments that can be inflicted on the transgressors, besides being liable to make full restitution and satisfaction to those to whom they have done any damage.

M

Given

178 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1792.

Given at our court at St. James's,
the 25th day of May, 1792, in
the 32d year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Note from M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, May 24th, 1792.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary from the King of the French to his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to state to his Excellency Lord Grenville, Minister of State for foreign affairs,

That the royal proclamation published on the 21st of this month, and communicated to the two Houses of Parliament, contains some expressions which might, contrary to the intentions of the British ministry, give weight to the false opinions which the enemies of France endeavour to circulate with respect to her intentions towards Great Britain.

If certain individuals of this country have established a correspondence abroad, tending to excite troubles therein; and if, as the proclamation seems to insinuate, certain Frenchmen have come into their views, that is a proceeding wholly foreign to the French nation, to the Legislative Body, to the King, and to his ministers; it is a proceeding of which they are entirely ignorant, which militates against every principle of justice, and which, whenever it became known, would be universally condemned in France. Independence of those principles of justice, from which a free people ought never to deviate, is it not evident, from a due consideration of the true interests of the French nation, that she ought to desire the interior tranquillity, the continuance and the

force of the constitution of a country which she already looks upon as her natural ally?

Is not this the only reasonable wish with which a people can form, who sees so many efforts united against its liberty? The Minister Plenipotentiary, deeply sensible of these truths, and of the maxims of universal morality upon which they are founded, had already represented them in an official note, which he transmitted to the British ministry the 15th of this month, by the express orders of his court; and he thinks it his duty to repeat, on the present occasion, the important declarations it contains:

“Religiously faithful to the principles of its constitution, whatever may be definitively the fortune of her arms in this war, France repels every idea of aggrandisement; she wishes to preserve her own limits, her liberty, her constitution, and her inalienable right of reforming herself whenever she shall judge proper: she will never consent that foreign powers should in any shape dictate, or should dare to nourish a hope of dictating laws to her; but this very pride, so natural and so just, is a pledge to all the powers from whom she shall have received no provocation, not only of her constantly pacific dispositions, but also of the respect which the French will at all times know how to pay to the laws, the usages, and all the forms of government of different people. The King also desires that it may be known, that he would disavow, decidedly and severely, all those of his agents in foreign courts at peace with France, who might dare to deviate a moment from this respect, either by fomenting or by favouring revolts against the established order,

order, or by interfering in any manner whatever in the internal politics of those states, under pretext of making proselytes; which, exercised to wards friendly powers, would be a real violation of the law of nations.

"The King hopes that the British government will see in this exposition the incontrovertible justice, and the necessity of the war, which the French nation carries on against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and that it will further find therein that common principle of liberty and independence of which it ought not to be less jealous than France; for England also is free, because she would be so; and certainly she has not suffered that other powers should constrain her to change the constitution which she has adopted, that they should lend the least assistance to her rebellious subjects, nor that they should pretend to interfere, under any pretext, in her internal discussions."

The honour of France, her desire of preserving and augmenting a good understanding between the two countries, and the necessity of clearing up every doubt as to her dispositions, requiring that they should be as publicly known as possible, the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary requests that Lord Grenville would communicate this official note to the two Houses of Parliament, previous to their deliberating on the proclamation of his Britannic Majesty of the 21st of May. He seizes this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency the assurances of his high esteem and respect,

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of France,
(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

London, May 24th, 1792,
Fourth Year of French Liberty.

Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, May 25th, 1792.

Whitchhall, May 25th, 1792.

I HAVE already had the honour, Sir, to acknowledge the receipt of the note which you addressed to me, dated yesterday.

Desiring, with ardour and sincerity, to maintain, in all the affairs that I may have the honour to treat with you, that harmony and cordiality which correspond with the intentions of the King, it is with regret that I find myself under the necessity of making to you the following observations on the subject of that paper:—I am persuaded that it was not at all your intention to deviate from the rules and forms established in this kingdom for the correspondence of ministers of foreign courts with the King's Secretary of state for this department. But it was impossible for me not to remark that in your last note, the only question relates to a communication which you desire me to make to the two Houses of Parliament, before they deliberate upon an object which you appear to believe they were about to discuss. It is necessary for me to observe to you, Sir, that in my quality of Secretary of State to his Majesty, I cannot receive any communication from a foreign Minister, but in order to lay it before the King, and to receive his Majesty's commands thereupon; and that the deliberations of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as the communications which his Majesty shall be pleased to make to them, relative to the affairs of the kingdom; are objects absolutely foreign to all diplomatic correspondence, and upon which it is impossible for me to enter into any discussion what-

M 2 ever

ever with the ministers of other courts.

This, Sir, is the only answer which it will be possible for me to return to the note in question; which, as well in its form as in its object, cannot be considered as a regular and official communication. I shall always feel the greatest pleasure in reporting to his Majesty the assurances which you may be authorised to give me for that purpose, of the friendly dispositions of your court; and I desire you to accept the expression of the esteem and high regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Letter from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, May 25th, 1792.

Portman-square, May 25, 1792.

I HAVE this moment, my Lord, received the letter which you have done me the honour to write to me on the subject of the note which I sent you yesterday, the 24th instant. I have the honour to thank you for the obliging manner in which it is expressed. You have done justice to my intentions, in believing that I did not intend to depart from the established rules and forms of this kingdom.

I by no means thought, when I presented that note to you, that the demand contained in it ought not, as well as all others, to be laid before the King of Great Britain; it was expressly in the intention of giving to his Majesty fresh assurances of deference and respect for the British government, that I did myself the honour of making that last notification: and it being my desire to make this manifestation of the dispositions of the French government as public as possible, I

thought it best to beg you to communicate it to both Houses of Parliament.

In making this request, my Lord, I intended to obviate the false interpretations which might be occasioned in the two Houses by the article of the proclamation, which is the subject of it; I flattered myself by this means to contribute towards the maintenance of that harmony, and of that cordiality between the two states, of which I with joy remarked the expression in the assurance which you gave me, that it is no less desired by his Britannic Majesty than by the King of the French.

As to the rest, my Lord, any other form which it may suit you to adopt, and which may render very public the sentiments of France, her true dispositions with regard to England, and the orders which I have received from the King of the French, and which I have communicated to you, will equally answer the wish of the French government.

Please to accept the homage of the esteem, and of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

Note from M. Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, dated June 18th, 1792.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary to his Majesty the King of the French has transmitted to his Majesty the official note which Lord Grenville addressed to him on the 24th of May last, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, in answer to that which he had the honour to deliver to him on the 15th of the same month, together with the royal proclamation published in consequence of it. He is directed to assure his Britannic Majesty of the

the due sense which the King entertains of the friendly dispositions, and of the sentiments of humanity, of justice, and of peace, which are so clearly manifested in that answer.

The King of the French observed with care all its expressions, and is happy in consequence to renew to the King of Great Britain the formal assurance that every thing which can interest the rights of his Britannic Majesty will continue to be the object of his most particular and most scrupulous attention.

He hastens, at the same time, to declare to him, conformably to the desire expressed in that answer, that the rights of all the allies of Great Britain who shall not have provoked France by hostile measures, shall by him be no less religiously respected.

In making, or rather renewing this declaration, the King of the French enjoys the double satisfaction of expressing the wish of a people in whose eyes every war which is not rendered necessary by a due attention to its defence, is essentially unjust, and joining particularly in the wishes of his Britannic Majesty for the tranquillity of Europe, which would never be disturbed if France and England would unite in order to preserve it.

But this declaration of the King's, and the dispositions of his Britannic Majesty, authorise him to hope that he will be induced eagerly to employ his good offices with those allies, to dissuade them from granting, directly or indirectly, any assistance to the enemies of France, and to inspire them with a regard to its rights; that is to say, its independence, with those attentions which France is ready to manifest on every occasion for the rights of all pow-

ers who shall observe towards her the terms of a strict neutrality.

The steps taken by the cabinet of Vienna amongst the different powers, and principally amongst the allies of his Britannic Majesty, in order to engage them in a quarrel which is foreign to them, are known to all Europe. If public report even were to be credited, its successes at the court of Berlin prepare the way for others in the United Provinces. The threats held out to the different members of the Germanic body to make them deviate from that wise neutrality which their political situation, and their dearest interests, prescribe to them; the arrangements taken with different sovereigns of Italy to determine them to act hostilely against France; and lastly, the intrigues by which Russia has just been induced to arm against the constitution of Poland; every thing points out fresh marks of a vast conspiracy against a free state, which seems to threaten to precipitate Europe in universal war.

The consequences of such a conspiracy, formed by the concurrence of powers who have been so long rivals, will be easily felt by his Britannic Majesty: the balance of Europe, the independence of the different powers, the general peace, every consideration which at all times has fixed the attention of the English government, is at once exposed and threatened.

The King of the French presents these serious and important considerations to the solicitude and to the friendship of his Britannic Majesty. Strongly penetrated with the marks of interest and of affection which he has received from him, he invites him to seek, in his wisdom, in his situation,

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tuation, and in his influence, means compatible with the independence of the French nation, to stop, whilst it is yet time, the progress of that confederacy, which equally threatens the peace, the liberty, the happiness of Europe, and above all to dissuade from all accession to this project those of his allies whom it may be wished to draw into it, or who may have been already drawn into it from fear, seduction, and different pretexts of the falsest, as well as of the most odious policy.

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of France,

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN.

Portman-square, June 18, 1792,
Fourth Year of French Liberty.

Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, July 8th, 1792.

THE undersigned Secretary of State to his Majesty, has had the honour to lay before his Majesty the note which Monsieur Chauvelin sent him on the 18th of June.

The King always receives with the same sensibility from his Most Christian Majesty the assurances of his friendship, and of his disposition to maintain that happy harmony which subsists between the two empires. His Majesty will never refuse to concur in the preservation or re-establishment of peace between the other powers of Europe by such means as are proper to produce that effect, and are compatible with his dignity, and with the principles which govern his conduct. But the same sentiments which have determined him not to take a part in the internal affairs of France, ought equally to induce him to respect the rights and the independence of other sovereigns, and especially those of the allies; and his

Majesty has thought that, in the existing circumstances of the war now begun, the intervention of his counsels, or of his good offices, cannot be of use, unless they should be desired by all the parties interested.

Nothing then remains for the undersigned, but to repeat to Monsieur Chauvelin the assurances of those wishes which his Majesty forms for the return of tranquillity, of the interest which he will always take in the happiness of his Most Christian Majesty; and of the value which he attaches to his friendship, and to the confidence which he has shewn him.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Whitehall, July 8th, 1792.

Note presented by Citizen Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, dated July 25th, 1792.

Fourth Year of Liberty.

IN conformity to the express orders of his court, the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of the French has the honour to transmit to Lord Grenville a copy of a ministerial dispatch of the 14th June, relative to measures to be taken by the maritime powers for the abolition of privateering, of which he has had the honour to speak to him in one of their conferences. To make navigation, maritime commerce, and the goods of individuals enjoy the same protection and the same liberty which the law of nations and the universal agreement of European powers secure to private property on land; in one word, to suppress that destructive practice which, on occasion of the quarrels of states and princes, interrupts on every sea the most necessary communications, renders abortive speculations on which depends often the existence of

of nations foreign to these quarrels; which suspends the progress of human discoveries; which arms individual against individual, delivers the goods of the peaceable merchants to pillage, and devotes those who defend them: such is the honourable object of the proposition which the King makes to his Britannic Majesty. The King does not consider it in relation to the particular interest of the French nation. His Majesty knows that the advantages which it presents must be much greater for a people essentially maritime, and whose relations of commerce and colonial possessions extend, so to speak, from one pole to the other, than to a nation chiefly agricultural, like France. This is not therefore a combination dictated by that rivalry of power, nor by that mercantile rapacity, which have so long deluged Europe with blood; it is a great measure of beneficence, of justice, and humanity, which has been suggested by the general interest of nations, by morality, and by policy itself, well understood. This wish, worthy of his Majesty, and of the free nation which has formed it, is not less worthy of the prince to whom it is addressed, and who, as much by his personal character as by his position and political influence, seems destined to realize it. Already in the treaty of navigation and commerce of the 26th Sept. 1786, France and Great Britain have renounced this odious traffic in every quarrel which should be foreign to them; and at present, in the war which France is

forced to maintain against Austria for the defence of her independence and her liberty, the two belligerent powers have spontaneously resolved to leave a free course to maritime commerce. Let this resolution, adopted by the two interested powers, become the basis of a new law among nations, which will strengthen the bonds which unite them, and diminish their motives of division and rupture; and let a law, undertaken against liberty, give new strength to those ties of concord and peace which ought to hold together the human race, and insure its felicity.

The King of the French communicates with a just confidence to his Britannic Majesty these reflections which appear equally consistent with the sentiments of justice and humanity, with his pacific dispositions, and with the well understood interests of commerce and navigation. His Majesty will not dissemble, that the present state of Europe may present some obstacles to the speedy accomplishment of this salutary measure; but he also knows that the concurrence of Great Britain must add great weight to his recommendations, and how much it may accelerate their effects; he therefore requests his Britannic Majesty to communicate to him his views, or the means the best adapted for procuring so great a benefit for Europe*.

The Minister Plenipotentiary
of France,

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN,
Portman-square, July 25th, 1792.

* This note is not to be found in the correspondence laid before parliament. It was published by order of the National Convention, among other papers, under the title of "Exposition of the conduct of the French nation towards the English people."

Copy of a Letter written to Earl Gower, English Ambassador at Paris, by Mr. Dundas, and delivered to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Whitehall, the 17th of August, 1792.

My Lord,

IN Lord Grenville's absence I have received and laid before the King your last dispatches.

His Majesty has been very deeply afflicted in receiving the information of the extent and the deplorable consequences of the troubles which have happened in Paris, as well on account of his personal attachment to their Most Christian Majesties and the interest that he has always taken in their welfare, as for the earnest desire he has for the tranquillity and prosperity of a kingdom with which he is on terms of friendship.

As it appears, in the present state of affairs, the exercise of the executive power has been withdrawn from his Most Christian Majesty, the credentials which have hitherto been made use of by your Excellency can no longer be valid. His Majesty is therefore of opinion, that you ought not to remain any longer in Paris, as well on this account as because this step appears to him the most conformable to the principles of neutrality which he has hitherto observed. His Majesty's pleasure therefore is, that you should quit that city, and return to England as soon as you shall have been able to procure the necessary passports for that purpose.

In all the conversations that you may have occasion to hold before your departure, you will take care to express yourself in a manner conformable to the sentiments herein communicated to you; and you will

take especial care not to neglect any opportunity of declaring, that at the same time his Majesty means to observe the principles of neutrality in every thing which regards the arrangement of the internal government of France, he does not conceive that he departs from these principles in manifesting, by every possible means in his power, his solicitude for the personal situation of their Most Christian Majesties and the Royal Family. He most earnestly hopes that his wishes in that respect will not be deceived; that the Royal Family will be preserved from every act of violence; the commission of which would not fail to excite sentiments of universal indignation throughout all Europe.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

Note in Answer to the Communication made by Earl Gower, the English Ambassador.

THE undersigned Minister for Foreign Affairs has lost no time in communicating to the Provisional Executive Council, the letter communicated to him by his Excellency Earl Gower, Ambassador Extraordinary from his Britannic Majesty.

The council has seen with regret, that the British Cabinet has resolved to recal an Ambassador whose presence attested the favourable disposition of a free and generous nation, and who has never been the organ but of friendly expressions, and of benevolent sentiments. If any thing can abate this regret, it is the renewed assurance of neutrality made on the part of England to the French nation. — This assurance seems to be the result of an intention wisely considered and formally expressed

expressed by his Britannic Majesty, not to meddle with the interior arrangements of the affairs of France. We are not surprised at such a declaration made by an enlightened and high-spirited nation, who have been the first to acknowledge and establish the principle of the national sovereignty; who, by substituting the empire of the laws, the expressed will of all, to the arbitrary caprices of a few individuals, have been the first to furnish the example of subjecting kings themselves to this salutary yoke; and who, finally, have not thought too dearly purchased, by long convulsions and violent storms, that liberty which has been productive of so much glory and prosperity.

This principle of the unalienable sovereignty of the people, is going to be displayed in a striking manner in the National Convention, the convocation of which has been decreed by the legislative body, and which will no doubt fix all parties and all interests. The French nation has good grounds to hope, that the British cabinet will not, at this decisive moment, depart from that justice, moderation, and impartiality which it has hitherto manifested.

Full of this confidence, which rests on facts, the undersigned renews to his Excellency Earl Gower, in the name of the Provisional Executive Council, the assurances which he has had the honour to give him, *visu voce*, that whatever relates to commerce between the two nations, and all affairs in general, shall be carried on, on the part of the French government, with the same justice and fidelity. The Council flatter themselves that there will be a full reciprocity on the part of the British government, and that nothing

will interrupt the good understanding which subsists between the two nations.

The Minister for foreign affairs,
LE BRUN,

Note delivered to the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, by the Ministers of the Emperor and the King of Naples, on the 20th Sept. 1792.

THE undersigned Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty, and of his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, in consequence of the ties of blood and of friendship by which their sovereigns are attached to the King and Queen of France, have the honour to address themselves to Lord Grenville, to represent to him the imminent danger which threatens the lives of their Most Christian Majesties and their royal family; and the fear, but too well grounded, that the atrocities which the factious in France commit against those august persons, will have no other bounds than the greatest of all crimes. They are authorised to express to his Excellency the wish of their respective courts, that his Britannic Majesty, in case so horrible an act should take place, would be pleased not to permit any resistance, or grant any protection or asylum to any person who should be concerned therein, in any manner whatever.

London, September 20th, 1792.

(Signed) STADION.

CASTELCICALA.

Note from Lord Grenville, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State,

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to the Ministers of the Emperor and the King of Naples, dated the 21st of September, 1792.

THE undersigned Secretary of State to the King, in answer to the official note dated yesterday, which he received from the Count de Stadion and the Prince de Castelficala, Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoys Extraordinary from his Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty, and from his Sicilian Majesty, has the honour to renew to those ministers the assurance of the sincere interest which the King has always taken in every thing which relates personally to their Most Christian Majesties, and which could not fail to be increased by the unfortunate circumstances of the situation in which their Majesties are actually placed.

It is his Majesty's most ardent wish, that the fears expressed in the note of the Count de Stadion and the Prince de Castelficala, may not be realized; but should the contrary case unfortunately happen, his Majesty would not fail to take the most effectual measures, in order to prevent the persons who should have rendered themselves guilty of so atrocious a crime, from finding an asylum in the dominions of his Majesty. The King takes a pleasure in formally giving to sovereigns so closely united to their Most Christian Majesties, and to their royal family, by the ties of blood, this assurance, which his Majesty considers in no other light than as an immediate and necessary consequence of those principles and sentiments which have ever guided his conduct.

(Signed) GRENVILLE,

Whitehall, Sept. 21st, 1792,

Letter from his Excellency Lord Auckland, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Hague, to the Grefrier of their High Mightinesses the States General, dated the 24th of September, 1792.

Hague, Sept. 24th, 1792.

I HAVE the honour, Sir, to acquaint you that, in consequence of a conference which Lord Grenville has had with the Ministers of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies, those Ministers transmitted the note, and received the answer, of which copies are subjoined. I am ordered to request of you to lay these two papers before their High Mightinesses without delay: They will see, no doubt, with fresh satisfaction, the sincere desire which his Majesty has to employ every method compatible with his dignity, and with the principles by which his conduct is invariably directed, for the purpose of contributing to the safety and welfare of their Most Christian Majesties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.

Extract of the Resolutions of their High Mightinesses the States General, of the 25th of September, 1792.

Tuesday Sept. 25, 1792.

HAVING heard the report of Messrs. J. C. N. de Lynden, and other deputies of their High Mightinesses for foreign affairs, who, in conformity to the commissorial resolution of yesterday, have examined,

1st. The proposition of the Grefrier Fagel, stating that he had just received a letter from Lord Auckland, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from his Majesty—
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the King of Great Britain, written at the Hague the same day, in which were inclosed copies of a note delivered to Lord Grenville by the ministers of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies, and of the answer to that note; both those papers having for their object the granting no asylum whatever, in the dominions of his said Majesty, to those who shall render themselves guilty of the greatest of crimes towards their Most Christian Majesties and their royal family; the said Lord Auckland having received orders to desire the Greffier to make a communication of those papers to their High Mightinesses.

2dly. Also, in conformity to the said commissorial resolution of yesterday, a letter from Monsieur de Nagell, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from their High Mightinesses at the court of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, written at London the 21st of the present month, and addressed to the Greffier Fagel, in which were likewise inclosed copies of the abovementioned papers, which had been communicated to him by Lord Grenville.

3dly. Finally, and in conformity to the commissorial resolution of their High Mightinesses of this day, the verbal note from the Count de Stahremberg, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from his Majesty the Emperor, in which he desires their High Mightinesses would be pleased to declare that, in case so horrible an act should be committed, they would not permit any residence, or grant any protection or asylum to any person who should be concerned therein, in any manner whatever.

Whereupon having deliberated, it has been thought proper and decreed, that the Greffier Fagel shall express to Lord Auckland the thanks of their High Mightinesses for the aforesaid communication, made in the name of the ministry of his said Majesty. — Moreover, it has been resolved, conformably to the said request made by the Count de Stahremberg, and to the answer of Lord Grenville to the Ministers of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies, to declare, by these presents, that no asylum shall be granted, neither in the country of the generality, nor in the colonies of the state, whether in the East or West Indies, to those who might have rendered themselves guilty of the greatest of crimes towards the persons of their Most Christian Majesties, or of their royal family: In consequence, the necessary orders shall be expedited to the bailiffs of the different cities and places within the district of the generality, strictly to conform themselves to the above mentioned intentions of their High Mightinesses; with injunction, that if, contrary to all hope, attempts should be made on the lives of their Most Christian Majesties, or of their royal family, they may take every possible precaution for preventing the authors of so atrocious a crime, and those also who might have been in any way concerned in it, in the case of their seeking an asylum in any place within the jurisdiction of the generality, from being received therein, but, on the contrary, for their being immediately driven from the said cities and places.

Letters, moreover, shall be addressed, on the part of their High Mightinesses to the States of the respective

spective provinces, to desire them to adopt similar measures in their respective provinces, for effectually preventing any asylum being granted, in any part of the republic, to those who might have committed, or have been concerned, in so detestable a crime.

Extract of the present resolutions of their High Mightinesses shall be communicated by the Grefrier Fagel to Lord Auckland, and a similar extract delivered by the agent Van Hees to the Count de Stahrenberg, in answer to the above mentioned verbal note.

Declaration on the Part of his Britannic Majesty to the States General.

THE undersigned Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, has received the King's orders to inform their High Mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, that his Majesty, seeing the theatre of war brought so near to the frontiers of the Republic by the recent events which have happened, and being sensible of the uneasiness which may naturally result from such a situation, thinks it due to the connection which subsists between him and the Republic, that he should renew to their High Mightinesses, on this occasion, the assurances of his inviolable friendship, and of his determination to execute, at all times, with the utmost good faith, all the different stipulations of the treaty of alliance so happily concluded, in 1788, between his Majesty and their High Mightinesses.

In making to their High Mightinesses this declaration, the King is very far from supposing the proba-

bility of any intention on the part of any of the belligerent parties to violate the territory of the republic, or to interfere in the internal concerns of its government. The King is persuaded that the conduct which, in concert with his Majesty, their High Mightinesses have hitherto observed, and the respect to which the situation of his Majesty and the Republic justly entitles them, are sufficient to remove any ground of such apprehension. His Majesty therefore confidently expects, that no events of the war will lead to any circumstance from without, which may be injurious to the right of their High Mightinesses; and he strongly recommends to them to employ, in concert with his Majesty, an unremitted attention and firmness to repress any attempts which may be made to disturb the internal tranquillity of the provinces.

His Majesty has directed this communication to be made to their High Mightinesses, in the full persuasion that nothing can more effectually conduce to the interests and happiness of both countries, than the continuance of that intimate union which has been established between them for the maintenance of their own rights and security, and with a view to contribute to the general welfare and tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed) AUCKLAND.

Hague, Nov. 16, 1792.

Answer.

THEIR High Mightinesses are most strongly impressed by the renewal of the assurances which his Britannic Majesty has now been pleased to make, of his inviolable friendship for this republic, and of his

his determination to execute at all times, with the most scrupulous good faith, all the different stipulations of the treaty of alliance so happily concluded in 1788, between his Majesty and their High Mightinesses. The States General have never doubted these generous sentiments on the part of his Britannic Majesty; but the declaration which his Majesty is pleased to make of them at the present moment, cannot but be extremely agreeable to their High Mightinesses, and inspire them with the liveliest gratitude and the most devoted attachment to his Britannic Majesty.

The States General, moreover, perfectly agree with his Majesty in the persuasion that there is not the least reason to attribute to either of the belligerent powers any hostile intention against the republic: And indeed their Mightinesses are persuaded, equally with the King, that the conduct and the strict neutrality which, in concert with his Majesty, they have hitherto so carefully observed, and the respect to which the situation of his Majesty and the Republic justly entitle them, are sufficient to remove any ground of such apprehension.

With respect to the internal tranquillity of the Republic, their High Mightinesses are perfectly sensible of the necessity of continuing to secure to its inhabitants so invaluable an enjoyment; and they are not neglectful of any means for the attainment of that salutary end.

The States General, in concert with the provinces of the union, have already taken, and continue to take, the necessary measures for preventing any interruption of this tranquillity in the present circum-

stances. They have the satisfaction of being able to assure his Majesty, that their efforts have so far been crowned with the desired success; and they have reason to flatter themselves that, with the blessing of Providence, those efforts will be equally fortunate in future.

Finally, their High Mightinesses do not hesitate to declare, that they agree with his Britannic Majesty in the persuasion that nothing can more effectually conduce to the happiness and mutual interests of the two nations than the continuance of that intimate union which has been established between them, and which their High Mightinesses on their part will neglect no opportunity of cementing and strengthening, for the maintenance of the mutual rights and interests of the two countries, and for the security of the general welfare and tranquillity of Europe.

(Signed) W. H. WASSNAER.
(Counter-signed) H. FAGEL.

Hague, Nov. 16, 1792.

Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, Nov. 19th, 1792.

MONSIEUR Chauvelin has the honour to present his respects to Lord Grenville; and requests that he would, as soon as possible, grant him a moment's conversation; and that he would appoint for that purpose the hour and place, either in town or country, at which it would be least inconvenient to him to meet him.

Portman-square, Nov. 19, 1792.

Note from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, Nov. 21st, 1792.

LORD

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LORD Grenville presents his compliments to Monsieur Chauvelin. He received yesterday evening the note which Monsieur Chauvelin addressed to him, dated the 19th of this month. Before he can answer it, he must, under the present circumstances, request Monsieur Chauvelin will be pleased to explain to him the object of the conference which he has desired.

Whitchall, Nov. 21st, 1792.

Note from Monsieur Chauvelin to Lord Grenville, Nov. 22d, 1792.

MONSIEUR Chauvelin has the honour to present his compliments to Lord Grenville. He thought that the private conversation which he had the honour to propose to him a few days since, could not, in the present circumstances, without any inconveniency, but have produced advantageous effects: if Lord Grenville thinks otherwise, and considers such an interview as useless at this moment, Monsieur Chauvelin will not insist upon it, and will only regret that he has not been able to seize this opportunity of offering his respects to Lord Grenville, and of renewing to him the assurances of his esteem.

Portman-square, Nov. 22, 1792.

Lord Grenville.

Letter from Lord Grenville to Monsieur Chauvelin, Nov. 28th, 1792.

Whitchall, Nov. 28th, 1792.

Sir,

I COULD have wished that you had thought yourself enabled to satisfy the desire which I expressed to you, of knowing the object of the conference you demanded of

me some days ago: but as, on reflecting on the situation of affairs, I have thought with you, that the private conversation you proposed to me may be useful under the existing circumstances, I will not refuse it.—I will beg of you to be so good as to come to the office for foreign affairs to-morrow at noon, if that hour should be convenient to you.—In the mean time I renew to you the assurance of the distinguished regard with which I have the honour to be, &c.

GRENVILLE.

Monsieur Chauvelin.

Extract of a Letter from Citizen Maret to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in France. Published officially by the French.

London, Dec. 2, 1792.

First Year of the Republic.

I AM about to give you a short account, citizen, of a conference I have had with M. T. W. a Member of Parliament, and a true friend of the two nations. A part of the subjects which we debated will be found in the detail which I must afterwards give you of a more important interview.—What are the intentions of the French government in relation to Holland? Can any compromise be admitted respecting the opening of the Scheldt? Such are the questions with which M. T. W. desired to have information; which I have reason to believe he intended to communicate to one of the chiefs of the government. Is England disposed to war? Has she negotiated with Spain to alienate that power from us? On the supposition of peace; would the cabinet of St. James be disposed to recognize the Republic, and receive

a French

a French ambassador? Such are the points on which I desired to penetrate into the intentions of the English government. I began by declaring, that it was solely as a French patriot that I would treat with an Englishman, the friend of liberty, and of the interest of the two nations: after having heard this conversation M. T. W. spoke. My answers were founded on the following *basis*:

Before the quitting of France I was assured that the Minister of foreign affairs, and the Executive Council, had no hostile projects against Holland. Since my arrival in England I have had access to all the dispatches addressed to Noailles and Chauvelin; and I saw nothing in them to make me suppose that there was any change in the system of the French government on that subject. The determination taken in council is founded on the first principles of our liberty; it has been approved by the National Convention, sanctioned by public opinion, and executed by our generals—it is irrevocable. It is, besides, free Belgium herself which has burst this last of her chains, and broken fetters imposed on her by her despot and our enemy. We have not violated treaties, which are become null by the fact of the existence of a new power, which could not have been consulted in a convention in which it was the most interested: a compromise on this point would be, on our part, that of injustice, feebleness, and absurdity.

The decree of the 19th of November could not be applicable to England, of which the people believe themselves to enjoy liberty under a king, and with a constitu-

tion which they may improve or change, but which they will preserve without ceasing to be (or to believe themselves) free. This decree rendered on the subject of Germany must, notwithstanding the generality of its expressions, have Germany alone for its object. It bears very directly upon all those nations of whom the governments are at war with us; it will bear upon England if the cabinet of St. James's declares war against us. The internal agitations of this country were spoken of; M. T. W. affected to say, that the Minister conceived no inquietude from them. It was agreed that the monarchical and constitutional associations which the government supports, and the "God save the King," which it pays at the theatre of the Haymarket, were its sole motives of security. He afterwards complained of the means which the French government employed to agitate the English people, and provoke them to revolt. I affirmed that our government did not employ such base means, worthy only of feebleness; that I was sure that it maintained here apostles neither of rebellion nor of liberty; that it did not waste the treasures of the state to create events which, if they were to arrive, must be the work of reason; and that, besides, if we were closely pressed on that head, we should also have some questions to put to Mr. Pitt.

In the midst of these discussions, I obtained confessions which conducted me to the following conclusion: Mr. Pitt, whose present system and situation are such as I have stated in my last letter, dreads war much more than the aristocracy of opposition. That party in the ministry,

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at the head of which is my Lord Hawkesbury, and which professes the most absolute royalism, desires war; they have the majority in the council: Mr. Pitt is thus personally interested in our having pacific intentions. The cabinet of St. James's has certainly negotiated with Spain; and you are not mistaken respecting the subject of these negotiations; it appears that Mr. Pitt has had very little share in them. The moment to exact the recognition of the Republic is not yet arrived. Difficulties, it is believed, might be now experienced by us which we should not have felt a fortnight ago; a preliminary negotiation might be possible and necessary. I quitted M. T. W. sufficiently satisfied, very well disposed towards us, and preparing himself, I could not doubt, to give an account of this conversation, which has probably facilitated the interview with which I am about to occupy you. You know with what active intelligence a common friend had disposed every thing. The very reserved conduct which I have held here, and of which the Minister was well informed, for he did not fail to have me rigorously watched, has removed prejudices against me which I should have supposed inevitable. Mr. Pitt therefore desired to see me: the first appointment failed; the second, fixed for this day, took place this afternoon.

Mr. Pitt. One of your friends said to Mr. Long that you were very desirous of seeing me before you returned to France.

H. B. Maret. It was natural that a Frenchman should have a strong desire to present his homage to a

Minister justly celebrated, and who has done so much for the prosperity of a power which republican France no longer wishes to regard as a rival, and which she desires to treat as a friend. Mr. Long said to my friend that you would willingly converse with me on the interest of the two nations; and I have consented to come to offer to you all the information which may depend upon me. I am ready to answer your questions with the freedom which ought to exist between two men who equally desire the welfare of their country. You know, Sir, you must have been informed that I have here no mission, no authorised character.

Mr. Pitt. I know it. I am myself not authorised to see you; but I hope our conversation will not be the less friendly for not being official. — Then Mr. Pitt spoke to me of his inquietude on the subject of Holland; of the alarms of the government and mercantile interest of England; of the absolute resolution of the ministry to support the allies of Britain, and to execute rigorously the treaties which unite her to other powers. He gave me assurances of his sincere desire to avoid a war, destructive to the interior repose and prosperity of the two nations; he pressed me to tell him if the French government partook of that desire: I made the same answers, but at more considerable length, which I had done to M. T. W.

Mr. Pitt. It is then very unfortunate, Sir, that there has existed a long time between us a distance so injurious in its effects. Silence inflames on both sides suspicion and distrust, and confirms, even if it does

does not increase them. Could it not be possible that we should find some means of communication, of understanding each other, of coming nearer together? If the French government would authorise any one to treat with us, it would find us disposed to listen to him, and to behave with cordiality and confidence.

H. B. Maret. You speak, Sir, of a secret agent—I foresee the difficulty. You know that in France we profess a great respect for the public opinion, which constitutes the force of free governments, and which is a wholesome restraint upon those who govern. This public opinion, however, is ready to demand of the Provisional Executive Council, why it has had the weakness not to require the recognition of the French Republic by England? Will it then be possible to treat with you by the means of a secret agent? we have here a Minister Plenipotentiary, who has all the confidence of our government.

Mr. Pitt. The question of a public character is precisely what we must avoid. Do not reject the sole means of bringing us together, and of making us understand each other; we shall then examine all the questions you propose to us, and all the propositions you may make us.

H. B. Maret. I am about, Sir, to return to Paris, unless you think it better that I should send a trusty person, and that I should remain here to offer you every information that you may desire. I shall urge M. le Brun, if he thinks proper, to send a secret agent, to make

the person whom he shall choose to set out as soon as possible.

Mr. Pitt. Why should it not be yourself? Do not lose an instant in sending to Paris: I assure you that every moment is precious—that nothing is more urgent: demand an immediate answer; and as soon as you have received it, write to me to fix the time when you will come to communicate it to me.—I agreed. Mr. Pitt spoke to me again of Holland: I wished to speak to him of Monsieur Chauvelin: I appealed to what had passed between our Minister and Lord Grenville for a proof of our intentions, I made an eulogium on the conduct of our ambassador, and I said it would certainly be approved by you. — The conversation was finishing; I was going to withdraw; Mr. Pitt detained me to speak on the Scheldt: I avoided all discussion on that subject. He did not insist—and the decree of the 19th of November became the object of the last part of our conference. I used again the same language which I had done to M. T. W. If an interpretation of that kind were possible, its effects would be excellent, said Mr. Pitt. I said no more, and left him*.

Copy of a Letter written by Citizen Chauvelin, to the Right Honourable W. Pitt, dated Dec. 26th, 1792.

Sir, *First Year of the Republic.*

I RECEIVED, four days ago, a letter dated on the 15th of December, from the Minister of foreign affairs in France, in which he makes no doubt that in the present circum-

* This letter was published by order of the National Convention, in the "Exposition of the Conduct of the French Nation towards the English People." M. Maret had another interview with Mr. Pitt on the 14th of December.

stances you will think it proper to see me, since M. Maret has had the honour to state to you that I was charged by the government of France with instructions tending to prevent the misfortunes of war. He has added to his instructions, and has recommended to me to obtain with you, Sir, a second interview. I have hesitated till this moment to acquaint you of it, because I wished to receive orders which would have more specially authorised me; but the time is passing, and is lost for the two countries, leaving them, in regard to each other, in a position dubious, painful, and unworthy of both; and I am certain that I cannot more exactly follow the spirit of the instructions I have received, than in taking every step to prove that of which the French nation wishes to convince all Europe—that she detests the idea of a war with England;—that she will enter on it with the utmost reluctance, and only after having exhausted every remaining honourable means to avoid it. I shall expect your answer, Sir, and shall wait on you at any time you shall be pleased to appoint.

Be pleased, in the mean time, to receive assurances of the distinguished consideration and high esteem with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) F. CHAUVELIN †.

Letter from the British Minister to the Republic of Geneva.

Berne, Oct. 11th, 1792.

Magnificent and most honoured
Lords, Syndics, and Council

of the Town and Republic of Geneva,

ON my arrival here I learnt with infinite pain the situation in which your city and all Switzerland have been since the theatre of war approached your frontiers.

I am commissioned by the King, my master, to give to the Helvetic and Evangelic Bodies, proofs of the sincere interest which his Majesty will never cease to take in all the states that compose them; and though in this respect the general credentials which I have might, as formerly, be sufficient for your state, as an ally of the Helvetic body, his Majesty, nevertheless, addresses to you in particular those which I take the earliest opportunity of transmitting to you.

This new mark of attention and friendship in his Majesty must announce to you, beyond a doubt, that his Britannic Majesty, after the example of his glorious predecessors, will always shew himself a zealous friend of your Republic, and that he has at heart the maintaining of its peace, liberty, and sovereignty, so intimately connected with the tranquillity of all Switzerland, and particularly of the Canton of Berne; on the security of which the British crown has constantly placed the greatest value.

I am going to communicate to his Britannic Majesty the present state of things in Switzerland, as well as those which concern you; and I make no doubt that his Majesty will approve the measure you have taken, according to your ancient customs and your treaties.

† It is contained in the pamphlet already mentioned, published by order of the National Assembly.

in concert with your allies of Zurich and Berne, since they tend to support the Helvetic neutrality—a neutrality which I have no need to request you will observe in the strictest manner.

If my influence with these states, or the Helvetic bodies, could be of any utility in the present juncture, I should employ it with the more zeal, as I should in that conform to the wishes of his Majesty, whose desire is to see those bonds which unite you to the Helvetic body, and which do not appear to be incompatible with the connexion you have with other powers, still farther strengthened. Without taking up more of your valuable time, which must be continually employed on the most important affairs, permit me, my Lords, to inform you that I flatter myself with soon having the honour of paying you a visit, and of renewing, verbally, those assurances of good-will and friendship, on the part of the King, which cannot be too often repeated.

I have the honour of being, with the most profound respect,

Magnificent and most honoured Lords,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

(Signed) ROBERT FITZGERALD.

Treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, on the Marriage of his Royal Highness the Duke of York with her Royal Highness the Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharine of Prussia. Signed at Berlin, Jan. 26th, 1792.

In the name of Almighty God,

BE it known to all persons now living and to come, that the

Most High and Most Puissant Prince and Lord, George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch-Treasurer and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, &c. and the Most High and Most Puissant Prince and Lord, Frederic William, by the grace of God King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Arch-Chamberlain and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, Sovereign Duke of Silesia, Sovereign Prince of Orange, Neuchatel, and Valengin, as also of the county of Glatz, Duke of Gueldres, Magdeburg, Cleves, Julieres, Bergues, Stettin, Pomerania, of the Cassubians and Vandals, of Mecklenburg, as also of Croſnia, Burgrave of Nuremburg, Prince of Halberstadt, Minden, Cammin, Vandalia, Schwerin, Ratzeburg, East Friezeland, and Meurs; Count of Hohenzollern, Ruppin, Marck, Ravenburgh, Hohenstein, Ticklenburg, Schwerin, Lingen Bure, and Leerdam; Lord of Ravenstein, Rostock, Stargard, Lanenberg, Butau, Arla, and Breda, &c. being closely united by the dearest ties of blood and friendship, consented, with the most lively satisfaction, to the marriage of their most dear children their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York and Albany, Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the Princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharine of Prussia; and that this marriage has been duly and legally solemnized at Berlin and at London, according to the laws of the two countries and the rites of the reformed churches, there respectively established. Their Majesties being desirous to reduce into the requisite forms the engagements

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ments contained in a provisional act concluded at Berlin, on the 15th of September, 1791, by their respective ministers, to serve as the essential basis of the future contract of marriage of their Royal Highnesses; and desiring also to provide for the entire and complete execution of the said engagements, have named and authorised for that salutary purpose their respective commissaries, viz. his Majesty the King of Great Britain, Sir Morton Eden, Knight of the Order of the Bath, and his Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Prussian Majesty, and his Majesty the King of Prussia, his Ministers of State, of War, and of the Cabinet, Charles William Count de Finckenstein, Frederick William Count de Schulenburg, Knights of the Order of the Black Eagle, and Philip Charles Baron d'Alvensleben, Knight of the Order of St. John; who, by virtue of their respective full powers reciprocally communicated and exchanged, after having discussed all the necessary points, have agreed on the following articles:

Article I. His Majesty the King of Prussia gives to the Princess his daughter a portion of one hundred thousand crowns in *Frederics d'or*, viz. Forty thousand crowns, as being the usual portion of the Princesses of the House of Prussia, and sixty thousand crowns as paraphernalia. In case the Princess should happen to die before her husband, without leaving issue, both the sums, as well for the portion as for the paraphernalia, shall revert to the King and his successors, in as far as her Royal Highness shall not have disposed of the latter; but the produce thereof shall belong to his Royal Highness her husband surviv-

ing. His Majesty has besides provided her Royal Highness with a *trousseau* suitable to her birth and rank.

Article II. Her Royal Highness the Princess renounces, and by the act signed the 29th of September, 1791, has renounced, conformably to the usage and family compact of the House of Prussia and Brandenburg, in favour of the male succession, all right of inheritance arising from the said house, in the same manner, in the same terms, with the same reservations, and the same validity of engagement as the Princesses of Prussia and Brandenburg have on their marriage done to this time. And his Majesty the King of Great Britain, in his own name, and in that of his son the Duke of York, confirms this renunciation in the most express and solemn manner.

Article III. His Royal Highness the Duke of York having promised to give to the Princess his wife, as the gift on the day after the marriage, called by the name of *Morgengabe*, the sum of six thousand pounds sterling, the interest of which was to be paid from the 15th of September 1791, and to make part of the sum fixed for pin-money, and for the annual expences of her Royal Highness, without her Royal Highness having however any power of disposing of the capital during the life of her husband. His Majesty the King of Great Britain confirms this engagement.

Article IV. His Royal Highness the Duke of York having promised to pay annually, and during the whole time of her marriage, to her Royal Highness, for her pin-money and daily expences, known by the name of *Kleider, Hand, and Spriegelder*,

Sprelgelder, the sum of four thousand pounds sterling, of which her Royal Highness shall have the free disposal, for her own use, without defraying out of that sum the charge of the maintenance of the persons attached to her suite, and intended for her service. His Majesty the King of Great Britain has been pleased to take upon himself the full and entire execution of the said engagement; and his Majesty, in consequence, promises and engages to secure to her Royal Highness the Duchesse of York, the annual payment of four thousand pounds sterling, including the interest of the sum of six thousand pounds sterling, mentioned in the third article.

Article V. His Majesty the King of Great Britain grants, as a counter portion to the portion given by his Majesty the King of Prussia, the like sum of one hundred thousand crowns in gold.—His Britannic Majesty also engages to secure to the Princess, in case of the unhappy event of mournful separation by the death of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the annual sum of eight thousand pounds sterling for her jointure, together with a residence, and a suitable establishment.

Article VI. This treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and by his Majesty the King of Prussia; and the letters of ratification shall be exchanged in the space of six weeks, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature. In witness whereof, we the Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and of his Majesty the King of Prussia, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present treaty, and put thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Berlin, the 26th of January, 1792.

(L. S.) MORTON EDEN.

(L. S.) CH. WILL. COUNT DE FINCKENSTIEN.

(L. S.) F.W. COUNT DE SCHULLENBERG.

(L. S.) P.C. D'ALVENSLEBEN.

Decree of the National Assembly of France, presented by a Deputation to the King, Jan. 26, 1792.

THE National Assembly, considering that the Emperor, by his circular letter of the 25th of December 1791; by a new treaty concluded between him and the King of Prussia on the 25th of July 1791, and notified to the Diet of Ratisbon on the 6th of December; by his answer to the King of the French, on the notification made to him of the acceptance of the constitutional act; and by the official notice of his Chancellor of the Court and State, dated December 21, 1791, has infringed the treaty of the 1st of May 1756, endeavoured to excite among divers powers a concert injurious to the sovereignty of the French nation; considering that the French nation, after having manifested its resolution not to interfere in the government of any foreign power, has a right to expect for itself a just reciprocity, of which it will never suffer any derogation, applauding the firmness with which the King of the French has replied to the official notice of the Emperor; after having heard the report of the diplomatic committee, decrees as follows:

Art. I. The King shall be invited by a message to declare to the Emperor, that he cannot in future treat with any power, but in the

name of the French nation, and in virtue of the powers delegated to him by the constitution.

II. The King shall be invited to demand of the Emperor, whether, as head of the House of Austria, he intends to live in peace and good understanding with the French nation, or whether he renounces all treaties and conventions directed against the sovereignty, independence, and safety of the nation?

III. The King shall be invited to declare to the Emperor, that in case he shall, before the 1st of May next, fail to give full and entire satisfaction upon all the points above-stated, his silence, as well as every evasive or dilatory answer, will be considered as a declaration of war.

IV. The King shall be invited to adopt the most efficacious measures to put the troops in a state to take the field upon the first orders they may receive.

On the 28th of January the King sent the following Answer to the Assembly.

I HAVE examined, gentlemen, the invitation, in the form of a decree, which you caused to be presented to me on the 15th of the present month. It is to me alone that appertains the right of preserving foreign connexions, or conducting negotiations; nor can the legislative body deliberate upon war, but on a formal and necessary proposition from me.

Without doubt, you may demand of me to take into consideration whatever interests the national safety and dignity; but the form which you have adopted is susceptible of important observations. I will not now develope them. The weight

of present circumstances requires that I should rather be solicitous to preserve an agreement in our sentiments than constitutionally to discuss my rights. I ought, therefore, to make known to you that I have demanded of the Emperor, more than a fortnight since, a positive explanation on the principal articles which are the object of your invitation. I have preserved towards him that decorum which is reciprocally due between powers.

Should we have a war, let us not have to reproach ourselves with any wrong which might have provoked it. A certainty of this can alone assist us to support the inevitable evils it brings with it.

I know it is glorious for me to speak in the name of a nation which displays so much courage, and I know how to put a value on this immense means of strength. But what more sincere proof can I give of my attachment to the constitution, than that of acting with as much mildness in negotiation as celerity in our preparations, which will permit us, should necessity require it, to enter into a campaign within six weeks. The most uneasy distrust can find in this conduct only the union of all my duties.

I remind the Assembly, that humanity forbids the mixture of any movement of enthusiasm in the decision for war. Such a determination should be the act of mature reflection; for it is to pronounce, in the name of the country, that her interests require her to sacrifice a great number of her children.

I am nevertheless awake to the honour and safety of the nation, and I will hasten, with all my power, that moment, when I can inform

form the National Assembly whether they may rely on peace, or if I ought to propose to them a war.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Counter-signed) DUPONT.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, respecting certain Reports of his Intention to leave Paris, Feb. 17.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE already mentioned to some of you the reports which are spread about my pretended leaving Paris; I thought that what I mentioned of it would have been sufficient for discrediting these reports; but as evil-minded people continue to propagate them, in order to alarm the inhabitants of Paris, and to calumniate my intentions, I will explain myself clearly on my way of thinking.

I know the duties which the constitution imposes upon me: I will always fulfil them; but I also know the rights it gives me, and I will never refuse myself the power of making use of them. Nothing keeps me at Paris but my will of being there, as I think my presence necessary; and I declare, that I will and shall remain there: and whenever I may have reasons to leave it, I shall not disguise them.

I have to add, that if a person is not quite deprived of the use of his senses, or incurably perverse, he cannot entertain the least doubt of my inviolable attachment to the welfare of the nation and the inhabitants of Paris.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, respecting their Complaints

against the Minister of the Marine, Feb. 29, 1792.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE examined the observations which the zeal and solicitude of the National Assembly have induced it to address to me upon the conduct of the minister of the marine. I shall always receive with pleasure those communications which it thinks useful to make. The observations which have been sent me from the Assembly, appear to me absolutely to come within the number of those subjects upon which it had declared itself incompetent to deliberate. I at that time gave an account of those answers which M. Bertrand had presented against these various complaints; and my judgment coincided with the Assembly. Since that time, no well-founded complaint has been made relative to the different departments of his administration; and all communications from the colonies, from commercial bodies, and from the naval departments, present testimonies of his zeal and useful services. In a word, as he has been reproached with no breach of the law, I should think myself unjust were I to withdraw my confidence from him. To conclude, ministers know well, that the only way to obtain and preserve my confidence, is to cause the laws to be executed with energy and fidelity.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Counter-signed) M. L. DUPONT.

Letter from the King of the French to the King of Hungary.

Sir, my Brother and Nephew,

THE tranquillity of Europe depends on the answer which your Majesty

Majesty shall make to the conduct which is due from me to the great interests of the French nation—to its glory, and to the safety of the unfortunate victims of that war with which a powerful combination threatens France. Your Majesty cannot doubt that I freely and voluntarily accepted the constitution. —I have sworn to maintain it—my repose and my honour are inseparably connected with it—my fate is linked with that of the nation, whose hereditary representative I am, and which, in spite of the calumnies thrown out against it, merits, and shall always possess, the esteem of all nations.

The French have sworn to live free, or to die.—I am pledged by the same oath.

The Sieur de Maulde, whom I send as Ambassador Extraordinary to your Majesty, will explain to you the means to avert those calamities of war which threaten Europe. With these sentiments I remain &c. &c.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation by the King of the French for the Maintenance of Good Order on the Frontiers.

THE King communicated to the National Assembly the note delivered on the 21st of December last to the Ambassador from France to his Imperial Majesty. This note expresses the fear that, before the manifestation of the national will, and even contrary to the wish of the nation, the territory of the German empire would be insulted by the French. For these reasons the Emperor ordered his generals in the low countries to march to the assistance of the Elector of Treves. The King feels

how much such an alarm might prove offensive to the French people. Europe is in peace; and certainly the French who remain faithful to their country and their King, will not deserve the reproach of having disturbed its repose. Besides, who could believe that the French would violate the rights of nations and the faith of treaties, by considering as enemies those men against whom war had not been solemnly declared?—French loyalty repels with indignation a suspicion repugnant to propriety. He is, nevertheless, aware, that perfidious suggestions, that manœuvres adroitly concerted, may occasion some differences between the inhabitants or the troops of the respective frontiers, and that inconsiderate provocations may be productive of acts truly hostile.—But to frustrate these manœuvres it is sufficient to point them out. The King therefore recommends to the administrative bodies, and to the generals, to employ all their efforts to prevent the effects of the means which may be employed to irritate the impatience of the people, and the ardour of the army. Frenchmen, in the present momentous crisis, it depends upon you to give a memorable example to Europe; strong in the goodness of your cause, proud of your liberty, let your moderation, and your submission to the law, make you respected by your enemies. Know, that to wait the signal of the law is in you a duty; that to anticipate it will be a crime. The King, in the name of the French nation, arms at a satisfaction which has equally for its object justice, the right of nations, and the interest of all Europe. If the King has made warlike preparations, it was because he foresaw the

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the possibility of a refusal; and it was his duty to put himself in a state to overcome an unjust resistance. But his Majesty does not yet despair of the success of his representations:—he has renewed them, he follows them up with energy, and he has reason to believe that more precise explanations will occasion more just dispositions. Those, therefore, who shall dare to disturb the cause of negotiations by precipitate steps, by private attacks, shall be considered as public enemies, odious to all the people, and obnoxious to all the laws in consequence. The King orders and enjoins the administrative bodies, the general officers, and commanders of the national and regular troops, to watch with the greatest attention, that all foreign territory may be inviolably respected; to give equal attention that all strangers who may be found in France, of what nation soever, may enjoy there all the rights of hospitality, and the protection of the laws while conforming to them. Lastly, To take the most efficacious measures to prevent any altercation taking place between the inhabitants or the troops on the respective frontiers—and to quiet them speedily, if they should take place. His Majesty enjoins all administrative bodies to repress with all their power, and to cause to be prosecuted, all those who may act contrary to the laws, or disturb public tranquillity. His Majesty besides orders, that this proclamation shall be printed, published, and stuck up throughout the kingdom.

Done in the Council of State held at Paris the 4th of January, 1792.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

(Counter-signed) B. C. CARRER.

Speech of the King of the French to the National Assembly, 20th April.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE come among you for an object of the highest importance in the present circumstances. My minister of foreign affairs will read to you the report which he made to me in council on our situation with regard to Germany.

[The Minister for Foreign Affairs then went up, and, standing by the King's side, read the Minute of the Cabinet Council of France, addressed to the King.]

Sire,

When you took an oath of fidelity to the constitution, you became the object of the hatred of the enemies of liberty. No natural tie could stop—no motive of alliance, of neighbourhood, of propriety, could prevent their enmity. Your ancient allies erased your name out of the list of despots, and from that moment they forgot your Majesty's fidelity. The emigrants, rebels to the laws of their country, are gone beyond the frontiers to prepare a guilty aggression against France. They wish to carry into its bosom fire and sword. Their rage would have been impotent, if the foreign princes had not seconded and encouraged their criminal manœuvres. The house of Austria has done every thing to encourage their audacity:—the house of Austria, who, since the treaty of 1756, has found us good and faithful allies! This treaty, Sir, subjected us to the ambitious views of this house. She engaged us in all her wars, to which she called us as her allies. We have been prodigal of our blood in the cruel



cruel tragedies of despotism. The instant that the house of Austria saw she could no longer govern us for her purposes, it was then that she became our enemy.

It was Austria that had stirred up against France the restless northern potentate, whose tyrannical phrenzy had at last made him fall under the sword of an assassin. It was Austria, who in office, of which Europe shall judge, advised one party of Frenchmen to take up arms against the other. The note of the court of Vienna, of the 18th of February, was in truth a declaration of war: M. Kaunitz there avows the league of the powers against France. The death of Leopold ought to have made some change in this restless and ambitious system; but we have seen the contrary.

The note of the 18th of March is the ultimatum of the court of Vienna. This note is more provoking still than the former. The King of Hungary wishes that we should submit our constitution to his revision; and he does not in any degree dissemble the project of arming Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

Sire, continues the minister, in charging me with the administration of foreign affairs, you have imposed on me the telling of you the truth: I proceed to tell you the truth. It results from this measure, that the treaty of 1756 is broken in fact on the side of Austria; that the maintenance of a league of the powers is an act of hostility against France; and that you ought this instant to order M. Noailles, your ambassador, to quit the court of Vienna, without taking leave. — Sire, the Austrian

troops are on their march — the camps are marked out — fortresses are building. The nation, by its oath, on the 14th of July, has declared, that any man who shall accede to an unconstitutional negotiation, is a traitor. The delay granted to Austria is expired — your honour is attacked — the nation is insulted; therefore, there remains for you no other part to take, but to make to the National Assembly the formal proposition of war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary.

[The minister having read this minute, the King then resumed his speech.]

You have heard, Messieurs, the deliberation and the decision of my council. I adopt their determination. It is conformable to the wish, many times expressed, of the National Assembly, and to that which has been addressed to me by many districts of France. It appears to me to be the wish of all the French people. Frenchmen prefer war to a ruinous anxiety, and to an humiliating state, which compromises our constitution and our dignity. I have done every thing to avert war — but I judge it indispensable; I come, therefore, in the terms of our constitution, “to propose to you formally to declare war against the King of Bohemia and Hungary.”

The President answered,

Sire,

THE Assembly will proceed to deliberate on the great proposition which your Majesty has made to them. They will address to you, by a message, the result of their deliberation.

Debate

Decree of War against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, April 20th.

THE National Assembly, deliberating on the formal proposition of the King, considering that the court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant an open protection to the French rebels; that it has excited and formed a concert with several powers of Europe against the independence and security of the French nation:

"That Francis I. King of Hungary and Bohemia, has by his notes of the 18th of March and 7th of April last, refused to renounce this concert:

"That, notwithstanding the proposition made to him by the note of 11th of March, to reduce, on both sides, to a peace-establishment the troops on the frontiers, he has continued and increased the hostile preparation:

"That he has formally infringed the sovereignty of the French nation, by declaring that he would support the pretensions of the German Princes, possessionaries in France, to whom the French nation have continued to hold out indemnifications:

"That he has attempted to divide the French citizens, and to arm them against one another, by holding out support to the malcontents in the concert of the powers: considering in fine, that the refusal of an answer to the last dispatches of the King of the French, leaves no longer any hope to obtain, by the means of amicable negotiation, the redress of those different grievances, and amounts to a declaration of war, decrees that there exists a case of urgency.

"The National Assembly declares, that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by

the constitution not to undertake any war with the view of making conquests, and never to employ its force against the liberty of any people, only take up arms in defence of their liberty and their independence; that the war into which they are compelled to enter, is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people, against the unjust oppression of a monarch. That the French will never confound their brothers with their enemies; that they will neglect nothing to soften the rigours of war, to preserve their property, and prevent it from sustaining any injury, and to bring down upon the heads of those alone who league themselves against liberty, all the evils inseparable from war.

"That it adopts all those foreigners who, abjuring the cause of its enemies, shall join its standard, and consecrate their efforts to the defence of freedom; that it will even favour, by all the means in its power, their establishment in France.

"Deliberating on the formal propositions of the King, and after having decreed the case of urgency, decrees war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia."

Address from the Representatives of the French People, to the Citizens armed for the Defence of the Country.

THE fate of our liberty; that, perhaps, of the liberty of the world, is in your hands. We do not tell you of our confidence; that, like your courage, is unbounded. We have not provoked the war; and, when the king proposed to us to revenge, at length, the outrages upon the national dignity, we resisted, for a long time, the wish expressed by the general indignation
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of the French. A good and free people take up arms with regret; but they take them not in vain; they triumph, or they break them in their hands. The tortures and shame of an eternal servitude would not sufficiently punish a nation who should suffer their liberty to escape them, after having conquered it.

And what object can be more worthy of your courage? The period is passed, in which French warriors, the docile instruments of one man's will, armed themselves only to defend the interests, the caprice, or the passions of kings. At present, yourselves, your children, your own rights, are to be defended. We must conquer, or return to the dominion of feudal privileges, of arbitrary imprisonment, and of every sort of taxation, oppression, and servitude. Your individual happiness, the happiness of all those who are dear to you, are thus nearly connected with the safety of the country. But those are unworthy to defend it, who do not add virtues to courage. The men whom we fight to-day are our brothers; to-morrow, perhaps, they will be our friends. Intrepid in battle, firm in misfortunes, modest after victory; generous to prisoners,—such are a free people. Crimes, notwithstanding, have been committed! The laws will punish, in their just severity, all outrages against the rights of nations and the sacred rights of nature. Rewards, on the contrary, will attend faithful warriors; their names will obtain for ever the gratitude and the homage of all the friends of liberty; and, if they die in battle, their children shall be the children of the country.

As for us, immovable in the midst of political storms, we shall watch over all stratagems, over all the enemies of the empire. The world shall see whether we are the representatives of a great people, or the timid subjects of certain kings in Europe. We have sworn not to capitulate either with pride or tyranny: we shall keep our oath,—“*Death—Death—or Victory and Equality!*”

But, to assure victory, it is necessary that discipline should regulate all the movements of courage; and that distrust should never suspend or destroy them. There can be no triumph without the absolute obedience of soldiers to their officers, to their generals, without constant and fraternal union. The enemies of the country know that you will repulse with horror him who would lessen your civic zeal, your unalterable fidelity; but it is even in your virtues that they seek the means of seducing you. Affecting to share your patriotism, they mingle with the expression of it, both in their conversation and writings, the insinuation of a sentiment, which produces, at first, but a slight uneasiness, and ends in the most blameable distrust. They talk to you only of treason and perfidy. Observe attentively those who hold out this language, and presently you will perceive under what name they may shelter themselves; that they are generally only the emissaries, or the hired writers, of the enemies of French liberty.

Warriors, observe the second battalion of Paris; the 6th regiment of chasseurs, ci-devant Lan-guedoc; the 3d regiment of hussars, ci-devant Esterhazy; and the

49th regiment of infantry, ci-devant Vintimile. It is amongst yourselves that we are happy to find examples for you. They have trusted, obeyed, and merited well of the country.

Address of M. La Fayette to his Army upon their March, May 1st, 1792.

Soldiers of the country,

THE legislative body, and the king in the name of the French people, have declared war. Since the country, by the constitutional organs of its will, calls us to its defence, what citizen can refuse his arm?

At the moment, in which we first obey the oath, pronounced upon the altar of the federation by the nation in arms, I wish to inform you of my intentions, and remind you of my principles.

I am convinced, by the experience of a life devoted to liberty, that it can exist only among citizens submissive to the laws, as it can be defended only by troops consenting to subordination.

I have served the people without flattering them, and in my constant opposition to licentiousness and anarchy, have incurred the hatred of all the ambitious and all the factious. Now, that the army expects of me not pernicious compliances, but an inflexible discipline, it is by rigorously fulfilling this duty that I shall justify the affection which it grants, and the esteem which it owes me. But when I subject freemen to the imperious will of a chief, we should all know, general, officers, soldiers, that, in this war, become a deadly combat between our principles and the pretensions of despots, the rights

of every citizen, and the safety of all are involved. The constitution, to which we are sworn, the sacred cause of liberty and equality, are involved in it. The contest is for the national sovereignty, under which there can be no compromise with any combination of strength or with any dangers, without betraying, not only the French people, but all humanity.

Soldiers of liberty, to deserve these blessings it is not sufficient to be brave. Your general ought to foresee and order you to obey. Be generous; respect the enemy when disarmed. Troops which always give quarter and receive it not, will be for ever invincible. Be disinterested; let not the degrading hope of pillage ever sully the nobleness of your motives. Be humane, that our sentiments may be admired and our laws blessed, wherever we go. Be, in short, like your general, resolved to see the triumph of liberty, or to die.

Soldiers of the constitution, fear not that it may cease to watch for you while you fight for it; do not believe that, while you are gone forth to combat for your country, intestine commotions will disturb your homes. The legislative body, and the king, will doubtless unite themselves intimately in this decisive moment, to secure the empire of the law. Persons and property will be respected; civil and religious liberty will never be profaned; the peaceable citizen will be respected, whatever may be his opinion: the guilty will be punished, whatever may be their pretences: all parties will be dissolved; and the constitution will prevail alone, both over the rebels who attack it

it by open force, and over the traitors who, in disgracing it by their vile passions, seem to have sworn to make it feared at home and suspected abroad. Yes; we shall have this reward for our labours and our blood. Let us adhere then with confidence to the chosen representatives of the people, who have sworn not to avoid the duties of the constitution, as we will not its dangers; to the hereditary representative, — that citizen king, whose throne the constitution has placed upon an irrefragable foundation; and to all the other depositaries of the powers delegated by the constitution.

They all know that the use of that authority is a duty for them, to whom the constitution has deputed it, as obedience is for those whom she has submitted to it; and that they may transgress the laws, by not doing what these prescribe, as well as by doing what they prohibit. Let us adhere to the national guards, whom a rising constitution found united for its establishment, whom the constitution in danger will find always ready to defend it, and whose patriotism will render glorious the calumnies which may be shared with them.

As for us, bearing the arms which liberty has consecrated and the *Declaration of Rights*, let us march to the enemy.

(Signed) LA FAYETTE.

Letter from M. La Fayette to the National Assembly.

Entrenched Camp of Maubridge, June 16, 1792, 4th Year of Liberty.

Gentlemen,

AT the moment, too long delayed perhaps, in which I am going to

call your attention to great public interests, and point out among our dangers the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence has long ago accused, I am informed that, unmasked by its divisions, it has sunk under its own intrigues; for, undoubtedly, it is not by sacrificing three colleagues, from their own insignificance the mere creatures of his power, that the least excusable, the most notorious of these ministers, will have cemented in the king's council his equivocal and scandalous existence.

It is not enough, however, that this branch of the government should be delivered from a baneful influence. The public weal is in danger; the fate of France depends chiefly on her representatives; from them the nation expects her salvation. But when she gave herself a constitution, she prescribed to them the only course by which they can save her.

Persuaded, gentlemen, that as the rights of man are the law of every constituting assembly, a constitution once formed becomes the law to the legislators appointed under it: it is to yourselves that I am bound to denounce the too powerful efforts now making to carry you beyond the rule which you have promised to follow.

Nothing shall prevent me from exercising this right of a freeman, from fulfilling this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion (for what are opinions when they deviate from principles!) nor my respect for the representatives of the people (for I respect still more the people themselves, of whom the constitution is the will supreme) nor the favour you have constantly shewn to me; for that I wish to preserve,

preserve, as I obtained it, by an inflexible love of liberty.

Your circumstances are difficult; France is menaced from without, and agitated within. While foreign courts announce the intolerable project of attacking our national sovereignty, and thus declare themselves the enemies of France, internal foes, intoxicated with fanaticism and pride, entertain chimerical hopes, and distress us still more with their insolent malignity.

You ought, gentlemen, to suppress them; and you cannot have the power to do so, without being yourselves constitutional and just.

You desire to be so without doubt; but cast your eyes on what passes in your own body, and all around you.

Are you ignorant that the Jacobin faction has occasioned all the disorders? It is that faction to which I loudly impute them. Organized like a separate empire in its metropolis, and its affiliations blindly directed by certain ambitious chiefs, this sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, whose power it usurps by subjugating their representatives and their mandatories.

It is there that, in public sittings, love of the laws is denominated aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism. There the assassins of Desfilles receive triumphs, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrist: there also the recitals of the assassination that stained the city of Metz, excite infernal acclamations of joy.

Can it be believed that they will escape reproaches by sheltering themselves under an Austrian manifesto, in which these sectaries are named! Are they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced

their name? and because we have to fight with foreigners, who presume to interfere in our quarrels, are we absolved from the duty of delivering our country from domestic tyranny?

Of what moment to this duty are either the projects of foreigners, their connivance at the counter-revolutionists, or their influence on the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is I who denounce this sect; I who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who feign suspicions of me—'Approach in this critical moment, in which every man's character will soon be known, and let us see which of us, most inflexible in his principles, the firmest in his resistance, will best brave the dangers which traitors wish to hide from their country, and which true citizens know how to calculate and encounter for her sake.'

And how should I longer delay to fulfil this duty, when every day weakens the constituted authorities, and substitutes the spirit of a party for the will of the people; when the audacity of agitators imposes silence on peaceable citizens, and supplants useful men; when attachment to a sect is made the substitute of all public and private virtues, which in a free country ought to be the severe and only means of arriving at the first functions of government?

It is after having opposed to all obstacles and all snares the courageous and persevering patriotism of an army, sacrificed perhaps to combinations against its leader, that I can now oppose to this faction the correspondence of a ministry the worthy production of its club; a correspondence, of which all the calculations are false, the promises

vain,

vain, the information fraudulent or frivolous, the councils perfidious or contradictory; where, after having pressed me to advance without precaution, and to attack without means, they began to tell me that resistance would soon be impossible, when my indignation repelled the dastardly assertion.

What remarkable conformity of language, gentlemen, between those factious men who avow their aristocratic spirit, and those who usurp the name of patriots! Both wish to subvert our laws, rejoice in disorders, rise up against the authorities conferred by the people, detest the national guard, preach indiscipline to the army, and sow sometimes distrust, sometimes discouragement.

As for me, gentlemen, who espoused the American cause at the very moment when its ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who thenceforward devoted myself to a persevering defence of liberty and the sovereignty of the people; who, on the 11th of July, 1789, on presenting to my country a declaration of rights, durst tell her,—*For a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it*; I come now, full of confidence in the justice of our cause, of contempt for the cowards who desert it, and of indignation against the traitors who would sully it; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the vilest in the universe, may and ought to resist the conspiracy of kings formed against her.

It is not undoubtedly in the midst of my brave army that timid sentiments are permitted: patriotism, energy, discipline, patience, mutual confidence, all the civil and military virtues I have found in it.

The principles of liberty and equality are cherished, the laws respected, property sacred in it; neither calumnies nor factions are known in it.

But in order that we, soldiers of liberty, may fight with efficacy, or die with advantage to our cause, it is necessary that the number of the defenders of our country be speedily proportioned to that of their adversaries; that stores of all sorts be multiplied; that the comfort of the troops, their equipage, their pay, the accommodations for their health, be no longer exposed to fatal delays, or pretended savings, which always turn out the direct reverse of their object.

Above all, it is necessary that the citizens, rallied around the constitution, be assured that the rights which it guarantees will be respected with a religious fidelity, that shall drive its enemies, concealed or public, to despair.

Reject not this wish: it is that of the sincere friends for your legitimate authority. Assured that no unjust consequence can flow from a pure principle, that no tyrannical measures can serve a cause which owes its strength and glory to the sacred basis of liberty and equality, make criminal justice resume its constitutional course, make civil equality and religious liberty enjoy the entire application of their true principles.

Let the royal power be untouched, for it is guaranteed by the constitution; let it be independent, for its independence is one of the springs of our liberty; let the king be revered, for he is invested with the national majesty; let him have the power of choosing a ministry that wear not the chains of a faction; and

and if there be conspirators, let them perish by the sword of the law.

In fine, let the reign of clubs, annihilated by you, give place to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constituted authorities; their disorganizing maxims to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury to the calm and steady courage of a nation that understands its rights, and defends them: in fine, their factious combinations to the true interests of our country, which, in this moment of danger, ought to unite all those to whom her subjugation and her ruin are not objects of atrocious joy, or infamous speculation.

Such, gentlemen, are the representations and the petitions submitted to the national assembly, as they are to the king, by a citizen, whose love of liberty will never be honestly questioned; whom the different factions would hate less if he had not raised himself above them by his disinterestedness; whom silence would have better become, if, like so many others, he had been indifferent to the glory of the national assembly, and the confidence with which it is of importance that it should be surrounded: and who cannot better testify his own confidence than by laying before it the truth without disguise.

Gentlemen, I have obeyed the dictates of my conscience, and the obligation of my oaths. I owed it to my country, to you, to the king, and, above all, to myself, whom the chances of war do not allow to postpone observations that I think useful, and who wish to believe that the assembly will find in this a new homage of my devotion to

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its constitutional authority, of my personal gratitude, and my respect.
(Signed) LA FAYETTE,

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, June 21.

THE national assembly is already apprised of the events of yesterday: no doubt Paris is full of consternation. I leave to the prudence of the assembly the management of the constitution, and also the individual liberty of the hereditary representative of the people: France will learn what has happened with grief. As for me, nothing shall hinder me from steadily pursuing, without the least distrust, the views which are directed by the constitution, which I have sworn to maintain, and to obtain those ends which it prescribes.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Proclamation by the King, on the Events of the 20th of June.

FRENCHMEN cannot hear without concern, that a multitude, excited by some factious persons, came, with arms in their hands, into their King's palace, drawing a piece of cannon even into the guard-room; that they broke open the doors of his apartment with axes, and there audaciously abusing, by assuming the name of the nation, attempted to obtain by force the sanction which his Majesty had constitutionally refused to two decrees.—The King opposed to the menaces and insults of these factious persons only his conscience and his love for the public weal. The King knows not at what point they would stop; but he thinks it right to inform the French nation, that violence, to whatever excess it

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may

may be carried, shall never tear from him his consent to whatever he shall think contrary to the public interest. He exposes, without regret, his own peace and his personal safety; he gives up, even without pain, the enjoyment of the rights which belong to all men, and which the law ought to respect in him as well as in all citizens; but, as the hereditary representative of the French nation, he has severe duties to fulfil; and though he will make the sacrifice of his own repose, he will not sacrifice his duties. If those who wish to overthrow the monarchy have need of one crime more, they may commit it. — In the crisis in which he finds himself, the King will to the last moment give to the constituted powers the example of that courage and firmness which can alone save the empire. In consequence, he orders all the administrative and municipal bodies to watch over the lives and properties of the people.

Given at Paris, the 22d day of June 1792, the 4th Year of Liberty.

(Signed) LOUIS.
(And under) TERRIER.

Proclamation by the Municipality.

CITIZENS, preserve tranquillity and see your dignity. — Be upon your guard against the snares which are laid for you. It is wished to create divisions among the citizens, armed and unarmed. — Cover with your arms the King of the constitution; environ his person with respect, that his asylum may be sacred. — Respect and cause to be respected the national assembly, and the Majesty of the representatives of a free people. — Do not assemble in

arms; the law forbids it, and this law has just been renewed. In crowds, the most innocent may mingle with the worst intentioned. The law reproves all violence; and you have intrusted to your magistrates the execution of this law. Shew yourselves worthy of liberty, and remember, that the people who are the most free, are also most the slaves of their laws.

(Signed) PETION, Mayor.
DEJOLY, Registrar.

Instructions to the Citizens of Paris by the Department, June 23, 1792.

CITIZENS, secret enemies of the public weal mingled among you, wish to make you serve their purposes. Our enemies have need of having the King out of the kingdom. They dare not carry him off; they wish, therefore, that you should force him to fly. They know that almost all the powers of Europe, assured of the King's personal liberty, refuse to unite with the king of Hungary to make war on us; and they are solicitous, at least, to make these kings believe that his Majesty is not free, in order that they may draw them into the league against us. They know that the popular magistrates are charged to guarantee, in the midst of us, respect for the laws, and they hope to destroy and vilify these magistrates, by placing them between the necessity of extreme rigour, or the opprobrium of inactivity, while crimes are perpetrating. They know that all enlightened citizens, who understand the constitution, are devoted to its defence, and they desire to separate them and the constitution from the uninformed multitude; nay, they wish even to bring them to a trial of strength the one with the other,
and

and to kindle a civil war. In fine, they know that the cause of liberty, which is the cause of equality, cannot be better defended in the eyes of other nations than by the wisdom and dignity of the French people; and they wish to dishonour a part of that people by exciting mobs, in which they may dexterously mingle themselves to accomplish their ends. They wish to make you demand from the King the revocation of the veto which he has pronounced on two decrees; and you do not see that, if the King had yielded to the demand of armed thousands assembled, and threatening him in his palace, he would thereby have declared to all Europe that he was not free. They force you to penetrate into his dwelling, which is surely not less sacred than each of your own. They tell you the doors are not shut against us, and they break them open before your eyes; they tell you the King shall be respected, and you believe them, because you feel for his Majesty in your hearts, but yet, in your presence, they offend and outrage him. They strive to make you believe, that the sovereignty which belongs to the entire French people, is the particular property of the suburb which they excite, and of the groups which assemble round them. They assure you, that the constituted powers ought to humble, and that they shall humble before you. Citizens, this language is a snare; our enemies know well that the magistrates, constituted by the people at large, and appointed by the citizens, cannot yield to illegal crowds; and the traitors hope that, in the midst even of an irritated people, they may, with impunity, aim mortal blows at the magis-

trates of the people. They dare to tell you also, that you are all the national force, such as it exerted in 1789, and that nothing can resist you. Citizens, this is another snare. In 1789, there burst forth an insurrection; a powerful insurrection, because it was general, and because it spread over all the empire; a holy insurrection, because it was directed against oppression, because there existed no powers constituted by the people, or conferred either by themselves or their representatives. At present, every thing is changed. There can now arise nothing but seditions, tumults, and revolts, punishable by the laws, and easy to be repressed. And why? because we have a constitution, because every Frenchman has sworn to it, because it is just that he should keep his engagements, because the great majority will always be faithful to their oath, and because they are determined to punish the factious. These factious men tell you that the constitution is bad, and that it must be instantly changed, without having given it a trial, and without the forms prescribed by the constitution itself: the army at Coblenz says nothing else! Citizens, every thing which tends to destroy the constitution, tends to a counter-revolution. Liberty is destroyed if the nation shall concert with intestine factions, the same as if it concerted with our external enemies. Citizens, these external enemies menace our frontiers; their force is formidable, the union and the exercise of ours is necessary. Peace must reign among ourselves if we wish to have energy against them. It is upon them that we must fix our eyes and turn our arms: it is to the frontiers, it is under the stand-

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dard that flies in the midst of our armies, that we ought all to hasten, and rally like brothers, to defend the cause of freedom against tyranny.

Given in the council of the department of Paris, the 23d June, 1792, and in the 4th year of liberty.

(Signed)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT, Pres.

BLONDELL, Secretary.

Letter from the King to the National Assembly, July 4.

4th Year of Liberty.

" Gentlemen,

" WE approach the famous epoch at which the French are going to commemorate, in all parts of the kingdom, a compact of alliance contracted on the altar of the country on the 14th of July, 1790. The law forbids all particular federations; it allows only an annual renewal of the federative compact in the chief town of each district. But we have in our power a measure which, without the least violation of the letter of the law, seems to me adapted to the grand events that everywhere present themselves. When a great nation wages war abroad in defence of liberty, then it is that she feels most strongly the necessity of peace at home; when all the intestine dissensions seem to coincide with the foreign war, when wicked men are striving to excite troubles, the peaceable citizens stand in need of encouragement. We must prove to the armies on our frontiers, that they are fighting in reality for the peace and the liberty of their country. I am of opinion, gentlemen, that we cannot give them a surer pledge of this, than the union of the two

constituted powers, renewing on the 14th of July, round the altar of our country the same resolution, *to live free, or die.*

A great number of Frenchmen are collecting from all the departments. They think that they shall double their force and their courage, if, on the eve of their departure for the frontiers, they shall be admitted to celebrate the anniversary of the federation with the citizens of Paris. I express to you my desire of going into the midst of you to receive their oaths, and to prove to the evil-disposed, who seek to ruin the country by dividing us, that we are animated by but one and the same spirit—that of the constitution; and that if we are compelled to war, it is principally by internal peace that we wish to prepare and assure our victories.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counter-signed) DEJOLY.

Notification to the Powers of Europe from the King of the French.

THE King of the French being informed that persons still continue to make use of his name to propote negotiations with foreign courts, to make loans, and even levies of foreign troops, and being again desirous of consecrating, in a solemn manner, his attachment to the constitution, which he freely accepted, and which he has sworn to defend, disavows all declarations, protestations, negotiations with foreign courts, loans, levies of foreign troops, purchases of arms, warlike stores, and others; and generally all acts, public and private, made in his name by Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, Charles-Philip, Louis Joseph, and Louis-Anthony-Henry, French princes, and by other emigrants, rebels to the laws, and to their

their country. He declares that his own interests and those of the people, of whom he is the hereditary representative, are for ever inseparable; that the government, the execution of which is confided to him, shall be maintained by him in all its purity. Firm in this resolution, the King of the French charges his minister of foreign affairs to notify to all the powers, that, entirely devoted to the cause of the French people, he will make use of all the force put into his hands against the enemies of France, whatever pretexts may be employed to countenance the armed assemblies of the emigrants, or to support them in their hostile preparations.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counter-signed) CHAMBRONAS.

Address to the French, on the Dangers of their Country.

Citizens,

YOUR constitution restores the principles of external justice:—A league of kings is formed to destroy it. Their battalions are advancing:—they are numerous, under rigorous discipline, and long practised in the art of war. Do you not feel a noble ardour inflame your courage? Will you suffer hordes of foreigners, like a destructive torrent, to overflow your fields? Will you suffer them to ravage your harvests; to waste your country by burning and cruelties; in a word, to load yourselves with chains dyed in the blood of all you hold most dear? Our armies are not yet complete: an indiscreet security too often restrains the ardour of patriotism. The levies of recruits ordained, have not been so completely successful as your representatives had hoped.

Internal troubles, added to the difficulty of our situation, cause our enemies to give themselves up to vain hopes, which to you are an insult.—Hasten, Citizens; save liberty, and vindicate your glory.—The National Assembly declares, that our country is in danger.—Beware, however, of thinking that this declaration is the effect of a terror unworthy of the Assembly or of you. You have taken the oath, *To live free, or die.* The Assembly knows that you will keep it, and swears to set you the example; we must conquer, and you can conquer if you abjure your hatreds; if you forget your political dissensions, if you unite in the common cause; if you watch with indefatigable activity your internal enemies; if you prevent all the disorders, and all the acts of violence to individuals which they excite; if securing within the kingdom the empire of the laws, and answering by well-ordered movements the call of your country, you fly to the frontiers and to our camps with the generous enthusiasm of liberty, and the profound sentiment of the duties of soldier-citizens, Frenchmen, four years engaged in a struggle against despotism, we advertise you of your dangers, in order to invite you to the efforts necessary to surmount them. We shew you the precipice:—what glory awaits you when you shall have overpassed it! The eyes of nations are fixed upon you; astonish them by the majestic display of your force, and of a grand character, union, respect for the laws, for the chiefs, for the constituted authorities, courage unshaken,—and soon will Victory crown with her palms the altar of Liberty: soon will the nations who are now arming against your constitution, covet to unite themselves with you by the

ties, of a sweet fraternity; soon, consolidating by a glorious peace the basis of your government, you will reap all the fruits of the revolution; and in preparing your own happiness, you will have prepared that of posterity."

An Address to the Army.

Brave Warriors,

THE National Assembly has just proclaimed the danger of our country; this is to proclaim the force of the empire; this is to announce that French youth will soon flock round the standard of Liberty. You will teach them to conquer! you will point them the road to glory. On the signal of danger to your country, you will feel your ardour redoubled. Warriors, let discipline guide your motions; that alone is the guarantee of victory. Have that calm and cool courage with which the sense of your force ought to inspire you. A true army is an immense body put in motion by a single head. It can do nothing without a passive subordination of rank to rank, from the soldier up to the generals. Warriors, imitate the devotion of Darius, and the courage of the brave Pic. Merit the honours which your country reserves for those who fight for her; they will be worthy of her and of you. Forget not that it is your constitution that is attacked. The object is, to make you descend from the glorious rank of freemen! Well, brave warriors, the constitution must triumph, or the French nation must be covered with indelible disgrace. From all parts your fellow-citizens are preparing to second you. Doubt not of it; there is not a Frenchman who hesitates; there is not one who, in these days of pe-

ril and of glory, risks dishonouring his life by a base and shameful inaction. How unhappy will be the man who cannot on some future day say to his children and his fellow-citizens, "I, too, fought when our liberty was attacked; I shared the glory of the day on which the French arms triumphed over our enemies; I defended the ramparts of the city, which they attacked in vain; and on such a day I bled for my country, for liberty, and equality."

The King's Proclamation on the same Subject, July 20th.

Citizens,

OUR country is in danger. The national assembly has declared it: the law has assigned every one his proper post. The King presses you to repair to it; the country, our common mother, calls upon all her children; and they will not surely be deaf to her voice. Your property and your persons are at stake; the safety of what is dearest to you, your mothers, your wives, your children, are in danger. Frenchmen, your constitution and your liberty are at stake. — It is no longer the time of deliberations and speeches; it is that of glorious actions. Europe is in league against you; unite yourselves to be able to repel their efforts. Legions of foes threaten the barriers of the empire: it is thither you must march; force must be opposed to force; it is subordination, it is confidence in your leaders that you must oppose to the discipline and blind obedience which constitute the strength of your enemies. It is the unalterable union of all good citizens that we have to oppose to the union of the powers in league against

against us. Your enemies are experienced in war, and inured to combats: you have, in advantage over them, the great interests of your own cause to defend;—you have the passion for liberty, which exalts a man above himself, and transforms him into an hero. But the time is precious; hasten to repair to your standards.—Fly into the country and to the frontiers, and remember that when the state is in danger, every citizen is a soldier; and that the devoted service of the most generous becomes no longer a virtue, but a duty. All the cities in the empire will doubtless be ambitious of seeing their names inscribed in the list of the well-deserving of their country. The whole kingdom will be overspread with citizens subject to the laws, united together in the indissoluble bands of concord, and by their attachment to a constitution to which they have all taken a solemn oath of fidelity. Administrators, magistrates, warriors, citizens, this is the moment to extinguish, in a brotherly sentiment of reconciliation and peace, the dissensions and hatreds that have hitherto divided and weakened you. This is the moment to establish freedom upon an eternal foundation, in establishing the empire of the laws; without which all is confusion, disorder, and misery; all anarchical tyranny, and a thousand times more intolerable than even that of despotism.

The law places you all in a state of perpetual inspection. Avail yourselves of the privilege, in order to give weight to authority and springs to government: avail yourselves of it for the re-establishment

of good order, for the succour of France; which cannot make head unless all powers, all inclinations, all courage unite for its salvation. It is the King who calls to you.—a King proud of commanding a free people, who, in the name of the liberty that he loves, and of the equality which, like you, he is determined to maintain, conjures you to rally round the standard of the country, to assist him in giving force to the laws against the foes within and without; to swear with him to conquer or to die for the rights of the nation; and to bury them rather under the ruins of the empire than suffer its dignity to be insulted, that foreigners or rebels should give laws to France; or, by yielding to a disgraceful capitulation, tarnish the honour of the French name. Under these considerations, the King, participating in the solicitude of the national assembly, who, by the act of the 11th of the present month, have declared the country to be in danger; thoroughly convinced that the moment in which the public liberty is menaced, is that in which it is most necessary to recall the citizens and magistrates to the exact observance of the laws which guarantee it; and especially the decree of the 8th inst. which ascertains the measure to be taken when the country is in danger; is anxious to recapitulate the duties which these different laws universally impose upon the French nation.

Art. I. His Majesty invites all citizens who are able to bear arms, and such especially who have had the honour to serve their country, of what rank soever they might have been, to enlist themselves im-

mediately, in order to make good the complement of the army of troops of the line.

ART. II. Invites all citizens who possess the requisite qualifications, and who are not yet enrolled in the national guard; to enrol themselves forthwith.

ART. III. Enjoins all administrative bodies, and all the municipalities, to put the law of the 8th of this month, relating to the formation of the battalions of national guards destined for the defence of the state, instantly in force.

ART. IV. Recommends to them to instruct the citizens in the particular duties which the present circumstances of things require at their hands, to animate their zeal, and to excite them to rush forward, wherever the dangers of their country may call them.

ART. V. Recommends to them likewise to neglect nothing that may accelerate the armament and march of the troops; and to do every thing in their power to further such purpose.

ART. VI. Exhorts the citizens, who shall obtain the honour of marching the first to the succour of their country, to subordination to their chiefs; to regularity of conduct in the service; to zeal worthy of the noble cause which they are called upon to defend; and to honour the French name as much by their humanity towards their conquered enemies, as by their courage in combating against them.

ART. VII. Exhorts likewise the citizens that remain for the defence of the internal parts of the kingdom, to give proofs of their patriotism, in performing personal service, in maintaining the safety of citizens and property, the exe-

cution of justice, and the respect due to constituted authorities

ART. VIII. Recalls to the mind of public officers the obligation of residence which the law imposes upon them, and which the perils of the state render more indispensable. Enjoins his commissaries of tribunals, the syndic solicitor-generals of departments, and the syndic solicitors of districts, to keep up, each in his particular station, the strict observance of this law, and to inform against all infractions made therein.

ART. IX. Recommends, lastly, to all administrators and other public officers, both civil and military, to redouble their ardour and assiduity in the exercise of their functions; and to all citizens to remember, that it is only by making every sacrifice, and shewing an inviolable respect for the laws, that they can approve themselves worthy of liberty. Ordains, that the present proclamation be sent to the administrative and judiciary bodies, printed, read, published, and advertised all over the kingdom.

Done, in council of state, the 20th of July, 1792, the fourth year of liberty.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(Counterigned) DEJOLIV.

The Provisional Executive Council of the French Republic to the Prince Bishop of Rome, Nov. 25.

THE free French children of the arts, whose residence at Rome supports and develops the taste and the talents with which she is honoured, undergo, by your order, an unjust persecution. Removed from their labours in an arbitrary manner,

manner, enclosed in a rigorous prison, pointed out to the public, and treated as guilty, before any tribunal has announced their crime, or rather, when they can be reproached with no other than that of having made known their respect for the rights of humanity, and their love for that part of it which acknowledges them, they are designed to be shortly sacrificed as victims to despotism and superstition united. Doubtless, if it was lawful ever to buy, at the expence of innocence, the triumph of a good cause, this excess should be suffered to be committed. The reign of the inquisition would conclude on the day when it should so dare to execute its fury; and the successor of St. Peter would be no longer a prince on the day when he should suffer it. Reason has caused her powerful voice to be everywhere heard; she has restored in the oppressed heart of man the consciousness of his duties with the sentiment of his force; she has broken the sceptre of tyranny; liberty has become the universal rallying point; and tyrants, trembling upon their thrones, can only, by favouring her, avoid a violent fall. But it is not sufficient for the French republic to foresee the limit and extinction of tyranny in Europe; she ought to shelter from the action of it all those who belong to her. Already her minister for foreign affairs has demanded the release of the French, arbitrarily detained at Rome; this day her executive council reclaims them, in the name of justice, which they have not offended; in the name of the arts, which it is your interest to receive and protect; in the name of rea-

son, which is indignant at this foreign prosecution; in the name of a free nation, bold and generous, who disdains conquest, it is true, but who would make its rights to be respected; who is ready to revenge herself upon whomsoever dare contemn them; and who has not learned to conquer them from her priests and her kings, to permit that they shall be outraged by any person upon earth.—Pontiff of the Roman church still a prince in a state ready to escape from you, you can no longer retain either but by a disinterested profession of those evangelical principles which breathe the purest democracy, the tenderest humanity, and the most perfect equality. The ages of ignorance are past; men can no longer be subdued but by conviction, or conducted but by truth, or attached but by their own happiness; the art of politics and the secret of government are reduced to an acknowledgement of their rights, and to the care of facilitating their exercise for the greatest good to all, and the least possible damage to each. Such are now the maxims of the French republic; too just to be silent upon any occasion, even in affairs of diplomacy; too powerful to have recourse to menace; but, at the same time, too noble to conceal an outrage, she is ready to punish it, if peaceable demands shall remain without effect.

Given at the executive council,
Nov. 25, 1792.

(Signed)

ROLAND,	CRAVIERE,
LEBRUN,	MONGE,
PACHE,	GARAT.

218 ANNUAL REGISTER, 1792.

Proclamation of the Government at Brussels, in Answer to the Declaration of War of the Part of France.

MARIE CHRISTINE, *Princess Royal of Hungary and Bohemia, Archduchess of Austria, Duchess of Burgundy, Lorraine, and Saxe-Teschen, &c.*

ALBERT CASSIMIR, *Prince Royal of Poland and Lithuania, Duke of Saxe-Teschen, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stephen, Field-Marshal of the Armies of his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and of those of the Holy Roman Empire, &c.*

Lieutenant-Governors and Captains-General of the Low-Countries, &c. &c.

AFACTION, by which the kingdom of France has for four years, been torn asunder, has just prevailed on his Most Christian Majesty, to sanction a declaration of war against his Apostolic Majesty, our most honoured lord and nephew. The first acts of hostility seem to be directed against these provinces; and the enemies of all order and power, who are meditating an aggression so unjust, found their hopes of success on the spirit of party which was unfortunately disseminated during the late troubles. — We will carefully attend to the defence of those provinces with the government of which we are entrusted, relying with confidence on the protection of the Lord of Hosts, who is pleased to manifest the effects of his omnipotence in favour of those who are inspired with a sacred respect for the laws, and for all powers by him ordained on the earth for the government of human societies.

We flatter ourselves that every class of citizens will be animated with one spirit, and that they will vigilantly attend to the maintenance of internal tranquillity and the preservation of property, while we order to the frontiers part of his Majesty's troops, full of glory, and crowned by victory under the two

last reigns, until the league, formed between several great powers, shall oppose a mound to the torrent of sinister projects which menace the overthrow of Europe. — We owe it to the faithful subjects of his Majesty, to inform them of the measures which we have adopted, during a whole year, in hopes of remaining at peace with France; and to warn them of the innumerable calamities which our enemies are eager to spread and perpetuate, under the specious veil of a chimerical liberty, offered to a credulous multitude by an impious sect of innovators, *soi disant* philosophers, as the infallible result of their mad projects. Theirs is not to war with the princes of the earth, but against the religion of our ancestors, against social order, against prosperity, and against all the comforts which naturally flow from it. They have already, by the adoption of their absurd systems, plunged their country into all the horrors of anarchy. Jealous of the prosperity of those nations who still enjoy the fruits of social order, they have formed, for their own protection, the barbarous project of inspiring them with a similar delirium of propagating their errors, and with them all the calamities with which the kingdom of France is at this time afflicted.

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They have been during a whole year meditating and inventing pretexts for the aggression on which they had resolved. Having driven away from the bosom of France, by dint of persecutions, all those citizens who were attached to the established religion, and to the prerogative, hitherto held sacred by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, they have attempted to prevent them from enjoying in any part of the world, the sweets of hospitality which men reciprocally owe to each other. We have been extremely careful not to afford the slightest grounds of complaint, resolved not to meddle, in the least degree, with the political government of any neighbouring states. We have taken care to prevent that any thing should be attempted, or even written, in those provinces against the constitution just established in France; and, as a reward for our strict attention to the laws of good neighbourhood, a horde of factious vagabonds has been assembled on our frontiers, resolved on the execution of the most infernal plots. The most infamous writings against religion, and against the constitutional authority of the sovereign, have been dispersed in these provinces. These writings were substantially the same as the speeches delivered in the midst of authorised societies, in which the most atrocious crimes have been recommended as virtues, with a view to flatter the criminal propensities of a set of men, in hopes of reconciling them to a system which in history will be the disgrace of the present generation.

All our remonstrances on this subject have been made in vain; and whilst we paid the greatest attention to complaints relative to

armaments which had no existence, and to pretended insults offered to Frenchmen, all kinds of excesses have been multiplied against the subjects of his Majesty, and committed on his territories, and we have never obtained on so many objects of complaint any thing more than promises of satisfaction, which have in no instance been performed; and when we have, on our part, exercised that vigilance which was become necessary on the conduct of emissaries, who it was boasted openly were sent into these provinces on purpose to excite insurrections and to create anarchy, we have been insulted for having taken those precautions which were construed into attempts against the safety and the liberty of the French travellers. On the other hand, we were applauded for having given orders to prevent the assembling of the unfortunate French gentlemen who had emigrated from the kingdom, and to oblige them to conform most strictly to the laws of simple hospitality, in order to preclude the possibility of their arming and forming themselves into a military corps. — These measures, which France seems now to have forgotten, were quoted to the princes of the empire as an example proper for them to imitate in their respective states, and with which the despotic agents of the French government would be satisfied.

We shall avoid taking notice of all the calamities with which France is afflicted—we should leave to time the disclosure of the machinations perpetually recommended by a set of insidious writers in their dangerous publications, were it not evident that, at the moment of the intended aggression against these provinces, a resolution is taken to spread
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the poison of a seductive illusion on the pretended advantages of the French constitution, with a view to make those partakers of it who may be deluded by this means; but it is necessary that the people who are confided to our government be reminded and informed that the kingdom of France groans at this time, in the name of liberty, under the most hateful slavery, every species of vice, of the most unbridled passions, and of a species of anarchy which is without example; that rights and property are abolished; that the holy religion which we profess is there trodden under foot; that altars are profaned and polluted; that their true ministers are deprived of their just rights, ill-treated, persecuted even in their retreats among foreign nations, and replaced by intruders who have no mission from the hierarchy of the church; that the pastors of the people have been deprived of their distinctive vestments by which they were known to their flocks; that in a monstrous code, rights have been extolled which man cannot enjoy in society, and to which he tacitly renounces, by being born in civilized associations; that, pursuant to those chimerical rights, attempts have been made to abolish, overturn, and confound those real rights which have been transmitted under the protection of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, from generation to generation, to those venerable classes to which the French nation had, in every respect, the highest obligations; that real property has given way to the name, by seizing the estates of those who had been solemnly invested with them by time, by the laws, and by an uninterrupted possession, a hundred times renewed

and confirmed by the true representatives of the nation; and all this under the deceitful colour of an equality of chimerical rights, not existing in fact, and annihilated if it could for a moment exist, by that variety of character, impressed on all mankind at their birth, by which they share, in very unequal proportions, moral faculties, the very disproportion of which has always determined, and will ever determine, the ascendancy of genius, strength, patience, industry, and economy, over the opposite qualities; together with all the advantages which may lawfully arise from them, and which may be transferred like every other species of property.

Finally, it is necessary that the faithful subjects of his Majesty be informed that, whilst pains are taken to extol the pretended glory and prosperity of the kingdom of France, lately the most flourishing in Europe, there is now no commerce, no circulation of specie or goods, no public force, no justice, no police; and that the philosophical persecutors of all those who are not of their sect, know no bounds to the excesses which they excite their people to commit, except a satiety of crimes.

Who, after this, could be so blind or stupid as to place the least confidence in the promises, and in the insidious assurances made by these tyrants to those nations whom they wish to subdue, that they will respect their property, their religion, their rights, their privileges, and their constitution; tyrants who, since they have usurped the public power and force in France, have trodden under foot, with an effrontery and audacity hitherto unheard of, the most solemn public treaties,

all rights, human and divine, and every thing which is held most sacred over all the world; who, the moment they should become masters of one province, would seize, as they have in their own country, the estates of the clergy and the nobility, and the property of the citizens.

Once more, having never had any inclination to meddle with the internal government of any neighbouring state, we should not have entered on these afflicting details, relative to objects which are foreign to the government with which we are entrusted, were it not that French writings and French emissaries, and even the recent acts of the new legislature of France, have a tendency to render universal a system of innovation, whether good or bad for the French nation, certainly and decidedly ruinous to the people under our government; because it is subversive of all that political organization delineated by a constitution which they love, which the sovereign has engaged to maintain, and on which the happiness of Belgium has for ages been founded.

It was our duty to warn the people of the imminent dangers with which they are threatened. We have laid before them truths which all well-meaning persons will acknowledge to be striking; and they will, of course, use their utmost endeavours to maintain peace and public tranquillity within these provinces; and we shall consider those as enemies to the state, and treat them as such, who shall attempt to disturb them.

(Signed) MARIE, ALBERT.
(Counterigned) BARON DE FELIZ.

Done at Brussels, April 29, 1792.

Counter-Declaration of the Court of Vienna against France.

THE result confirms what the court of Vienna has foreseen and foreboded, that those who actually reign in France, being willing first to provoke the nation to arm, and then to a rupture with the late Emperor, after having availed themselves of the assemblies in the states of Treves, for pretences for the first mentioned, fought pretences for a war in the answers which they compelled his Imperial Majesty to give. It was in vain that the court of Vienna attempted to divert the effects of their inimical views, by unmasking, through repeated elucidations, the unlawfulness of all these accounts which successively followed one another in proportion as their deceitfulness was detected. These very pretences, these very endeavours of the court of Vienna for preventing a rupture, are alleged as motives for the war which is declared against the King of Hungary and Bohemia in the name of his Most Christian Majesty and the French nation.

The first of these motives is the public protection granted to the French emigrants. When this protection was alleged, in order to give an appearance to the preparations of France in December last, it was only inasmuch as it extended to some states of the empire, to the armed assemblies of the emigrants; and far from attributing these grievances to the court of Vienna, its conduct had acquired, in this respect, public thanks on the part of the French government. The present change of a motive for thanks into a motive for an attack, offers

so great a contrast, that it saves the trouble of making any further observations. — The court of Vienna even used its best endeavours for causing the other German princes, neighbours of France, to adopt a similar behaviour. By this means the apparent motives of its menacing preparations disappeared. In order to continue them, a fresh pretence of grievance and reproach was required. It was found in the existence of a concert between the late Emperor and several powers, for maintaining the public tranquillity and honour of the crowns.

The real circumstances of that concert were completely known to all Europe. All the world knew that it was caused through the violences offered to his Most Christian Majesty, followed by the imprisonment of that monarch; that, on the first hopes of his having recovered the essential degree of liberty, safety, and command, which is requisite for putting the seal of legality on the constitutional laws of a monarchical state, the said concert, from an active one, such as it was, was, through the representation of the court of Vienna, changed into a passive one, which was no longer to be put into activity by measures, unless France should fall again into the same state of disorder and popular violence, which, according to the notions of all states from time immemorial, represent a state of anarchy. The moderation of the powers that formed this concert, was thus conformable to the equity of their principles. The most simple ideas of a monarchical government entitled them to an union for assisting the lawful King of France, and securing from its utter ruin a form of government, whose basis

being acknowledged and confirmed as inviolable by the new constitution itself, could not be hurt without the event of a manifest insurrection taking place.

On the other hand, these powers were obliged, for their own safety, to oppose the introduction of a system of anarchy, to propagate the pernicious principles of which, in all the states of Europe, the most dangerous means were then employing. In short, the maintenance of public tranquillity required their eventual union, in case one or other of them should be attacked; and it was chiefly relative to these last motives of the concert of powers, that the court of Vienna, being attentive with good reason to the French warlike preparations and threats of an invasion, thought proper to remind France of the existence of such concert, in order to exhort it not to provoke all the sovereign foreign princes, by violences against one or other of them.

Nothing, therefore, is plainer than the injustice of the reproach of attacking the independency and safety of the French nation; whereby this concert of the most considerable powers of Europe, was injured, and which they do not fear of producing anew, although the very shade of misunderstanding and error concerning the nature of this concert has been dispersed by the declarations of the court of Vienna. It mentioned in it the very terms of the remonstrances which were determined by its actual opening in the month of July, 1791, and the eventual adjournment till the month of November following.

From this it appeared in the most convincing manner, that it merely depended on those who at present re-

reign over France, to make this concert cease immediately, by respecting the tranquillity and the rights of other powers, and to guarantee the essential basis of the French monarchical form of government against the infringements of violence and anarchy. Every cause of uneasiness would have ceased, if such dispositions had prevailed in France; and the whole conduct of the court of Vienna, far from justifying any blame of its views, would have evinced its ingenueness and moderation.

Upon the invitation of the French ministry, it had entirely withdrawn from the said declaration the claims of the German princes having dominions in Alsace. And if the deceased sovereign of Austria was unable to avoid fulfilling his duties as Emperor in this respect, nothing in the world shewed that he should prevent any conciliatory method which was indeed sufficient and compatible with the constitution of the empire, on objects in which Austria never was concerned itself in a direct manner, and for which reason it is the more unjust actually to draw from this a particular motive for a war against her; whereas her present sovereign has no greater concern in it than the other members of the German body.

On the other hand, the court of Vienna has given the clearest proofs of the good faith of its dispositions, by refraining from accompanying its declarations by armaments adequate to the greatness of those that France supported her questions withal. Whilst the latter assembled 130,000 men on the frontiers of the Low Countries and Germany, the court of Vienna did not send a bat-

alion more to its Belgian troops, whose reinforcements ever since 1790, have generally not exceeded 3 or 4000 men. All its measures were confined to augment its anterior Austrian troops with 4000 men, who, by this reinforcement, were carried to 10,000 men; and it was not till after the 14th of April that dispositions were made for sending more troops, when the offensive interpretation which the well-meaning declarations of the court of Vienna met with, and the events which soon after happened in France, left no more doubt of the speedy explosion of an attack.

The proposal reciprocally to disarm, delivered on the 11th of March by the French ambassador at Vienna, at a time when France alone had armed for a war, accompanied with a demand of quitting the concert of powers in a moment when the position of that kingdom daily gave more and more uneasiness, could not in any respect be considered otherwise than as an ultimate pretence for engaging the French nation in this attack, to which all the preceding steps had led, and the execution of which happened almost at the same period when the ambassador delivered the declaration of war.

Thus none of the grievances accumulated in the French declaration of war, without a single proof, has the least appearance of foundation and good faith, and of which the nullity was not already proved, except, indeed, the new grievance which is added to it as an overplus of injustice, by upbraiding the court of Vienna with the hopes it had entertained that the reason, the honour, and equity of the more sound

and greater part of the nation would ultimately triumph, by the pains the court of Vienna had taken to dispel prejudices unjustly excited, concerning the nature of the concert.

The complaints alleged against the court of Vienna, not only do not furnish the smallest apparent motive for an attack, but it is evident that they are so many objects of provocation and aggression committed by those who reign in France.

They presume to blame the court of Vienna for the protection it has refused at home, and caused to be denied elsewhere to the enterprizes and affairs of the French emigrants; they who did protect and foment the conspiracies for a rebellion in the Austrian Netherlands! Their confessions and public measures since the attack, prove, that in the hope of succeeding in these treacherous actions and practices of the same kind, tending to seduce the faithful Austrian troops, their chief confidence was placed.

It is they who excited a dispute between France and the German empire, by depriving several German princes of rights and enjoyments assured by a possession of a century and a half, grounded on solemn treaties. Their excuse against the obligatory force of these treaties, derived from a pretended inconsistency with later and spontaneous laws of one of the contracting parties, is grounded on a principle that overthrows all treaties. And that decree of the 14th of January, by which the National Assembly, setting up at the same time for judge and party, has assumed the power of passing an arbitrary

sentence on the manner and sufficiency of a disposition which ought to be free among independent states, and is nothing else but one more attempt on the public right of nations.

They, who for six months past were occupied in making preparations for war and attack on the frontiers of the Austrian Netherlands and Germany, complain of the very moderate precaution of the court of Vienna for the safety of provinces that are upwards of 200 leagues distant from the centre of its dominions.

They pretend that the sovereignty of the French nation is injured by the establishment of a concert, whose first view has been to save the only lawful sovereign of France, whilst they, in the mean while, daily attack and provoke all the sovereigns of Europe in the most inconsiderate manner, and with the bitterest invectives. In short, they dispute with the crowns the participation and the right of interfering in, or being concerned about the consequences of their new constitution; whilst they, with all their might, endeavour to subvert all governments, by spreading all over Europe the bane of seduction and insurrection.

The King of Hungary and Bohemia is thus entitled to call in the support of all Europe, in a cause that concerns the honour and safety of all governments, and he arraigns the abettors of so unjust and heinous an attack before the tribunal of the universe and posterity, as being answerable for all the evils that are the unavoidable consequences of war.

Vienna, July 5th, 1792.

Substance

Substance of a Treaty between the Emperor and the King of Prussia, signed on the 7th of February, 1792.

I. **T**HERE shall exist a perfect union and friendship between the two courts.

II. All anterior treaties, especially those of Breslau, Dresden, Hubertsburg, and Teschen, are renewed and confirmed by the present.

III. The two courts guarantee and protect all their states which they actually possess at present against all attacks whatever.

IV. In virtue of this guarantee, the two powers will act in concert for the maintenance of peace; and in case that either of them should be menaced, they will employ mutual good offices to prevent hostilities: and should these efforts not prove successful, the party shall assist the one threatened with fifteen thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry.

V. These troops shall be put in motion within two months after the requisition made, and remain at the disposition of the party attacked during the course of the war. If the requiring party demand these succours in money, he shall receive 600,000 ecus for one thousand infantry, and 800,000 for one thousand cavalry, which shall be paid in the year, or proportionably each month, and that on the footing of the convention, or of twenty florins.

VI. In case these succours are insufficient, the party required will augment them by degrees, according to the urgency of the case.

VII. The two contracting powers reserve to themselves the power of inviting the imperial court of Russia, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, and the Elec-

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tor of Saxony, to unite with them in defensive engagements, conformable to the above-mentioned stipulations.

VIII. The two sovereigns oblige themselves to maintain the Germanic constitution, as it is established by the present laws and former treaties.

IX. They will not contract any more alliances.

X. The present treaty shall be ratified in the space of three weeks, or sooner if possible.

Concise Exposition of the Reasons which have determined his Majesty the King of Prussia to take up Arms against France.

Berlin, July the 24th, 1792.

HIS Prussian Majesty flatters himself that the powers of Europe, and the public in general, did not wait for this exposition to fix their opinion on the justice of the cause they were going to defend.—In effect, unless the obligations which the engagements of the King, and his political connections, require of him be willingly denied, or facts designedly established, and unless people shut their eyes on the conduct of the present government of France, there cannot remain a doubt but every person may discover that the warlike measures which the King with regret has resolved upon, are only the natural consequences of the violent resolutions which the fury of the party who reigns in that kingdom has made him adopt, and of which it is easy to perceive the fatal consequences.

Not content with having openly violated, by notorious suppression,

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the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and the treaties which unite France to the German empire; with having given course to the subversive principles of all social subordination, and thereby affected the repose and felicity of other nations, and with having sought to spread in other countries, by the propagation of these principles, the seeds of the licentiousness and anarchy which have overthrown France; with having tolerated, received, and sold even the most outrageous writings and speeches against the sacred persons and legal authority of sovereigns; those who have seized the reins of the French administration have at length filled the measure of their guilt by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and having immediately followed this declaration with effective hostilities, committed against the Belgic provinces of this monarch.

The German empire, of which the Austrian Pays Bas is part, as the circle of Burgundy, is necessarily found included in this aggression.—But other facts still do but too much justify the fear of hostile invasions, which the menacing preparations of the French on the frontiers have for a long time given birth to in Germany. The territories of the Bishop of Basle, an incontestible part of the empire, have been occupied by a detachment of the French army, and are still remaining in its power, and at its discretion.

Inursions of the troops of the same nation, or of rebel corps assembled under their auspices, have laid waste the country of Liege. It is to be foreseen with certainty,

that as soon as the conveniences of war appear to advise them, the other provinces of Germany will experience the same effects; and it suffices to know their local position to feel for the imminent danger to which they are constantly exposed.

It would be superfluous to enter into a detail of the facts which are now alleged. They are notorious, and the whole empire has been, and is still, daily witnesses thereof.

It will also equally be dispensed with, to discuss here the evident injustice of the aggression of the French. — If it were possible that any doubts could remain on this subject in the mind of any person whatever, they would be entirely removed by weighing with impartiality the unanswerable arguments contained on this point in the diplomatic pieces published by the cabinet of Vienna.

His Prussian Majesty has with pleasure entertained hopes, that at length, after so many agitations and inconsequential proceedings, the persons who direct the French administration would return back to the principles of moderation and wisdom, and thereby avoid the extremities to which things are unfortunately come. It was with this salutary view that, at the commencement of the military preparations of France on the frontiers, founded on the asylum granted by some states to the French emigrants, he charged the Count de Goltz, his minister at Paris, to declare to the ministry of his Most Christian Majesty (as the *Chargé des Affaires* of his Majesty the then reigning Emperor had also orders to do) “that he looked upon an invasion of French troops on the territories of the German empire as a declaration

tion of war, and would oppose it with all his forces."

The same minister, after receiving orders, found the *Chargé des Affaires* of his Majesty the Emperor, in a number of representations, making known, in the most express manner, that the King was invariably pursuing the same line with his Apostolic Majesty respecting the affairs of France. The event has shewn how little the hope of the King, as to the effect he promised from these energetic declarations, was well-founded; but at least the party whose furious determinations have brought on hostilities, can never have any pretext on account of their ignorance of his Majesty's intentions. And it is particularly the general principles publicly manifested by the two National Assemblies, principles which attack all governments, and endeavour to shake them in their bases, that France has to blame for the effusion of human blood, and the evils which the present circumstances have already brought, and may in future bring, upon her.

United with his Apostolic Majesty by ties of a close and defensive alliance, his Prussian Majesty cannot act contrary to his engagements, and remain a quiet spectator of the war declared against this sovereign. He has not then hesitated to recal his minister from Paris, and to act with vigour in defence of his ally. — As a principal member of the Germanic corps, he is further obligated by his relations in this quality, to march to the succour of his co-estates against the attacks they have already experienced, and with which they are daily threatened. — It is thus, under the double connection of ally of his Apostolic Majesty

and a powerful state of the empire, that his Majesty takes up arms; and it is the defence of the states of this monarch and of Germany, which forms the first aim of these armaments. — But the King would but imperfectly fulfil the principles he hereby professes, if he did not extend the efforts of his arms to another sort of defence which his patriotic sentiments equally impose on him as a duty.

Every body knows how the National Assembly of France, contrary to the most sacred laws of the *Droit des Gens*, and against the express tenor of treaties, have deprived the German princes of their incontestible rights and possessions in Alsace and Lorraine, and the reclamations which a number of these princes themselves have published. The deliberations and arrests of the Diet of Ratisbon on this important matter, will also serve to furnish all those who wish to be informed, with the most convincing proofs of the injustice of the proceedings of the French government in this respect, which has not hitherto proposed to grant a full indemnity to the aggrieved parties; but, adopting a peremptory language and threatening measures, only offered indemnities, entirely insufficient and inadmissible. It is worthy of the King and his august ally to have justice rendered to these oppressed princes, and thereby to maintain the faith of treaties, the sole basis of union and reciprocal confidence between people, and the essential foundation of their tranquillity and welfare.

It is, in short, a last design of the armament of the King, more extensive still than the former, and not less worthy of the sage and well-in-

tended views of the allied courts, to prevent the incurable evils which will still result to France, to Europe, and to all mankind, from this fatal spirit of general insubordination, of subverting all the powers, of license (*liberté trop grande*) and of anarchy, of which it might have been expected that an unhappy experience should have already stopped the progress.

There is not any power interested to maintain the balance of Europe, to whom it can be indifferent to see the kingdom of France, which has hitherto formed so considerable a weight in this great balance, given up any longer to the interior agitations and horrors of disorder and anarchy, which it may be said have destroyed all political existence; there cannot be any Frenchman truly loving his country, who does not ardently desire to see these terminated; in short, no man, sincerely a friend to humanity, who cannot but aspire to see limits put to the progress of mistaken liberty: a dazzling phantom, which leads the people far from the road of their true welfare, in altering the happy ties of attachment and confidence which ought to unite them to their princes, their fathers, and their defenders; and especially to the unbridled furies of the wicked, who only seek to destroy the respect due to governments, for the purpose of sacrificing, on the ruins of thrones, to the idols of their most insatiable and restless ambition, or to a vile cupidity.

To put an end to anarchy in France, to establish for this purpose a legal power on the essential basis of a monarchical form, and by this giving security to other governments against the incendiary attempts and efforts of a frantic troop,

such is the grand object which the King, conjointly with his ally, still proposes; being assured in this noble enterprise not only of the wishes of all the powers of Europe, who acknowledge its justice and necessity, but, in general, of the suffrages and the wishes of every person who sincerely desires the welfare of mankind.

His Majesty is far from throwing the blame of these faults, which have forced him to take up arms, on the whole French nation. He is persuaded that a part, and without doubt the most numerous of this esteemed nation, abhor the excesses of a faction but too powerful; and, seeing the dangers to which these intrigues lead, strongly desire the return of justice, of order, and of peace. Unfortunately, experience has shewn, that the powerful influence of this party is still but too real, although the event has already demonstrated the nullity of those culpable projects, founded on insurrections which it only seeks to foment. The difference of sentiments of persons well-intentioned, however certain they are, are thereby only for the moment little felt in their effects. But his Majesty hopes, that in opening at last their eyes to the dreadful situation of their country, they will display all the energy which such a just cause ought to inspire, and that they will look on the allied troops assembled on the frontiers as their protectors and true friends, of whom Providence will favour the arms; and they will know how to reduce to their just value the factions who have put France in a state of fermentation, and who alone will be responsible for the blood which their criminal enterprises may cause to be shed.

Declaration

Declaration by the Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, commanding the combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of France, to the Inhabitants of France.

THEIR Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, having entrusted me with the command of the combined armies assembled on the frontiers of France, I think it my duty to inform the inhabitants of that kingdom of the motives which have influenced the conduct of the two sovereigns, and of the principles by which they are guided. —After arbitrarily suppressing the rights and invading the possessions of the German Princes in Alsace and Lorraine; after having disturbed and overthrown in the interior part of the kingdom all order and lawful government; after having been guilty of the most daring attacks, and having had recourse to the most violent measures, which are still daily renewed against the sacred person of the King and against his august family, — those who have seized on the reins of government have, at length, filled the measure of their guilt, by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the Emperor, and by invading his provinces of the Low Countries. Some of the possessions belonging to the German empire have been equally exposed to the same oppression; and many others have only avoided the danger, by yielding to the imperious threats of the domineering party and their emissaries.

His Majesty the King of Prussia, united with his Imperial Majesty in the bands of the strictest defensive alliance, and as a preponderant member himself of the Germanic

body, could not refuse marching to the assistance of his ally and of his co-estates. It is under this double relation that he undertakes the defence of that monarch and of Germany.

To these high interests is added another important object, and which both the sovereigns have most cordially in view. which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France, to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, to restore the King to his legitimate power, to liberty and to safety, of which he is now deprived, and to place him in such a situation, that he may exercise that legitimate authority to which he is entitled.

Convinced that the sober part of the nation detest the excesses of a faction which has enslaved them, and that the majority of the inhabitants wait with impatience the moment when succours shall arrive, to declare themselves openly against the odious enterprizes of their oppressors,—his Majesty the Emperor; and his Majesty the King of Prussia, earnestly invite them to return without delay into the paths of reason and of justice, of order and peace. —It is with this view that I, the underwritten, General Commandant in Chief of the two armies, do declare,—

1st, That, drawn into the present war by irresistible circumstances, the two allied courts have no other object in view than the welfare of France, without any pretence to enrich themselves by making conquests.

2dly, That they do not mean to meddle with the internal government of France, but that they simply intend to deliver the King, the

Queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his Most Christian Majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

3dly, That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout all France.

4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible: that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace.

5thly, That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the French regular troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the King, their legitimate sovereign.

6thly, That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all

the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions until his Most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or till further orders be given in his name.

7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their Majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

8thly, The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the King, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his, and to all the royal persons, that inviolability and respect which are due by the laws of nature and of nations to sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon,

don, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern; and their Imperial and Royal Majesties farther declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or insulted; if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their Majesties the King, the Queen, and the royal family; if they be not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved.—Their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris to employ their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty to procure for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

Finally, Their Majesties, not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France except those which shall be derived from the King when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the King, so long as his sacred person, and that of the Queen and the Princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and with

this view their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and entreat his Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the Queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his Most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom.

In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be truly observed everywhere, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, or of manifest evil intentions.

I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them everywhere to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

*Given at General Quarters at
Coblentz, July 25, 1792:*

(Signed)

CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND
DUC DE BRUNSWICK
LUNENBURG.

Additional Declaration by his most Serene Highness the Reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, addressed, as was that of the 25th of July, to the Inhabitants of France.

THE declaration which I have addressed to the inhabitants of France, dated Quarters General at Coblenz, July 25, must have sufficiently made known the firm resolves of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia when they entrusted me with the command of their combined armies. The liberty and the safety of the sacred persons of the King, of the Queen, and of the royal family, being one of the principal motives which have determined their Imperial and Royal Majesties to act in concert, I have made known, by my said declaration to the inhabitants of Paris, my resolve to inflict on them the most terrible punishments if the least insult should be offered to his Most Christian Majesty, for whom the city of Paris is particularly responsible.

Without making the least alteration to the 8th article of the said declaration of the 25th instant, I declare besides, that if, contrary to all expectation, by the perfidy or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the King, the Queen, or any other person of the royal family, should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceeding, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris; and the route which shall be taken by those who carry off the King and royal family, shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments, justly

due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission.

All the inhabitants of France in general are to take warning of the dangers with which they are threatened, and which it will be impossible for them to avoid, unless they, with all their might, and by every means in their power, oppose the passage of the King and royal family, to whatever place the factious may attempt to carry them. Their Imperial and Royal Majesties will not allow any place of retreat to be the free choice of his Most Christian Majesty (in case he should comply with the invitation which has been made him) unless that retreat be effected under the escort which has been offered.

All declarations whatsoever, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, which shall be contrary to the object which their Imperial and Royal Majesties have in view, shall consequently be considered as null, and without effect.

CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND DUC DE BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG.

Given at General Quarters at Coblenz, July 27, 1792.

Letter from the King of the French to the National Assembly, on the Publication of the Declaration of the Duke of Brunswick.

Aug. 3, Fourth Year of Liberty.

Mr. President,

FOR several days a paper has been circulated, entitled "The Declaration of the Reigning Duke of Brunswick Lunenburg, Commander of the Combined Armies of their Majesties the Emperor and the

the King of Prussia, addressed to the Inhabitants of France." This paper exhibits nothing that can be considered as a proof of its authenticity. It has not been transmitted by any of my ministers at the several courts of Germany near our frontiers. The publication of it, nevertheless, seems to me to require a new declaration of my sentiments and my principles.

France is menaced by a great combination of forces. Let us all recollect the necessity of union. Calumny will not easily believe the sorrow I feel in considering the dissensions that exist among us, and the evils gathering round us; but those who know of what value in my eyes are the blood and the fortune of the people, will give credit to my uneasiness and my grief.

I brought with me pacific sentiments to the throne, because peace, the first blessing of nations, is the first duty of kings. My former ministers know what efforts I have made to avoid war. I felt how necessary was peace; it alone could enlighten the nation on the new form of her government; it alone, by sparing the sufferings of the people, could make me support the character I undertook in this revolution. But I yielded to the unanimous opinion of my council, to the wish manifested by a great part of the nation, and several times expressed by the National Assembly.

When war was declared, I neglected none of the means of assuring its success. My ministers received orders to concert measures with the committees of the National Assembly and with the generals. If the event has not yet answered the hopes of the nation, ought we not to lay the blame on our intestine divisions,

the progress of the spirit of party, and, above all, on the state of our armies, which wanted to be more practised in the use of arms before being led to combat? But the nation shall see my efforts increase with those of the hostile powers; I shall take, in concert with the National Assembly, all means to turn the evils inseparable from war to the advantage of her liberty and her glory.

I have accepted the constitution; the majority of the nation desired it; I saw that the nation considered it as the foundation of her happiness; and her happiness is the sole object of my life.

From that moment, I imposed it as a law upon myself, to be faithful to the constitution; and I gave orders to my ministers to make it the rule of their conduct. I wished not to substitute my knowledge for experience, nor my opinion for my oath. It was my duty to labour for the good of the people. I have discharged that duty; and to have done so is enough to satisfy the conscience of an honest man. Never shall I be seen compounding the glory or the interests of the nation; receiving the law from foreigners or from a party: it is to the nation that I owe myself; I am one and the same with her; no interest shall separate me from her; she alone shall be listened to; I will maintain the national independence with my last breath. Personal dangers, compared with public dangers, are nothing. Ah! what are personal dangers to a King from whom it is attempted to alienate the love of the people! There lies the real wound of my heart. The people, perhaps, will one day know how dear to me is their happiness, how
much

much it has always been my sole interest, my first wish. How many griefs might be effaced by the slightest marks of its return!

(Signed) LOUIS.
(Underlined) BIGOT ST. CROIX.

Proclamation by the King of the French.

Frenchmen, Aug. 7, 1792.

WHILE numerous armies advance upon our frontiers, and are preceded by declarations which menace the independence of the nation, indignation against their language, and the desire of defending the country, should leave in our hearts only one sentiment, one resolution. Union is now the first of necessities; and those who endeavour to disturb it; those who would break the bond, the first force of empires; those who estrange their minds by distrust and agitate them by calumnies; those who endeavour to separate the nation from the King, —they are the true public enemies, and afford to the powers who attack us, the only support which can give them triumph.

Can it be possible that the ambition of certain individuals, who have aspired to share among themselves the supreme executive power, is able to strike the French nation in an instant with such dreadful blindness, that it shall lose the view of its clearest interests to become itself the victim and the price of their plots!

Is it not then easy to snatch the mask of patriotism from a few conspirators, who, to remedy the smallness of their number, think to multiply themselves by agitation, overwhelm the national opinion by their cries, inspire terror by their enter-

prizes, and, trampling upon the laws and justice, dictate proudly their wills to the French people?

To these fanatical efforts the King ought to oppose moderation; his Majesty ought to shew the truth to minds borne away from it—recall the confidence which is endeavoured to be estranged—approach the people from whose cause his is vainly endeavoured to be divided; for the interests of the King are the interests of the people; he can be only happy in their happiness, powerful in their force; while those who do not cease to excite them against his Majesty, torment them at present by distrust, aggravate their evils by concealing from them their cause and their remedy, and prepare for them great unhappiness and long repentance, by impelling them to violent and criminal resolutions.

The King does not fear to commit the majesty of the throne, for which he is responsible to the nation, when he repels the calumnies accumulated against his person. Since the instant when he accepted the constitution, he cannot be reproached, we will not say with an infraction, but with the slightest attempt against the law which he has sworn to maintain. He has considered it as the expression of the general will, and has had no other than to cause its observance in all points.

Since his Majesty has known the designs of the powers coalesced against France, he has used every endeavour to restrain them by means of negotiations, and to divert them from a plan as contrary to their interests, when properly understood, as to that of this empire. To dissolve this league, he has employed not only all the official means which
belong

belong to the King of the French, but also all the credit which his Majesty could have by the ties of blood and the interest of his personal situation. When the severity of the laws required from the King a rigorous conduct against the French princes of his family and his blood, unhappy as the moment was for his heart, did he hesitate between the voice of nature and the duties of royalty?

The King has, doubtless, used every endeavour to avoid the war, and it was also in spight of himself, and when he could no longer withhold from it, that he determined upon this cruel measure, of which the people support all the weight; and, the war being once declared, he has spared nothing to support the glory of the French arms.

What orders has he not given for the provisioning and increase of the armies? The King opposed the forming a camp in the interior of the kingdom, and almost under the walls of Paris, but to propose a formation of volunteer battalions, more numerous, and collected in a manner more useful.

Foreign armies menace you. Frenchmen, it is for you to daunt them by your countenance, and especially by your union. They insult your independence; renew with the King your oath to defend it. They usurp his name to invade the French territory.

Frenchmen, all your enemies are not in the armies which attack your frontiers; know them by their project to disunite you, and believe that those are not far from having a common interest, who accord so well in the ideas which they wish to spread.—Those who would conquer France, announce that they have taken up arms for the interests

of the King; and those who agitate it within, dare equally to say that it is for his interests they struggle against himself. His Majesty gives to the assertions of both parties the most formal disavowal. It is to all good Frenchmen, to all those who have the national honour at heart, the interest of liberty, the safety of the country, to reject such perfidious insinuations, opposing to the arms of the first an invincible courage, to the plots of the latter an inflexible attachment to the law.

On these considerations,

The King thinking it his duty to recal the execution of the laws, the respect due to the constituted authorities, and to give to the national force all the energy of which it is susceptible, by impressing upon all thoughts, upon all wills, upon all efforts, a common direction towards the safety of the state,

His Majesty invites all active citizens to repair with punctuality to the legal assemblies, to which they are called, to express their will, and to pay to their country the tribute of their understandings.

His Majesty invites them equally to serve personally in the national guards, to give force to the law, to maintain the execution of judgments, to defend the peace and public tranquillity, and exhorts them especially to an inviolable attachment to the constitution, to which they have sworn to be faithful.

Given at the Council of State,
Aug. 7, 1792, Fourth Year of
Liberty.

LOUIS,
DE JOLY,
DUBOUCHAGE,
CHAMPION,
DABANCOURT,
LEROUX LA VILLE,
BIGOT ST. CROIX.
Manifeste

Manifesto issued by their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia, against the French Revolution, August 4th, 1792.

THEIR Majesties the Emperor and King of Prussia, in commencing a war occasioned by the most unjust and most imperious circumstances, have successively and separately published the particular motives of their conduct. Animated, however, by a regard for the sacred interests of humanity, their Imperial and Royal Majesties thinking it not sufficient to have communicated to the different courts of Europe the circumstances which oblige them to have recourse to arms, consider it as of importance to their glory and the happiness of their faithful subjects, to enlighten all nations respecting the causes and effects of the late deplorable revolution in France, and, in a manifesto, to lay open to the present generation, as well as to posterity, their motives, their intentions, and the disinterestedness of their personal views.

Taking up arms for the purpose of preserving social and political order among all polished nations, and to secure to each state its religion, happiness, independence, territories, and real constitution, it is to be presumed the use which their Imperial and Royal Majesties are about to make for the general safety of the forces committed by Providence to their disposal, will console mankind, if possible, for the evils to which war has already exposed them, and for that blood which the disturbers of public tranquillity may yet cause to be shed. In this hope their Majesties have not hesitated to give to all

nations, and to all individuals, the great example of forgetting, on the appearance of common danger, their ancient divisions and their private concerns, that they may attend only to the public good, in a crisis so important, of which no instance is to be found in history. They think, and with justice, that, on this occasion, all empires and all states ought to be unanimous, and that all sovereigns, becoming the firm guardians of the happiness of mankind, cannot fail to unite their efforts, in order to rescue a numerous nation from its own fury; to preserve Europe from the return of barbarism, and the universe from that subversion and anarchy with which it is threatened.

However celebrated the French revolution may unhappily have been, a manifesto against it ought to exhibit a true picture of it; and it is by facts alone that the public can be enabled to judge of this grand cause of all nations against faction and rebellion.

For four years past, Europe has viewed with attention, and beheld with increasing indignation, the revolution which has oppressed France, and which detains in captivity an august monarch, worthy of the love of his subjects, and entitled to the esteem, friendship, and support of all sovereigns.

Since his accession to the throne, it is well known that his most Christian Majesty has testified, in every possible manner, his affection for his subjects, his love of justice, his constant and sincere desire to establish order and œconomy in the administration of his finances, and his honesty towards the creditors of the nation. To make personal sacrifices was his highest enjoyment,
and

and a desire of complying with public opinion has always determined him in the choice of his measures. Continually employed in devising means for relieving his people, and for knowing and gratifying the public wishes, he has erred with them and for them; obeyed the dictates of humanity rather than those of justice; and overlooked their faults, in hopes that they would repair them without rendering it necessary for him to have recourse to punishment. Calumny itself has, however, always respected his intentions; and the most criminal and audacious factions, while attacking his sovereign authority and insulting his sacred person, struck by his private virtues, have neither been able, nor dared to deny them.

After trying in vain every method that occurred to him of promoting the welfare of his subjects, of discharging the public debt of the nation—unfortunate in the choice of his measures, deceived in his hopes, and disappointed by various events—yet, still firm in his benevolent intentions, and encouraged, though there was no occasion for his being so, by the Queen and all the royal family, to incessantly pursue the object of his wishes, the darling passion of his heart, the happiness of his people, Louis XVI. not finding the succour which he sought in the assembly of the notables, convoked the states-general of the kingdom. He was desirous of collecting around him, in the three orders of the monarchy, all his subjects, and to ask themselves by what means he could at length render them

happy. Scrupulous even in the form, and fearing to take any thing upon himself, he endeavoured to learn, in every manner possible, the public opinion respecting the calling together of the states-general; he found himself compelled, by circumstances which his goodness and magnanimous loyalty could not avoid to change, in this convocation, the ancient form followed by his predecessors*; he signed, without distrust, orders, insidiously and artfully drawn up, which endangered his sovereign authority, tended to excite discord, and insinuated disobedience to his commands. Under these fatal auspices, the states-general met; and one of the best kings that France can boast of, addressed to this august, but soon after criminal assembly, these valuable words, which sovereigns, who might have found them in their own sentiments, still take a pleasure in repeating:—

“Every thing that can be expected from the tenderest interest in the happiness of the public—every thing that can be required of a sovereign, the best friend of his people, you may and ought to hope for from my sentiments†.”

These memorable expressions, which might have recovered the most estranged hearts and the most alienated minds, and which ought, in a peculiar manner, to have inspired with the most lively gratitude a people loaded with kindness by their King, were scarcely pronounced, when the signal of revolt was given on all sides. One of the three orders, converting a momen-

* Results of the Council of Dec. 27, 1788. Letters of Convocation addressed to the grand bailiffs.

† Speech of the King on opening the states-general, 5th of May, 1789.

tary,

the rights and possessions of the German princes in Alsace and Lorraine, and the treaties which unite France to the German empire; with having given course to the subversive principles of all social subordination, and thereby affected the repose and felicity of other nations, and with having sought to spread in other countries, by the propagation of these principles, the seeds of the licentiousness and anarchy which have overthrown France; with having tolerated, received, and sold even the most outrageous writings and speeches against the sacred persons and legal authority of sovereigns; those who have seized the reins of the French administration have at length filled the measure of their guilt by declaring an unjust war against his Majesty the King of Hungary and Bohemia, and having immediately followed this declaration with effective hostilities, committed against the Belgic provinces of this monarch.

The German empire, of which the Austrian Pays Bas is part, as the circle of Burgundy, is necessarily found included in this aggression.— But other facts still do but too much justify the fear of hostile invasions, which the menacing preparations of the French on the frontiers have for a long time given birth to in Germany. The territories of the Bishop of Basle, an incontestible part of the empire, have been occupied by a detachment of the French army, and are still remaining in its power, and at its discretion.

Inursions of the troops of the same nation, or of rebel corps assembled under their auspices, have laid waste the country of Liege. It is to be foreseen with certainty,

that as soon as the conveniences of war appear to advise them, the other provinces of Germany will experience the same effects; and it suffices to know their local position to feel for the imminent danger to which they are constantly exposed.

It would be superfluous to enter into a detail of the facts which are now alleged. They are notorious, and the whole empire has been, and is still, daily witnesses thereof.

It will also equally be dispensed with, to discuss here the evident injustice of the aggression of the French. — If it were possible that any doubts could remain on this subject in the mind of any person whatever, they would be entirely removed by weighing with impartiality the unanswerable arguments contained on this point in the diplomatic pieces published by the cabinet of Vienna.

His Prussian Majesty has with pleasure entertained hopes, that at length, after so many agitations and inconsequential proceedings, the persons who direct the French administration would return back to the principles of moderation and wisdom, and thereby avoid the extremities to which things are unfortunately come. It was with this salutary view that, at the commencement of the military preparations of France on the frontiers, founded on the asylum granted by some states to the French emigrants, he charged the Count de Goltz, his minister at Paris, to declare to the ministry of his Most Christian Majesty (as the *Chargé des Affaires* of his Majesty the then reigning Emperor had also orders to do) “ that he looked upon an invasion of French troops on the territories of the German empire as a declaration
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tion of war, and would oppose it with all his forces."

The same minister, after receiving orders, found the *Chargé des Affaires* of his Majesty the Emperor, in a number of representations, making known, in the most express manner, that the King was invariably pursuing the same line with his Apostolic Majesty respecting the affairs of France. The event has shewn how little the hope of the King, as to the effect he promised from these energetic declarations, was well-founded; but at least the party whose furious determinations have brought on hostilities, can never have any pretext on account of their ignorance of his Majesty's intentions. And it is particularly the general principles publicly manifested by the two National Assemblies, principles which attack all governments, and endeavour to shake them in their bases, that France has to blame for the effusion of human blood, and the evils which the present circumstances have already brought, and may in future bring, upon her.

United with his Apostolic Majesty by ties of a close and defensive alliance, his Prussian Majesty cannot act contrary to his engagements, and remain a quiet spectator of the war declared against this sovereign. He has not then hesitated to recal his minister from Paris, and to act with vigour in defence of his ally. — As a principal member of the Germanic corps, he is further obligated by his relations in this quality, to march to the succour of his co-estates against the attacks they have already experienced, and with which they are daily threatened. — It is thus, under the double connection of ally of his Apostolic Majesty

and a powerful state of the empire, that his Majesty takes up arms; and it is the defence of the states of this monarch and of Germany, which forms the first aim of these armaments. — But the King would but imperfectly fulfil the principles he hereby professes, if he did not extend the efforts of his arms to another sort of defence which his patriotic sentiments equally impose on him as a duty.

Every body knows how the National Assembly of France, contrary to the most sacred laws of the *Droit des Gens*, and against the express tenor of treaties, have deprived the German princes of their incontestible rights and possessions in Alsace and Lorraine, and the reclamations which a number of these princes themselves have published. The deliberations and arrests of the Diet of Ratisbon on this important matter, will also serve to furnish all those who wish to be informed, with the most convincing proofs of the injustice of the proceedings of the French government in this respect, which has not hitherto proposed to grant a full indemnity to the aggrieved parties; but, adopting a peremptory language and threatening measures, only offered indemnities, entirely insufficient and inadmissible. It is worthy of the King and his august ally to have justice rendered to these oppressed princes, and thereby to maintain the faith of treaties, the sole basis of union and reciprocal confidence between people, and the essential foundation of their tranquillity and welfare.

It is, in short, a last design of the armament of the King, more extensive still than the former, and not less worthy of the sage and well-in-

tended views of the allied courts, to prevent the incurable evils which will still result to France, to Europe, and to all mankind, from this fatal spirit of general insubordination, of subverting all the powers, of license (*liberté trop grande*) and of anarchy, of which it might have been expected that an unhappy experience should have already stopped the progress.

There is not any power interested to maintain the balance of Europe, to whom it can be indifferent to see the kingdom of France, which has hitherto formed so considerable a weight in this great balance, given up any longer to the interior agitations and horrors of disorder and anarchy, which it may be said have destroyed all political existence; there cannot be any Frenchman truly loving his country, who does not ardently desire to see these terminated; in short, no man, sincerely a friend to humanity, who cannot but aspire to see limits put to the progress of mistaken liberty: a dazzling phantom, which leads the people far from the road of their true welfare, in altering the happy ties of attachment and confidence which ought to unite them to their princes, their fathers, and their defenders; and especially to the unbridled furies of the wicked, who only seek to destroy the respect due to governments, for the purpose of sacrificing, on the ruins of thrones, to the idols of their most insatiable and restless ambition, or to a vile cupidity.

To put an end to anarchy in France, to establish for this purpose a legal power on the essential basis of a monarchical form, and by this giving security to other governments against the incendiary attempts and efforts of a frantic troop,

such is the grand object which the King, conjointly with his ally, still proposes; being assured in this noble enterprise not only of the wishes of all the powers of Europe, who acknowledge its justice and necessity, but, in general, of the suffrages and the wishes of every person who sincerely desires the welfare of mankind.

His Majesty is far from throwing the blame of these faults, which have forced him to take up arms, on the whole French nation. He is persuaded that a part, and without doubt the most numerous of this esteemed nation, abhor the excesses of a faction but too powerful; and, seeing the dangers to which these intrigues lead, strongly desire the return of justice, of order, and of peace. Unfortunately, experience has shewn, that the powerful influence of this party is still but too real, although the event has already demonstrated the nullity of those culpable projects, founded on insurrections which it only seeks to foment. The difference of sentiments of persons well-intentioned, however certain they are, are thereby only for the moment little felt in their effects. But his Majesty hopes, that in opening at last their eyes to the dreadful situation of their country, they will display all the energy which such a just cause ought to inspire, and that they will look on the allied troops assembled on the frontiers as their protectors and true friends, of whom Providence will favour the arms; and they will know how to reduce to their just value the factions who have put France in a state of fermentation, and who alone will be responsible for the blood which their criminal enterprises may cause to be shed.

Declaration

tated at this resource of justice and reason. The most criminal attempts were projected. A number of seditious persons hurried to Versailles; the castle was forced. The King, exposed, as well as the Queen and royal family, to every outrage, every crime, and unheard-of attacks, thought only of sparing the blood of his people; and the tears which he would not have shed for himself, moistened the bodies of the generous and faithful guards who had been inhumanly butchered on the steps of the throne. Providence, which watches over the destiny of kings and nations, saved at length his Majesty, with the Queen and august family, from this horrible conspiracy; and if the criminals who were the authors of the execrable atrocities committed on the night between the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, have hitherto enjoyed an odious impunity, the Divine Justice has doubtless deferred their punishment, in order to reserve to all sovereigns, offended against in the persons of their most Christian Majesties, the inflicting of the most striking and exemplary vengeance on the guilty.

Escaped from the most imminent dangers, his most Christian Majesty at length thought of freeing himself from that captivity in which he was detained, and of placing his sacred person in a place of safety, by retiring to the frontiers of France. He hoped that he should then be able to exert himself with more effect in bringing back his subjects to a sense of duty, and in saving the monarchy; and by yielding to the most imperious of all laws, self-preservation, his most Christian Majesty meant solemnly to have protested against all those

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acts to which he had consented during his captivity.—But Providence, which in its wisdom often deranges, for the instruction of mankind, the best concerted plans, did not permit a resolution so just, so lawful, and so necessary to the happiness of France, to be successfully executed. An infamous town, the name of which posterity will never pronounce but with horror, the just and terrible punishment of which will serve as an example to all rebellious and sacrilegious towns that may ever have the criminal madnets to wish to imitate it, and to attempt the liberty of their sovereign—this town had the audacity to arrest their King. By a signal he might have overcome this obstacle; but in that case it would have been necessary to shed blood; and his Most Christian Majesty has proved, upon all occasions, that he would rather suffer death himself than expose the lives of his subjects. The return made to this generosity, goodness, and signal magnanimity, was, that he was conducted, amidst a thousand dangers, and a thousand outrages continually renewed, back to his capital, to be there imprisoned in his palace, in virtue of a decree passed by the usurping assembly; to be there suspended from his authority, as if any power upon earth had a right of passing so infamous and odious a sentence, and at length to be reduced to the alternative of forfeiting the throne, or submitting to the most pitiable concessions, that is to say, the alternative of a civil war, which would have converted France into an immense grave, or the acceptance of a constitution, dictated by the mean populace to perjured wretches without legal power, and deprived themselves of their liberty,

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Queen, and the royal family, from their captivity, and to ensure to his Most Christian Majesty that safety which is necessary for his making, without danger and without obstacles, such convocations as he shall judge proper, and for endeavouring to ensure the welfare of his subjects, according to his promises, and to the utmost of his power.

3dly, That the combined armies shall protect the towns, bourgs, and villages, as well as the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King; and that they will concur in the immediate restoration of order and police throughout all France.

4thly, That the national guards are called upon to preserve, provisionally, tranquillity in towns and in the country, to provide for the personal safety and property of all Frenchmen, until the arrival of the troops belonging to their Imperial and Royal Majesties, or until orders be given to the contrary, on pain of being personally responsible: that, on the contrary, such national guards as shall fight against the troops of the two allied courts, and who shall be taken with arms in their hands, shall be treated as enemies, and punished as rebels to their King, and as disturbers of the public peace.

5thly, That the general officers, the subalterns, and soldiers of the French regular troops, are equally called upon to return to their former allegiance, and to submit immediately to the King, their legitimate sovereign.

6thly, That the members of departments, districts, and municipalities, shall be equally responsible, on pain of losing their heads and their estates, for all the crimes, all

the conflagrations, all the murders and the pillage which they shall suffer to take place, and which they shall not have, in a public manner, attempted to prevent within their respective territories; that they shall also be obliged to continue their functions until his Most Christian Majesty, when set at full liberty, shall make further arrangements, or till further orders be given in his name.

7thly, That the inhabitants of towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall dare to defend themselves against the troops of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, and to fire upon them, either in open country, or through half open doors or windows of their houses, shall be punished instantly, according to the rigorous rules of war, or their houses shall be demolished or burned. On the contrary, all the inhabitants of the said towns, bourgs, and villages, who shall readily submit to their King, by opening their gates to the troops belonging to their Majesties, shall be immediately under their safeguard and protection; their estates, their property, and their persons, shall be secured by the laws, and each and all of them shall be in full safety.

8thly, The city of Paris and all its inhabitants, without distinction, shall be called upon to submit instantly and without delay to the King, to set that prince at full liberty, and to ensure to his, and to all the royal persons, that inviolability and respect which are due by the laws of nature and of nations to sovereigns; their Imperial and Royal Majesties making personally responsible for all events, on pain of losing their heads, pursuant to military trials, without hopes of pardon,

don, all the members of the National Assembly, of the department, of the district, of the municipality, and of the national guards of Paris, justices of peace, and others whom it may concern; and their Imperial and Royal Majesties farther declare, on their faith and word of Emperor and King, that if the palace of the Thuilleries be forced or insulted; if the least violence be offered, the least outrage done to their Majesties the King, the Queen, and the royal family; if they be not immediately placed in safety and set at liberty, they will inflict on those who shall deserve it the most exemplary and ever memorable avenging punishments, by giving up the city of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction; and the rebels who shall be guilty of illegal resistance shall suffer the punishments which they shall have deserved.—Their Imperial and Royal Majesties promise, on the contrary, to all the inhabitants of the city of Paris to employ their good offices with his Most Christian Majesty to procure for them a pardon for their insults and errors, and to adopt the most vigorous measures for the security of their persons and property, provided they speedily and strictly conform to the above injunctions.

Finally, Their Majesties, not being at liberty to acknowledge any other laws in France except those which shall be derived from the King when at full liberty, protest beforehand against the authenticity of all kinds of declarations which may be issued in the name of the King, so long as his sacred person, and that of the Queen and the Princes of the whole royal family, shall not be in full safety: and with

this view their Imperial and Royal Majesties invite and entreat his Majesty to name a town in his kingdom, nearest to the frontiers, to which he would wish to remove, together with the Queen and the royal family, under a strong and safe escort, which shall be sent for that purpose; so that his Most Christian Majesty may, in perfect safety, send for such ministers and counsellors as he shall be pleased to name, order such convocations as he shall think proper, and provide for the restoration of order and the regular administration of his kingdom.

In fine, I declare and promise in my own individual name, and in my above quality, to cause to be truly observed everywhere, by the troops under my command, good and strict discipline, promising to treat with mildness and moderation those well-disposed subjects who shall submit peaceably and quietly, and to employ force against those only who shall be guilty of resistance, or of manifest evil intentions.

I therefore call upon and expect all the inhabitants of the kingdom, in the most earnest and forcible manner, not to make any opposition to the troops under my command, but rather to suffer them everywhere to enter the kingdom freely, and to afford them all the assistance, and shew them all the benevolence which circumstances may require.

*Given at General Quarters at
Coblentz, July 25, 1792:*

(Signed)

CHARLES GUILLAUME FERDINAND
DUC DE BRUNSWICK
LUNENBURG.

Explanations were required from the court of Vienna, and given with that clearness, precision, and minuteness, which became the candour and dignity of his Apostolic Majesty the King of Bohemia and Hungary.. Being in every respect satisfactory, they could displease only an assembly and societies who wished to disturb the public peace, and who, by intrigues and criminal manoeuvres, obliged the King to yield to the violent impulse of his ministry and the assembly, and, contrary to all justice, contrary to all reason, and contrary to the evident interest of France, to declare war against his neighbour, his relation, and his good and faithful ally the King of Hungary and Bohemia. The usurping assembly flattered themselves that they could subdue Europe, as they had subdued France, by corrupting their troops, seducing their subjects, and rendering odious the paternal authority of sovereigns; by commanding crimes; by giving rewards to those who committed them; by irritating and flattering the passions of the people; and, in a word, by dissolving all the bonds of moral and political society. They flattered themselves, above all, that they should revive and propagate that error which had misled the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands; they trusted they should carry thither the flames of insurrection; find there a number of partizans; devour the rich patrimony of the churches; seize on the property of the nobility; abolish the lawful authorities of the states; and, as they caused to be repeated with complaisance

by the ministry of their will *, they wished to carry away the specie of the Low Countries, and to replace it with that paper money which circulates on the credit of violence; which is secured only by usurped property; and which, by its discredit at home, is sufficiently proved to be illegal. They thus trusted that they should be able to reward the crimes of their satellites and the activity of their patriotic agents, with the spoils of their neighbours, and the riches of a peaceful and industrious people. On this criminal basis, detestable in the eyes of all nations, they founded their wish for war, as well as their plan for executing it; and they congratulated themselves for having extorted this proposal from a just monarch, whose whole life has attested his love for justice, his fidelity towards his allies, and his ardent desire for preserving the tranquillity of Europe.

The triumph of the assembly, however, was not of long duration. Providence, in blessing the arms of a sovereign unjustly attacked, deservedly punished those rebellious troops to their King, who, detaining him prisoner in Paris, came, in his name, to make war on his allies.

The army of the French revolt-ers, beat at Tournay and Mons, and defeated at Florenne and Grismille, attempted an invasion of Flanders, an open and defenceless country; but being soon after obliged to retire, the usurping assembly † were taught that his Apostolic Majesty had none but courageous soldiers, as well as faithful subjects, and that nothing of their pro-

* Report by M. Dumourier, on the affair of Mons.

† Letters of M. Luckner, June 28th, 29th, and 30th, 1792.

jects remained to that rebellious army but the shame of having conceived them; the ignominy of having massacred, with a civic joy, unfortunate prisoners who had done their duty; and the opprobrium of having burnt at Courtray, without advantage, without object, and even without military pretence, the habitations and property of three hundred families, against whom they had no cause of complaint. But other enjoyments recompensed the usurping assembly for these checks. Contrary to the express letter of their own laws, without process, and without previous accusation; without hearing him, or any person for him, the assembly had unjustly dismissed, and removed from the King's person, an irreproachable guard, and invited banditti from all the provinces to their assistance. These famous banditti, whose names must be handed down with infamy to the remotest ages, as if they wished to try the strength and energy of the villany of their agents, caused the asylum of the King to be violated on the 20th of June 1792; and the most atrocious crimes would have been then committed, had not the majesty of the monarch, his virtues and his firmness, overawed a band of regicides, whose arms were evidently paid and directed. All France, who in justice ought to be separated from the factious, turned aside with horror from that execrable day, and demanded that punishment might be inflicted on the guilty. But he who refuses to punish crimes is alone criminal; and Europe cannot be mistaken respecting the authors of these outrages.

Such then is the French revolution, unjust and illegal in its principle, horrid in the means by which it was effected, and disastrous in its consequences.

" Their Imperial and Royal Majesties, who can no longer delay to fulfil their mutual engagements to deliver mankind from so many excesses, have considered this revolution under the following points of view :

1. As it personally regards his most Christian Majesty.

2. As it respects the French nation.

3. As it respects the Princes of Germany who have possessions in France.

4. As it respects the tranquillity of Europe, and the happiness of all nations.

I. ON THE REVOLUTION, AS IT PERSONALLY REGARDS HIS MOST CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

The whole world knows that it was essential to the French monarchy, and the unanimous wish expressed in the instructions of the bailiwicks, that the King of France should be legislator; that he should have the full and entire disposal of the army; that he should cause justice to be administered to his subjects; that he should have the right of making peace and war; and, in a word, that plenitude of power which belongs to sovereignty. But it is also known, that an usurping assembly, leaving him the title of King, which they considered as a gratification, deprived him absolutely of royal authority; that, reduced to be the executor of their will *, their servile and passive organ, he had not even the right of proposing

* VIIIth article of the constitution, section *Internal Administration*.

the most necessary laws †; that he had no longer any authority over the sea and land forces ‡; that the right of making peace and war was taken from him §; that he was deprived of the power of electing magistrates ||; and that, not enjoying even the power of going wherever he pleased, which the constitution secures to all citizens, his most Christian Majesty was forced to reside near the pretended legislative body **; and that the chain which detained him could not be extended farther than the distance of twenty miles.

The supreme authority in France being never-ceasing and indivisible, the King could neither be deprived nor voluntarily divest himself of any of the prerogatives of royalty, because he is obliged to transmit them entire with his own crown to his successors.

He could be dethroned only by an abdication: but the acts which he committed cannot even be considered as a partial abdication, because he could not divest himself of the crown but to invest the presumptive heir, and because the essential condition of the validity of such an act would be a full and entire liberty which did not exist; and this it is perfectly notorious that his most Christian Majesty never enjoyed. It is well known that the

violence, outrages, and dangers with which his people were threatened, and on account of which he was continually harrassed, never suffered him to be in freedom a moment. How then could the sovereigns of Europe acknowledge a revolution which, to the scandal of the whole world, dethrones a puissant and just monarch, continually destroys his liberty, endangers his life as well as the lives of the Queen and royal family; and which, by an universal system of anarchy, would force all sovereigns, though the honour of their diadems did not render it a duty, to consider as personal outrages to each of them individually, all those which have been, or may hereafter be, offered to their most Christian Majesties? Warned by the examples of the past; by the days, above all, of July 13th, 14, and 17th; by those of October 5th and 6th, 1789, strangely rewarded by the community of Paris*; by the oath of liberty taken by a captive monarch on the 5th of February, 1790; by the scandalous atrocities committed even in the apartment of the King, February 28th, 1791, on his most faithful servants; by the ferocious insults of a hired mob and licentious soldiery, offered for three hours successively on his most Christian Majesty and family, in his palace, on the 18th of

† Decree of September 24, 1789.

‡ Decree, February 28, 1792, and April 28, 1791.

§ Decree, March 22, 1790.

|| Decree, August 16, 1790.

** Decree, March 24, 1792, Article III.

* The community of Paris decreed patriotic medallions to five women, who had been at the head of the execrable expedition of Versailles: and the Abbé Malot, a Victorin monk, president of the community, had the audacity to say, "Receive this prize, which your country bestows on your virtues, your wisdom, and your patriotism." The names of these wretches were, Agnes le Fevre, Genevieve Dogan, Denise le Ferre, Petit, and Marie-Louisa Bonjon,

April, 1791†; by the unpardonable detention of Mesdames, the King's aunts, in the town of Arnay-le-Duc, though they had condescended to provide themselves with passports, which the new laws did not even then require from private individuals; by the disastrous events of the month of June 1791; by the suspension of the royal guard, and the attempts of the 20th of June, 1792; by the odious decree of accusation against the King's brothers, the forced sanctioning of which was an equal outrage to nature, justice, and supreme authority:—warned, in short, by the impunity of so many crimes, their Imperial and Royal Majesties have already protested, and now protest against all acts, declarations, and letters which his most Christian Majesty may suffer to be surprised or extorted from him, until he shall be placed in full liberty with his whole family, under a guard of their Imperial and Royal Majesties troops, in such a frontier city of his kingdom as he shall think proper to choose, and be enabled in safety to make known his supreme and definitive intentions, and to realize the vows which he has always expressed for their happiness, liberty, and prosperity.

II. OF THE REVOLUTION AS IT RESPECTS THE FRENCH NATION.

The revolution considered as it respects the French nation, instead of being its work, is evidently its scourge, the object of its grief and regret, the source of all its evils, and would be eternally its shame and disgrace, were it not proved,

in a thousand different manners, that this illustrious nation itself abhors the factions by which it is torn; that it loves its King; that it wishes to preserve its religion by favour and toleration; that it sighs after the moment when it shall be delivered from the vilifying yoke under which it groans; and that if foreign powers did not come to its assistance, abandoned to its fatal destiny, its consequence would vanish, its commerce would be annihilated, its arts forgotten, its industry rendered useless, its credit subverted, and that its whole surface would become a prey to more atrocities, more ravages, and more destruction than its superb and unfortunate colonies, than its unfortunate cities of Nîmes, Montpellier, Arles, Avignon, and others. It is far then from the thoughts of their Imperial and Royal Majesties to be at war with the French nation, and to separate it from its king, with which it ought to make only one; the intention of their Imperial and Royal Majesties is evidently, on the contrary, to come to its assistance, and to combat in the middle of those unnatural children who tear its bosom, who outrage its King, and persecute its religion. The positive right of all countries entitles them to disarm all those madmen who attempt to destroy their own lives; the rights of nature enjoin all men to give each other mutual assistance. The rights of nations require, in a much stronger manner among all civilized people, that neighbouring states should unite to rescue a great nation from its own fury, from the

† The King and Queen being desirous of spending the day at St Cloud, the people and national guard prevented them, and detained them in their carriage for three hours in the court of the Thuilleries, loading them with the most horrid imprecations.

fatal and disastrous consequences of that political phrenzy which undermines, dissolves, and destroys it.

However little one may have observed the events of the catastrophes which have desolated France; however little one may have reflected on their cause and effects, or calculated the emigration of French property, of which no age affords an equal example, and may have followed, in their firm and courageous resistance, the faithful and enlightened minority of the states-general, or will be convinced that a small number of villains have excited all these troubles, and that by the assistance of obscure individuals, people banished from all countries, criminals escaped from prison or punishment, and of the error into which they have hurried weak and enthralled minds,—they have brought about their fatal revolution, which is equally an attack upon the nation, as well as his royal Majesty.

Has not the rebellious majority of the deputies to the states-general, declared themselves to be superior to its power? Have they not usurped the rights, by substituting for the national will their own passions, and to the paternal government of a wise monarch, their own tyranny?

With regard to their instructions, when all the bailiwicks unanimously requested the same thing, had this criminal majority the right to determine another? and once freed by itself from the observance of its

oath, who could check the course of its abuses, and moderate the arbitrary despotism of its power?

To mislead the people, and fascinate their eyes by false illusions, this assembly speaks of equality, when they make all France tremble: they speak of justice, and they have not yet punished a single crime, nor a single atrocity: on the contrary, they applauded the most detestable crimes, and admitted into their bosom criminals abhorred by all nations*! They speak of public safety, yet the asylum of the King is daily violated by committees of research, which desolate France; assassinations are everywhere committed, and the magistrates of the people are themselves massacred with impunity†; they speak of toleration, yet all the temples of the established religion are shut; all its ministers, immured in prisons throughout whole provinces‡, are condemned by the assembly to be entirely banished from the kingdom; the Roman Catholics cannot profess their religion but at the risk of their lives; and wretches have been excited to persecute and punish their worship, even in nunneries§, consecrated by religion itself to the use of the poor; they speak of liberty, yet the King is not free; every avenue from the kingdom is shut; more than 50,000 municipalities or administrative bodies have a right to arrest and actually cause to be arrested in an arbitrary manner, peaceful and inno-

* Conspirators of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789; murderers of Avignon, Nîmes, &c. soldiers of Chateaux-Vieux.

† Mayors of Troye, St. Denis, Eftampes.

‡ Mans, Anjers, Dijon, la Bretagne, &c.

§ The nuns de la Charité des Hospitalières were flogged and beaten by people sent for that purpose, in presence of the national guard, because they desired to hear mass from a nonjuring priest.

cent citizens. There is not a member of the usurping assembly who cannot by an order from his hand, by a mere word, cause to be put in irons, as was the case at Besor ||, and other parts of France, strangers flying from the melancholy spectacle of a people in a state of anarchy; and the assembly itself accuser, witness, party, judge, and executioner, crowds daily into prison, as its caprice directs, every person who displeases or opposes it.

No—the French nation is not stained with the crimes of which it is itself the victim. It knows that unbridled liberty is a general evil, and that liberty without happiness is a benefit to no one. It was always free; it is worthy of being and still will be free; but it will always be subject to the empire of laws which promoted its happiness and glory for so many ages; and by restoring its lawful sovereign, a sovereign worthy of its love and confidence, their Imperial and Royal Majesties will do an equal service to the sovereign and to his subjects. As this is the sole object of their wishes, the only motive which has induced them to take up arms, they will cause their armies to protect all the faithful subjects of his most Christian Majesty, who shall give an example of obedience; and all good Frenchmen who, in the departments, districts, and municipalities, shall concur immediately in re-establishing the authority of the King, as well as public order, shall know no other enemies than the enemies of their King and country, and those factious men, who, with arms in

their hands, wish still to support the cause of revolt.

God forbid that their Imperial and Royal Majesties should have any intention of employing their forces to introduce despotism into France, to serve the cause of private hatred or vengeance, which the honour of Frenchmen ought to sacrifice to the public good, or to facilitate an odious bankruptcy to the prejudice of the lawful creditors of the state. There is no reason for apprehending any evils of that nature—the candour and probity of his Most Christian Majesty will secure his subjects; but they have not a moment to lose in choosing between popular tyranny, and laws which will gratify the general wishes; between obedience and revolt; between the forgetfulness of errors, and the punishment of unpardonable resistance. They have it in their own power to regulate their destiny—the destiny of France is in their hands—they alone can decide whether it shall be still a flourishing monarchy, or an immense desert.

In short, their Imperial and Royal Majesties cannot better recall the French to their duty, to the laws of humanity, and to those of honour, which were formerly so dear to them, and to their ancient love for their King, than by bringing to their remembrance the last words of the protestation of his Most Christian Majesty, made on the 20th of June, 1791:—

“Frenchmen! and you Parisians, above all, beware of giving credit to the suggestions and calumnies of your false friends; return to your

|| All Europe must have learned with horror the disgusting and inhuman treatment which Miss Nash, an English lady, experienced at Orchies in Flanders, from the troops of the line, though she had a passport from Marshal Luckner.

King;

King; he will always be your father, your best friend. What pleasure it will give him to forget all the personal injuries he has suffered, and to see himself in the midst of you — when religion shall be respected, and government established on a stable basis; — when the property and persons of individuals shall no longer be molested; — when the laws shall not be infringed with impunity; — and, in short, when liberty shall be placed on a solid and lasting foundation!"

III. OF THE REVOLUTION AS IT RESPECTS FOREIGN PRINCES WHO HAVE POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE.

Considered under the third point of view, the French revolution, so fatal to France, becomes still more so by the violence and intolerable injustice offered to foreign princes who have possessions within the territories of the kingdom, and by the rigorous means which must necessarily be employed to do them justice.

The Comtat of Avignon belonged to the holy see. The sovereignty of the Pope over this domain was founded on an incontrovertible title of acquisition, on possession, which among all nations is equal to a title. The usurping assembly united it to their territories by the sanguinary right of utility and necessity; and compounding afterwards with themselves, and with justice, they offered an indemnity to the holy see. But if the sovereignty of the Pope was legal, they had no right to deprive him of it; and if they had a right to deprive him of it, why did they offer him an indemnification?

The Prince Bishop of Basle, a

state of the empire, possesses in its sovereignty defiles which tempted the ambition of the National Assembly. It caused them to be forcibly seized, and removed a detachment of troops which the Emperor had sent thither, on the requisition of the French Bishop, for the safety of the country, agreeably to the Germanic constitution. The treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, Breda, Aix-la-Chapelle, Nimeguen, Ryfwick, Utrecht, Baden, and Vienna, gave to France the provinces of the three bishoprics, and of Alsace and Franche Compté, by expressly reversing the rights and property of the princes and states of the empire in these provinces, and by stipulating that no innovation could be made in them, either with regard to ecclesiastical or political matters. — It is evident that these treaties cannot be infringed at the will of the usurping assembly; and that by calling for the execution of those clauses which serve their views, they have no right to reject those which displease them. It is perfectly clear that they ought to renounce provinces which have been ceded to the crown of France, or punctually execute the condition of the cessions made to it.

But their decrees respecting the dismemberment of dioceses, and of the right of metropolitans; the abolition of feudality, the suppression of several privileges, or the annihilation of territorial jurisdiction, without indemnification, and the sale of the possessions of the clergy, are a direct infringement of the treaty of Westphalia, as well as of subsequent treaties. These decrees have violated political and ecclesiastical rights secured in perpetuity by the treaties of cession. These cessions consequently, which are synallagmatic

synallagmatic acts, which must be executed in all their parts, or rejected *in toto*, being infringed by the usurping assembly, would be at present annulled, were not the proceedings of the assembly radically null themselves, and if it were not necessary that their decrees should disappear, before the grand interest which France has in being just, in not violating the sacred rights of the empire, and in not wounding the dignity of any of its members.

But their Imperial and Royal Majesties are fully persuaded, that the first use which his Most Christian Majesty will make of this authority when he has recovered it, will be to restore to the injured princes all their rights and privileges; to indemnify them for what they may have suffered in respect to degradation, or being deprived of their privileges; and to cement more and more by this act of justice, the harmony which has for a long time subsisted between the Germanic body and his most Christian Majesty. The injury offered to the German princes who have possessions in France, is not considered as a reason for making war on his Most Christian Majesty, but for placing him upon the throne, in order to obtain justice.

IV. ON THE REVOLUTION AS IT CONCERNS ALL NATIONS.

But the most general point of view, under which their Imperial and Royal Majesties ought to consider the French revolution is, as it respects the interest of all nations, and the tranquillity of Europe.

In vain would the assembly, which usurps the name of the French Nation, have renounced conquest, if

it wished to subject to its pretended liberty the states of their neighbours. Of all the methods of making war on peaceful, virtuous, and fortunate people, the most fatal, doubtless, would be to preach up rebellion, to mislead their minds, to corrupt their morals, to form them to crimes by example and seduction, and to draw down upon them the wrath of Heaven and punishment from their sovereigns, under the pretence of rendering them happy.

The ambition of a conqueror has its bounds; and his views, when known, cease to be dangerous; but a planned system of anarchy, which tends to dissolve all political society, abounds with inexpressible danger; and all sovereigns, for the interest of their subjects, cannot use too much expedition to check its progress, and to stifle the evil in its birth. People would pay too dearly for the fatal error of believing that their interests can be separated from those of their sovereigns. It is therefore necessary to destroy this error as soon as possible, and to chastise, as soon as they appear, those factious men who conspire against the happiness of all countries. Had any doubts existed in this respect, they would have been already removed by the attack and invasion of the Pays Bas; by the plan of the usurping assembly, divulged by the popular minister, of spreading everywhere the flames of revolt; a barbarous maxim, which attests views of cowardly ambition, and which is an insult to all nations, and a signal of alarm against all kings. Besides, a numerous and powerful nation cannot disappear from the political hemisphere of Europe without the greatest inconvenience.

venience. The balance of power among sovereigns, the work of their wisdom, purchased by their treasures and the blood of their subjects, which regulates the ambition of one by the interest of all; which maintains harmony amidst contending passions and jarring interests; and which almost always terminates by well-conducted negotiation, such disputes as may be exacted by bloody wars, requires for the general interest of Europe, that so considerable a state as France should not be dissolved or withdrawn from its political engagements; and yet this would be the case, should the present revolution be established. The decrees * which have deprived the King of the right of making peace and war, have at once dissolved all those treaties which connected his Most Christian Majesty with all the neighbouring princes. The revolution gives to the usurping assembly the right of renouncing such treaties as are contrary to its views, while it takes from his Majesty the means of supporting those which might be beneficial to him. According to these principles, it has no more political ties than those which it chooses to approve, and it is consequently not bound to any of its allies, though all are obliged to be faithful to it. Thus the King without power, and the nation without an army, or what amounts to the same thing, having no army properly disciplined and subject to authority, exhibit to their neighbours, and, above all, to their allies, nothing but the shadow of power. The tranquillity of Europe, however, depends absolutely on the execution of the treaties now subsisting between the different sovereigns: and those treaties them-

selves depend on the stability of the constitution of those states which contracted them. The displacing, and much more the annihilation of the counterpoise of the political balance, would tend then to disturb the peace of Europe, and to revive ancient disputes and pretensions, now settled, the discussion of which again renewed would occasion the loss of much blood, and excite the tears and regrets of humanity. It belongs to the wisdom of sovereigns to avert such dreadful misfortunes; and it is with this view that their Imperial and Royal Majesties think themselves obliged, for the general tranquillity and safety, and for the individual happiness of their respective subjects, as much as for the real interest of France itself, to have recourse to arms, in order to prevent the annihilation of the French monarchy, and to destroy there every spark of insurrection, which might continually threaten and endanger the welfare of all sovereigns, and of all nations.

But yielding to what the honour of all crowns and the real interest of all people requires, their Majesties declare to Europe, that, in the just war which they have undertaken, they entertain no views of personal aggrandizement, which they expressly renounce; and to France, that they mean not to interfere with its internal administration, but that they are firmly and fully resolved,

To re-establish in it order and public security:

To cause the persons and property of all those who shall submit to the King, their lawful sovereign, to be protected:

To punish, in a striking manner, all resistance to their arms:

To give up the city of Paris to

* Decree of March 22, 1792.

the most dreadful and terrible justice, from which nothing can save it, as well as all the other cities which may render themselves its accomplices, if the least insult, or the least outrage is offered to the King, the Queen, or the royal family; and if that city does not endeavour to expiate its errors, and to merit the interposition and good offices of their Imperial and Royal Majesties, to obtain pardon, by immediately restoring liberty, and paying every due honour and respect to their Most Christian Majesties:

In short, to procure to the King perfect security in some frontier town of his kingdom, and the means of collecting there his family, and the princes his brothers, until his Most Christian Majesty can enter his capital with honour, and enjoy there the satisfaction of seeing his subjects repent; of conferring new favours upon them; of granting them real liberty, and consequently of finding them submissive to his supreme authority.

Declaration of the Princes his Most Christian Majesty's Brothers, and the Princes of the Blood united with them. Addressed to France and to all Europe.

ALTHOUGH it is evidently manifest that the confederate powers whose troops are assembled on the frontiers of France, neither wage war against the King nor the nation, but solely against the factions, who oppress both; and, notwithstanding the declaration published in the names of their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, by the reigning Duke of Brunswick, sufficiently demonstrates the motives and views of

this formidable coalition; the princes, his Most Christian Majesty's brothers, the princes of the blood united with them, the valiant nobility marching in their train, and the flower of the nation ranged under their standard, cannot make a junction with foreign armies (which a declaration of war, made in the name of France, has brought into their country) without explaining to his Majesty, and to all Europe, their motives, their sentiments, and their intentions.

When we first took the resolution of leaving the kingdom, it was not so much from a desire for our own personal safety, as for that of the King, by frustrating the mischiefs which threatened us, and to solicit for him that assistance which his situation did not allow him to ask for himself.

And now that we are on the point of returning into our country, it is with the satisfaction of having accomplished these two great objects, and finding ourselves on the eve of enjoying the advantages of our success.

The emigration from our country was to make ourselves the safeguard of his Majesty:—our return presents the prospect of his approaching emancipation, as well as that of his people.—The former, the effect of violence, has prevented its being carried to the greatest extremity: the latter, protected by the most formidable armies, makes the guilty faction (whom Providence has, in a manner, inspired to provoke them) tremble at their approach.

To recapitulate the almost incredible occurrences which have filled up the interval of these two periods, would be to recall the remembrance of the most horrible crimes, and
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the most afflicting sorrows; but at this moment, when the attention of the whole universe is fixed upon us, and all Europe is in motion for the recovery of its tranquillity; at this moment, in which those who support the throne are declared rebels by those who are oversetting it,—it becomes an indispensable duty to make known to the nations, and to hand down to posterity, a detail of that chain of principal events which at once justify what we have done, what we are doing, and what is doing for us.

Three years have elapsed since a conspiracy of atrocious minds conceived the project of substituting, instead of the ancient structure of our monarchy, the shapeless form of an indefinable government, the incoherence of which could only, and indeed has produced the most barbarous anarchy. — It was from the assembly of the states general that this monstrous system sprung, unnatural in its principle, encouraging revolt, overturning all authority, and breaking the bands of social order. On convoking it, the King had said to his people, "What must I do to make you happy?" and, by the blackest ingratitude, this signal mark of his good-will became the source of all his misfortunes!

In their first sittings the tiers état, abusing the preponderance which a treacherous minister had obtained for it, attacked the other two orders: they were sacrificed, and very shortly after, the assembly, governed by a licentious democracy, refractory to its mandates, perjured in its oaths, and trampling under foot the conditions of its existence, erected itself into a constituent assembly, and seized possession

of the whole legislative power: an usurpation which, in its principle, has destroyed and rendered effectually null and void all that they have since done.

Posterity will scarcely be able to believe the abominable excesses which have been the consequence of that first departure from order: it will hardly be able to conceive, that in three months time the horrible artifices which were made use of could have produced such delusion as to extirpate a mild people attached to its King, and substitute in its place nothing but hordes of robbers, cannibals, and regicides!

Oh! that we could, at the price of our lives, efface the memory of those shocking days which will forever sully the annals of our history, in which the asylum of Kings was violated by a frantic populace, the Queen's life threatened, his Majesty's guards butchered before his eyes, and triumphant usurpation leading captive, after having loaded him with insults, a virtuous monarch, who was ever the father of his people!

One would have thought that the general cries of indignation, excited by the crimes of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, preceded by the scandalous scene of the 14th of July, would have made the people of Paris blush for ever at the mad excesses into which they suffered themselves to be drawn, and preserved the French name from a fresh stain of the same nature; but the violences committed on the 18th of April 1791, in the palace of the Thuilleries, and the insults then offered to royal Majesty, prolonged that train of horrors, the measure of which was filled up by the arrest at Varennes on the 21st of June following,

ing, and by the ignominious circumstances which attend it.

The anti-monarchic faction, irritated at seeing that their monarch had attempted to escape from the disgrace and torment of his captivity; irritated still more that he had seized the first moment of liberty which he had enjoyed for near two years to protest against all the acts, consents, speeches, and sanctions which constraint had forced from him,—dared to interrogate him; they again put fetters on him, as well as on the Queen, and deliberated whether they should not drag them both as criminals before their tribunal. They did it not; but by a refinement of villany not less cruel, tho' more advantageous to their views, they made use of, at one and the same time, the most savage menaces, and the most treacherous illusion, to compel this unfortunate monarch himself to subscribe to the degradation of his throne and the ruin of his people.

No personal danger, if it had threatened him only, could have moved his soul: he has recently proved it. But they exhibited to him the poignard uplifted against what he held most dear; they told him that his refusal would lead to the massacre of his most faithful servants; and, at the same time, they held up to him the hopes of repentance on the part of his people, and the return of tranquillity. — He signed.

What has been the fruit of all this? — Tranquillity has not been restored; and the momentary release of the King from captivity (which was done with no other view than to impose on foreign nations) was soon after succeeded by renewed scenes of violence. Can there

be a stronger characteristic mark of it than enforcing him wantonly to declare war against his ally, against his nephew, and against a sovereign whose protection he could not but desire? Had he been free, this King, who had made such repeated sacrifices from a fear of doing an injury to his people, would he have drawn on them this terrible scourge, greater than any other calamity which they have brought headlong on themselves?

The greatest condescensions will never stop the impetuosity of seditious villany, nor the combined manœuvres of an usurping faction: its audacity nourishes itself by the terror which it inspires, and yields only to the apprehension which it creates.

Whatever the King has suffered, whatever he has done, said, or written, against his well-known will, has not prevented these barbarous libellers from continuing to load him with the most disgraceful opprobrium, to expose his august consort to the outrages of an hired populace, who have answered her complaints by the most ferocious invective, and have even disputed with her the privilege of claiming the pity of her people. In these several triumphs they have exhibited the sovereigns as chained to their designs. In the different progresses of his continued detention, they have made use of him as an organ to persuade Europe of his pretended liberty. But though no one has been imposed on by this cruel derision, they continue impudently to persist in it, and force him to declare himself at liberty at the very moment they are disposing of his council, and imprisoning and massacring his ministers; at the mo-

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ment they are suppressing his guard, and arresting the faithful captain of it; at the moment they are suffering his Majesty to be denounced, menaced, and publicly insulted; and that the most villainous *canaille*, breaking open the doors of his palace, come with pikes in their hands (as it had done on the 20th of June preceding) to signify to him, with unblushing effrontery, its will, and pollute his sacred head with the most disgraceful symbols of revolt. That such horrible iniquity should pass unpunished, makes nature shudder. But so far from punishing these guilty persons, the reigning faction multiplies them, and invites to the capital the most determined assassins from all parts of the country, as if it wished to announce, in the face of all Europe, armed against such crimes, that at the last hour of the revolution, its atrocity surpasses even the horrible excesses which marked its first progress.

This affecting review of the attempts committed against the person of the King, grieves our soul too poignantly that we should reflect on it any longer. It therefore remains with us only rapidly to expose the other attempts, which have violated all the laws of the kingdom, and destroyed public order to its very foundation.

The force and the dignity of the throne being annihilated, all the powers of it have been accumulated in the grasp of a factious majority, governed by incendiary clubs; and which (being supported within by hired auditors, and without by seditious gangs of people) has exercised, without shame, the most arbitrary despotism, against which it has never ceased to declaim.

We have seen it proscribing in-

distinctly abuses and privileges; confounding destruction with reform; opposing an intemperate licentiousness to the wise liberty which a beneficent monarch had offered to his people, occupied only in destroying it; encompassing itself with ruins; undermining all kinds of property; attacking all the revenues, particularly that which was appropriated to the dignity of the throne; suppressing the inseparable distinction of monarchical government, held sacred from immemorial possession; stripping the crown of prerogatives which the whole nation, with the unanimous consent of its different parts, had commanded to be respected; and reducing the royal power even to less than a shadow.

They destroyed the administration of justice by trusting fortunes, privileges, and persons, to the incapacity of subaltern judges, removable at pleasure; placed out of the reach of the observation of the supreme head of the state, and dependent on the caprices of a mob; masters of their choice and of their fate. They invaded the property of the clergy at the moment in which they were offering to the finances of the state sacrifices capable of restoring them; they changed and confounded the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; exacted from the pastors an oath inconsistent with their consciences; offered them the alternative of apostacy or deprivation. — The clergy of France having remained unshaken in their duties, excepting a very small number of renegades, who did themselves justice by separating from a body worthy of public veneration, the assembly not only dared to declare the episcopal

Popal sees vacant, interdict the apostolic functions to those who held them by divine mission, and replace them by false titularies destitute of all canonical appointment, but add all the horrors of persecution, deliver over the ministers of religion to the unbridled fury of a mad populace, put fetters on them, banish them, and issue decrees against them dictated by the most inhuman fanaticism.

They even aim to overthrow religion itself, by ill-treating its ministers in the cruelest manner. Enemies to all authority know that religion is the surest pledge for the obedience of the people; that there is no religion without form of worship, and no form of worship without ministers; no ministers without a regular institution; and no regard for established ministers if their income is uncertain and precarious.

It is therefore in consequence of their system of absolute independence that they wish to destroy religion, by destroying at once its worship, its ministers, the laws of their institution, and the respect due to their condition.

Their cavillers, publicly professing atheism and immorality, labour incessantly to take away from the people the consolation and the salutary restraint of religious ideas; encouragements and even rewards are solemnly decreed in favour of scandal and impiety; the churches prophaned and shut against the Catholics; the priests pursued to the foot of the altar, and aged pastors sacrificed without pity; insults which put modesty to the blush multiplied, tolerated, and authorised even in the most sacred sanctuaries; complaints made for no other

purpose but to provoke fresh violences; and the administrators of justice standing by, either as tame spectators or accomplices in all those enormities.

Such has been the consequence of the fatal combination of the spirit of revolt and philosophical fanaticism. — The most execrable means have been employed for three years past to form, support, and propagate this fatal conspiracy against all laws human and divine. Its authors began their reign by corruption, by artifice, and popular hypocrisy: they have maintained it by fire and the sword. Their daggers and their incendiary torches threatened whoever dared to avow themselves attached to lawful authority. These novel factious innovators have employed in the conquest and the progress of their usurpations all the poison of calumny, the inquisition of odious enquiry, the tyranny of oppressive means, the seduction of influence over credulity, and the terror of power over weakness.

Such are the arms with which they have dared to declare war against all empires, openly to proclaim their seditious doctrines, and to effect it by means of emissaries, disturbers of the people, preachers of regicide, and instigators to insurrections, which they have not blushed to call the most sacred of duties.

One would think that the remedy for such diabolical phrenzy would be found in the excesses which it has promoted, — in the indignation which it excites, — in the contempt which it deserves. — But its progress has pointed out to sovereigns that it is high time to unite their forces, to check the contagion in its birth; to bring those to reason

again by force, who no longer listen to its gentle voice; and strike with salutary terror those whom an unaccountable delirium renders insensible to the calamities they are suffering.

Who is there that would not be affected to see that once so flourishing kingdom, to which nature has been lavish in the means of making it such: that kingdom so rich in population, so fruitful in its productions, and which once abounded in money; so opulent from its resources and its commerce; from the industry of its inhabitants, and the advantages of its colonies: that kingdom, provided with so many useful institutions, and whose happy abodes have been universally courted, presenting at this moment nothing but the appearance of a barbarous country, given up to rapine, stained with bloody ruins, and deserted by its principal inhabitants; an unorganized empire, torn with intestine distraction, stripped of all its riches, threatened with every species of scarcity, enervated from three years internal disorders, and on the brink of dissolution through anarchy: a nation without manners, police, or government; as little to be known again by its moral character, as by its political situation,—having neither circulation of money, public revenue, credit, commerce, army, or justice, or any energy in the public strength! Mad wickedness has swept them all away!

How is it possible that the sad impression of so many ills should not have altered opinions, even those of the people themselves! Is there a person who can still shut his eyes against the disastrous effects of the revolution; or one who does not feel, and in some measure suffer, more or less from it?

The husbandman, whom they had intoxicated with the deceitful hope of paying no more taxes, beholds himself overwhelmed with contributions, and pays double what he did before:—The artificer groans under the languor of labour and the dearth of provisions.—The tradesman is ruined by the removal of his best customers;—the merchant by the devastation of our best colonies; and both by the evil of paper currency, and a general want of credit:—The proprietor of property sacrificed to a multitude destitute of property, and, stripped with impunity by authorised rapine, is continually exposed to the fury of that mob of plunderers whom the factious have made their tools, their allies, and their protectors:—The stockholder, although less to be pitied than others, shares in like manner the public misfortunes:—he trembles for his stock, and that bankruptcy which the authors of our troubles have so perfidiously and slanderously imputed the intention of to the King and the government; that bankruptcy which in a kingdom like France can never be a matter of necessity, and which an enlightened administration will always consider as a false resource. He perceives it operating since the revolution by the suspension of legal exactions; by the breach of a multitude of public engagements; by the delays and formalities to which the acquittal of rents is subject; by the great depreciation of assignats; finally, from the impossibility of fulfilling engagements so long as France shall be without a government, and taxes demanded of armed contributors in the name of a despicable administration.

Thus has a general calamity extended for three years past over all ranks

ranks of people; — thus the very sources of power and prosperity have disappeared; — and thus have both its military force and its political consequence fallen. — Thus has vanished the 80,000,000 which St. Domingo produced; the resources which the ports of France derived from this commerce; the sale that this grand establishment yielded to her commodities and to her manufactures; the nursery it was for her seamen. In a word, the fortunes of 20,000 families, and the employment of several millions of men, are lost.

To purchase liberty at the price of so many losses, so many misfortunes both public and private, is doubtless paying very dear for it. But what liberty is it? Can any exist without a protecting authority? And was there ever a time that this people, whose liberty and even sovereignty are so cried up, were less free and less masters of their actions than now? — Were individuals ever less certain of preserving their property, their lives, and their honour? Was there ever seen, even in Nero's days, such devastation, such inquisitorial examinations, so many oppressive shackles, so many violations of the most sacred sanctuaries, so many massacres of citizens? Are the 30,000 assassins who have signalized the reign of democratic tyranny, proofs of the reign of liberty? — Oh! too credulous Frenchmen! Oh! too unhappy country! while we are desirous of abolishing the cause of the evils which overwhelm you; when we are marching against the base faction which has given rise to them; when we unite our armies with the forces of powers whose assistance we have implored against your tyrannical oppressors, can you look upon us as your enemies? — No, no; you behold in us fellow-countrymen, who wish to become your deliverers.

The two sovereigns with whose assistance we are advancing towards you, have declared, through their hero, the commander in chief of their armies, "That they have no other object in view but the welfare of France, without meaning to enrich themselves at her expence by conquest: that they do not mean to interfere in the internal government of the kingdom; but that they wish solely to liberate the King, the Queen, and the royal family from their captivity; and preserve to his Most Christian Majesty that security necessary to enable him to do, without danger and without obstacle, what he may think fit for securing the happiness of his subjects according to his promises."

These generous, these magnanimous declarations, in which the Kings of the house of Bourbon, our august cousins: our much-honoured father-in-law, the Nestor of Sovereigns; the heroine of the north, our sublime protectress; and the young heir of the unfortunate Gustavus, whose bloody tomb we all bathe with our tears, equally participate; insure to these illustrious confederates the immortal palm due to the defenders of a cause which is at the same time the cause of Kings, of good order, and humanity; and at the same time shew you, O Frenchmen, that the forces which we join are for you rather than ourselves; that they are only formidable to guilt; that they will attack nothing but obstinate rebellion; and that by coming over to us, rather than resist their superiority,

you will only return to your reason and to your duty, your dearest interests inviting you to it. — It is in full assurance of this that we think ourselves justified in joining our standard to those of foreign powers. By publishing their intentions they have shewn the propriety of the step we are taking, and our wishes for their success are mixed with those which we are constantly entertaining for the welfare of our country.

The factious, your real enemies as well as ours, have told you that we were animated with violent and implacable resentments; that we breathed nothing but vengeance, carnage, and proscription; and that there was no mercy to be expected from a nobility too justly offended not to be deaf to the calls of it. — Those who tell you this, Frenchmen, are the men who for three years past have been in the habit of deceiving you, who have made it their principal study, who have established shops for lies and false news, which the orators of the tribunes promulgate, the clubs believe, and the revolution-libellists spread far and wide. — Interested in alienating you from those with whose pure and unalterable attachment to the King, and the fundamental principles of monarchy, they are acquainted, they strive to raise your hatred against your emigrated countrymen; the abuse not being able to seduce us, and to destroy the fondness you have for the heirs of a name dear to you for many ages back, they endeavour to terrify you with the intentions with which (they say) we are coming into the kingdom.

But be no longer the dupes of their guilty arts: we solemnly declare to you, and all Europe is wit-

ness to what we declare, as well in our names as in those of all the French who are marching with us, and who are of our way of thinking, "that, united to deliver the King and the people from the despotism of usurpers, we do not separate ourselves from those who have the same intention: that no spirit of particular vengeance guides our steps: that we are very far from confounding the nation with the perverse seducers who have led it astray; and that, leaving to justice the care of punishing the guilty, we come to hold out our hands to all those who, renouncing their errors, shall immediately return to their duty."

The emigrated French have not taken up arms to recover by the sword the rights which violence has wrested from them; it will belong to the King, when liberated, to restore them; they will willingly lay at the foot of his unshackled throne the care of their own interests; and we, the first citizens of the state, will give to all an example of submission to justice and his Majesty's will. — But being born hereditary defenders of the throne of our ancestors, faithful to the religion of our forefathers, attached to the fundamental maxims of monarchy, "we will rather shed the last drop of our blood than abandon any of these high interests." Our sentiments, already expressed in our letter of the 10th of last December, and recapitulated in a few words in our publication of the 30th of October, are unchangeable. The protestations we made then, we now repeat again; inspired by honour, engraven on our hearts from duty, nothing shall ever be able to move us.

We will not go a point beyond that;

that; and the support of the courts whose formidable armies surround France on every side, adds nothing to our first wishes and intentions. Adhering fully to the spirit of moderation with which their Imperial and Prussian Majesties have just published a solemn declaration of, which does honour to and will immortalize the use they make of their power, — we declare moreover again, under their auspices, — “That our only object is to redemand from the usurpers—the monarch and the monarchy; the freedom of the august head of the state, and that of his people; public order, and the protective power of individual right; our ancient laws; our manners; our religion, national honour, justice, peace, and security.”

Is there a rational Frenchman who does not agree with us in these views? Is there one who does not join with us in demanding an end of the frightful chaos into which the factious have plunged all the branches of administration; the establishment of the finances, devoured by the vilest depredations; the re-constitution of the public revenue, destroyed through unskilful administration of it; a permanent and regular order of things, which may close the pit that has swallowed up three thousand millions of stock; the security of state-creditors, and the restoration of credit, which may and ought to operate by a strict reform in the expenditure, and by the suppression (which the King has always had in view) of abuses which were long ago introduced into the constitution; abuses which it is not easy to wipe away, but which those who have overturned every thing, even so as to change the ideas and sentiments

of men, have affected to confound with the government itself.

In thus expressing our wishes, which are no otherwise guided than by that common interest which the whole nation, by its representatives, pronounced to be one, we have reason to hope that all those who are not seditiously inclined, — all that are not inimical to royalty, inimical to legitimate authority and public tranquillity, will not hesitate a moment to join us; and that a very great majority of the inhabitants of the kingdom, hitherto restrained by the terror of popular tyranny, or uneasiness about what will become of them at last, having now the prospect of being protected against both, will soon flock to the royal standard which we are following.

Full of this confidence, and convinced that in France there can be but two parties, the King's, of which we are the head during his captivity; and that of the factious, which comprehends all the different innovators, some of whom have undertaken to overthrow the throne, and others to degrade it; we exhort all those who have not partaken of the crimes of the factious; all those who, having been merely led astray, do not wish to be the accomplices of furious usurpers, in destroying or perverting the French government; all those who abhor that atrocious doctrine which tends to disturb the peace of all nations; we beseech them to be of one and the same mind with us, not to dispute on the mode of regulating the state, when the question is to fight together against those who wish to destroy it; and to acknowledge, that if it is necessary to correct the abuses which time introduces into the best institutions, all innovation in

the primæval principles of a government which antiquity renders respectable, is always impolitic, is always dangerous, and almost always fatal. We have no doubt but the bishops, especially those in the frontier provinces, will redouble their zeal at this very moment to strengthen the courage of the pastors, whom the flight of the intruders will soon put into possession of the exercises of their duties, and to excite their diocessans to avert, by a speedy submission, the storm that is ready to burst upon their heads.

We give to the King's troops the most pressing invitations, and even orders (which the state of captivity in which his Majesty is, authorises us to give in his name) that, conformably to the summons contained in the 3d article of the declaration of his Serene Highness the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and without looking upon themselves as bound by an illusory oath, which they could not willingly take to the prejudice of their supreme chief, they will lose no time in returning to their ancient fidelity to their lawful sovereign; that, after the example of the greatest part of their officers, they will join the troops which we, his Majesty's brothers, command for him; that they will give us free passage to march to his assistance; and that they will give him, in conjunction with us, proofs of an inviolable attachment to his service.

We expressly require, in the King's name (as being at this moment the necessary medium through which his will is to be made known) all commanders of towns, citadels, and fortresses throughout the kingdom, to open their gates and deliver up the keys on the first sum-

mons which shall be given by us, or by the general officers who may be the bearers of our orders to that effect: as also to give free admission to the troops that shall present themselves to assist us in taking possession in the name of the King our brother. If, contrary to our expectation, any of these commanders shall refuse it, they shall be personally answerable for the consequences, tried for disobedience to the King, and treated as rebels. — The inhabitants of places and forts, as well as the troops in garrisons, who shall oppose and disobey the chiefs and commanders who would bring them back to their duty, shall be punished as traitors, and have neither favour nor mercy to expect.

The voice of Henry the Fourth's descendants will not be disowned by the French army; we are already informed in part of its good-will; and we know that, blushing to follow the chiefs of a conspiracy whom it despises, it only waits a favourable moment to make its just indignation burst upon those corrupters who dishonour it. — That moment is at hand, and we have good ground to believe, that as soon as the troops of the line advance towards them, the corps of French cavaliers, led by the Bourbons, and preceded by that ancient banner which was always the signal of honour to our army, the voice of the public opinion for fourteen centuries past will make itself be heard in their ranks, as well as in our own; that they will flock to their ancient colours, and at the sight of the untarnished and immortal purity of the *Heur de Lys*, they will quit with horror the disgraceful colours adopted by fanaticism. — Oh! may we thus terminate, without spilling the blood of
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our fellow-citizens, a war which is only directed against criminal and obstinate resistance! May the seditious inhabitants of the capital be restrained by the fear of the most just and the most terrible vengeance, with which their Imperial and Prussian Majesties have declared they will overwhelm that guilty city, in case "the least violence or insult shall be offered to the King, the Queen, and the royal family; or in case their security, their preservation, and their liberty, is not immediately provided for."

God forbid that infamous villany should dare to brave these threats! If such atrocity—our very blood boils and shudders at the thought!—let us hope, rather hope that chimeras are near a conclusion; that the bandage will drop from all eyes, and that reason will resume its reign. It is our most earnest wish, and we pray to the God of Justice and Peace, that the submission of the factious may spare us the necessity of fighting them: but if that necessity should be inevitable, if we must fight the enemies of the altar and the throne, we will invoke with confidence the assistance of the God of Armies!

*Given at our Head Quarters,
near Troyes, the 8th Day of
August, 1792.*

(Signed)

LOUIS - STANISLAUS XAVIER,
MONSIEUR, a Son of France,
and Brother to the King.

CHARLES PHILIP COUNT D'ARTOIS,
a Son of France, and Brother
to the King.

LOUIS ANTHONY D'ARTOIS, Duke
d'Angoulême, a Grandson of
France.

CHARLES FERDINAND D'ARTOIS
Duke de Berry, a Grandson of
France.

LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON,
Prince of Condé

LOUIS HENRY JOSEPH DE BOURBON,
Duke of Bourbon.

LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON,
Duke of Enghien.

*Exposition of the Motives on which the
French National Assembly have pro-
claimed the Convocation of a National
Convention, and pronounced the Sus-
pension of the Executive Power in the
Hands of the King.*

THE National Assembly owe to the nation, to Europe, and to posterity, a rigorous account of the motives which have determined their late resolutions.

Placed between the duty of remaining faithful to their oaths, and that of saving their country, they wished to fulfil both at the same time, and to do all that the public safety required, without usurping the powers with which the people had not entrusted them.

At the opening of their session, an assemblage of emigrants, formed on the frontiers, kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of liberty that were still to be found in the departments, or among the troops of the line; and fanatical priests, infusing trouble into superstitious minds, sought to persuade those deluded citizens that the constitution wounded the rights of conscience, and that the law had confided the functions of religion to schismatical and sacrilegious persons.

Finally, a league formed among powerful kings menaced the liberty

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of France; they fancied that they had a right to fix to what degree the interest of their despotism permitted us to be free, and flattered themselves that they should see the sovereignty of the people and the independence of the French empire fall down before the arms of their slaves.

Thus every thing announced a civil and religious war, of which a foreign war would soon increase the danger.

The National Assembly thought it their duty to repress the emigrants, and to restrain the factious priests by severe decrees; and the King employed against these decrees the suspensive refusal of sanction, which the constitution granted him. In the mean time, those emigrants and those priests were busily acting in the name of the King; it was to re-establish him in what they called his lawful authority that the former had taken up arms; and the latter were preaching assassination and treason. These emigrants were the brothers of the King, his relations, his former body-guards. And while the correspondence of these facts with the conduct of the King authorized, nay, enjoined distrust, this refusal of the sanction applied to decrees that could not be suspended without being annihilated, shewed clearly how the *veto*, suspensive according to the law, rendered definitive by the manner of employing it, gave to the King the unlimited and arbitrary power of rendering null all the measures which the legislative body might think necessary for maintaining liberty.

From that moment, from one end of the kingdom to the other, the people shewed those gloomy

discontents that announced storms; and the suspicions which accused the executive power displayed themselves with energy.

The National Assembly were not discouraged. Princes who professed themselves the allies of France, had given to the emigrants not an asylum, but the liberty of arming, of forming themselves into military bodies, of levying soldiers, of providing warlike stores; and the King was invited, by a solemn message, to break, on this violation of the rights of nations, a silence that had been kept but too long. He seemed to yield to the national wish; preparations for war were ordered; but it was soon perceived, that the negotiations conducted by a ministry weak or treacherous, were confined to obtaining vain promises, which, remaining unexecuted, could not be regarded but as a snare or an insult. The league of kings assumed, in the mean time, a new activity; and at the head of this league appeared the Emperor, brother-in-law to the King of the French, united to the nation by a treaty useful to himself alone, which the constituting assembly, deceived by the ministry, had maintained, by sacrificing, to preserve it, the hope, at that time well founded, of an alliance with the house of Brandenburg.

The National Assembly thought that it was necessary for the safety of France, to oblige the Emperor to declare whether he would be her ally or her enemy, and to pronounce between two contradictory treaties, of which the one bound him to give succours to France, and the other engaged him to attack her; treaties which he could not reconcile, without avowing the intention of

of separating the King from the nation, and of representing a war against the French people, as succours granted to his ally. The Emperor's answer augmented the distrust which this combination of circumstances rendered so natural. In it he repeated the absurd charges against the assembly of the representatives of the French people, against the popular societies established in our cities, with which the partizans of the French ministry had long wearied the counter-revolution presses. He made protestations of his desire to continue the ally of the King; and he had just signed a new league against France in favour of the authority of the King of the French.

These leagues, these treaties, the intrigues of the emigrants, who had solicited them in the name of the King, had been concealed by the ministers from the representatives of the people. No public disavowal of these intrigues, no effort to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy of monarchs, had shewn either to the citizens of France, or the nations of Europe, that the King had sincerely united his own cause to that of the nation.

This apparent connivance between the cabinet of the Thuilleries and that of Vienna struck every mind; the National Assembly thought it their duty to examine with vigour the conduct of the minister for foreign affairs; and a decree of accusation was the result of this examination. His colleagues disappeared with him, and the King's council was formed of patriot ministers.

The successor of Leopold followed the course of his father. He thought proper to require for the

princes formerly possessing fiefs in Alsace, indemnifications incompatible with the French constitution, and derogatory to the independence of the nation. He wanted France to betray the confidence and violate the rights of the people of Avignon. At length he announced other causes of complaint, which could not, he said, be discussed before having tried the force of arms.

The King seemed to feel that this provocation to war could not be borne patiently without betraying a shameful weakness; he seemed to feel how perfidious was this language of an enemy who pretended to take an interest in his fate, and to desire his alliance, for no purpose but to sow seeds of discord between him and his people, calculated to enervate our forces, and to stop or disconcert their motions; he proposed war by the unanimous advice of his council, and war was decreed.

By protecting the assemblages of the emigrants, by permitting them to menace our frontiers, by shewing troops in readiness to second them on the first success, by preparing a retreat for them, by persisting in a threatening league, the King of Hungary obliged France to make preparations of defence ruinous in their expence, exhausted her finances, encouraged the audacity of the conspirators dispersed through the departments, excited uneasiness among the citizens, and thus fomented in them and perpetuated trouble. Never did hostilities more really justify war; and to declare was only to repel it.

The National Assembly were then able to judge to what degree, notwithstanding promises so often repeated,

repeated, all the preparations of defence had been neglected. Nevertheless, their uneasiness, their distrust, still rested on the former ministers, on the secret councils of the king; but they soon saw the patriotic ministers crossed in their operations, attacked with rancour by the partizans of the royal authority, by those who made a parade of personal attachment to the king.

Our armies were tormented with political divisions: discord was sown among the commanders of the troops, as between the generals and the ministry. Attempts were made to transform into the instruments of a party, which concealed not its desire of substituting its will for that of the representatives of the nation, those very armies that were destined to the external defence of the French territory, and to maintaining the national independence.

The machinations of the priests, become more active in the moment of war, made a restraining law indispensable; one was passed.

The formation of a camp between Paris and the frontiers was a disposition happily calculated for external defence, while at the same time it served to give security to the internal departments, and to prevent the troubles which their disquiets might have produced: the formation of such a camp was ordered; but these two decrees were rejected by the king, and the patriotic ministers were dismissed.

The constitution had granted to the King a guard of 1800 men, and this guard audaciously manifested a contempt of civic duties, which inspired the citizens with indignation or with terror; hatred of the constitution and, above all, of liberty

and equality, were the best titles for being admitted into it.

The Assembly was forced to dissolve this guard, to prevent both the troubles which it could not fail soon to occasion, and the plots of counter-revolution, of which but too many indications were already manifest. The decree was sanctioned; but a proclamation by the King bestowed praises on those very men whose dismissal from his service he had just pronounced, to those whom he had admitted to be men justly accused of being the enemies of liberty.

The new ministers excited well founded distrust; and as this distrust could not stop at them, it fell on the King himself.

The application of the refusal of sanction to decrees rendered necessary by circumstances, of which the execution ought to have been prompt, and must stop with the decrees, was regarded, in the general opinion, as an interpretation of the constitutional act contrary to liberty, and even to the spirit of the constitution. The agitation of the people of Paris became extreme; an immense crowd of citizens joined to form a petition; in it they solicited the recall of the patriotic ministers, and the retraction of the refusal to sanction the decrees in favour of which the public opinion had been loudly declared. They desired leave to pass in arms before the National Assembly after their deputies had read their petition. This leave, which other armed bodies had before obtained, was granted them. They desired to present the same petition to the king, and to present it under the forms established by the law; but at the moment when municipal officers were coming

coming to inform them that their deputies, who had been refused at first, were going to be admitted, the gate was opened, and the crowd rushed into the palace. The zeal of the mayor of Paris, the ascendancy which his virtues and his patriotism give him over the minds of the citizens, the presence of the representatives of the people, of whom successive deputations constantly surrounded the King, prevented all serious disorders; and few assemblages so numerous ever gave occasion to less disorder of any kind.

The King had mounted the ensigns of liberty; he had done justice to the citizens, by declaring that he thought himself in safety in the midst of them; the day of the federation was approaching; citizens from all the departments were to repair to Paris, there to swear to maintain that liberty for which they were going to fight on the frontiers; and all might still have been repaired. But the ministers saw nothing in the events of the 20th of June but a favourable occasion for sowing division between the inhabitants of Paris and those of the departments, between the people and the army, between the several portions of the national guard, between the citizens who remained at their homes and those who were flying to the defence of the state. The very next day the King changed his language; a proclamation, full of calumny, was profusely distributed among the armies; one of their generals came, in the name of that which he commanded, to demand vengeance, and to point out his victims. A considerable number of directories of department, by unconstitutional resolutions, dis-

closed the plan they had long before formed, of raising themselves into a sort of intermediate power between the people and their representatives, between the National Assembly and the King. Justices of the peace commenced, in the very palace of the Thuilleries, a dark procedure, in which it was hoped to involve those of the patriots whose vigilance and whose talents were the most dreaded. Already one of these justices had attempted to infringe the inviolability of the representatives of the people, and every thing announced a plan dexterously concerted for finding in the judicial order the means of giving an arbitrary extension to the royal authority; letters from the minister for the home department directed the employing of force against the federates, who might wish to take at Paris the oath to fight for liberty; and it required all the activity of the National Assembly, all the patriotism of the army, all the zeal of the enlightened citizens, to prevent the fatal effects of this plan of disorganization, which might have lighted up the flames of civil war. An emotion of patriotism had extinguished, in fraternal union, the divisions that had appeared but too often in the National Assembly, and from this also the means of safety might have sprung: the prosecutions commenced by the King's order, at the instance of the intendant of the civil list, might have been stopped; the virtuous Petion, punished, by an unjust suspension, for having spared the blood of the people, might have been reinstated by the King; and it was possible that this long series of faults and treasons might have fallen again entirely upon those
perfidious

perfidious counsellors to whom a confiding people had long the habit of attributing all the crimes of our kings.

The National Assembly then saw that the safety of the country required extraordinary measures.

They opened a discussion on the means of saving their country; they instituted a commission charged to consider of and prepare a plan of these means.

The declaration that the country is in danger called all the citizens to the common defence, all persons in public trust to their posts; and yet in the midst of complaints unceasingly repeated of the inaction of government, on the neglect or ill management of the preparations for war, on the useless or dangerous motions of the armies, the avowed object of which was to favour the political plans of one of the generals, ministers unknown or suspected were seen to succeed one another rapidly, and to present, under new names, the same inactivity and the same principles.

A declaration of the general of the enemy, which doomed to death all freemen, and promised to cowards and traitors his disgraceful protection, could not but add to these suspicions. In it the enemy of France seemed to attend to nothing but the defence of the King of the French. Twenty-six millions of men were nothing in his estimation, in comparison of a privileged family; their blood must wet the earth to avenge the slightest insult; and the King, instead of expressing his indignation against a manifesto intended to take from him the confidence of the people, seemed to oppose to it, and that reluctantly, a cold and timid disavowal.

Who then can be astonished that distrust in the supreme head of the executive power should inspire citizens with the desire of no longer seeing the forces intended for the common defence at the disposition of a king in whose name France was attacked, and the care of maintaining her internal tranquillity confided to him whose interests were the pretexts of all her troubles? To these motives, common to all France, were joined others particular to the inhabitants of Paris. They saw the families of the conspirators at Coblenz forming the habitual society of the king and his family. Writers, paid by the civil list, endeavoured by base calumnies to render the Parisians odious or suspected in the eyes of the rest of France. Attempts were made to sow division between the poor citizens and the rich; the national guard was agitated by perfidious manoeuvres, in order to form in it a party of royalists. In fine, the enemies of liberty seemed to be divided between Paris and Coblenz; and their audacity increased with their number.

The constitution enjoined the King to give notice of imminent hostilities to the National Assembly; and long solicitations were necessary to obtain of the ministry the tardy information of the march of the Prussian troops. The constitution pronounced abdication against the King if he did not, by some formal act, declare his opposition to enterprizes undertaken in his name against the nation; and the emigrant princes had opened public loans in the King's name, and had hired foreign troops in his name, had levied French regiments in his name, had formed a military house-

household for him out of France; and these facts were known for more than six months before the King, whose public declarations, whose remonstrances with foreign powers might have hindered the success of these measures, had discharged the duty imposed upon him by the constitution.

It was on motives thus powerful that petitions, sent from a great number of the departments, the wish of several sections of Paris, followed by the general expression of the wish of the whole commons, solicited the forfeiture of the King, or the suspension of the royal power; and the National Assembly could no longer shrink from the examination of this grand question.

It was their duty not to decide but after a mature and well-considered examination, after a solemn discussion, after having heard and weighed all opinions. But the patience of the people was exhausted; all at once they appeared united as one man in the same will; they marched towards the place of the King's residence; and the King came to seek an asylum in the assembly of the representatives of the people, whose seat he knew that the fraternal union of the inhabitants of Paris with the citizens of the departments, would always render an asylum inviolable and sacred.

National guards had been charged with defending the residence which the King had abandoned; but with them Swiss soldiers were stationed. The people had long seen, with painful surprise, Swiss battalions sharing the guard of the King, although the constitution did not allow him to have a foreign guard. It had long been easy to foresee that this direct violation of

the law, which by its nature constantly obtruded itself on every eye, would, sooner or later, occasion great misfortunes. The National Assembly had neglected nothing to prevent them. Reports, discussions, motions made by individual members and referred to committees, had apprized the King several months before of the necessity of dismissing from about his person men, whom everywhere else the French always regarded as friends and brothers, but whom they could not see retained about a constitutional King, in direct contradiction to the constitution, without suspecting that they had become the instruments of the enemies of their liberty.

A decree had ordered their removal: their commander, supported by the ministry, demanded changes in that decree: the National Assembly consented to those changes. A part of the soldiers was to remain near Paris, but without doing any duty that might renew disquiets; and it was contrary to the sense of the National Assembly, contrary to the law, that on the 10th of August they were employed on a service, from which every motive of humanity and of prudence ought to have kept them away. They received orders to fire on the armed citizens, at the instant when the latter were inviting them to peace—when unequivocal signs of fraternity announced that peace was going to be accepted—at the instant when a deputation of the National Assembly was seen advancing in the midst of arms to speak the words of peace and conciliation, and prevent carnage. Then nothing could stop the vengeance of the people, who had thus proof of

a new

a new act of treachery, at the very moment they were coming to complain of those which they had long been the victims.

In the midst of these disasters, the National Assembly, afflicted, but calm, took the oath to maintain equality and liberty, or to die at their post; they took the oath to save France, and they fought for the means.

They saw but one, which was that of recurring to the will supreme of the people, and inviting them to exercise immediately their inalienable right of sovereignty, which the constitution has recognized, and which it could not subject to any restriction. The public interest required that the people should manifest their will by the sense of a national convention, formed of representatives invested by them with unlimited powers; it required no less that the members of this convention should be elected in each department in a uniform manner, and according to a regular mode; but the National Assembly could not restrain the powers of the sovereign people, from whom alone the members of that assembly hold all the powers they possess. They were bound to confine themselves to conjuring the people, in the name of their country, to follow the simple regulations traced out for them. In these, the forms instituted for elections were respected, because the establishment of new forms, even supposing them to have been better, would have been a source of delay, perhaps of division. They preserved in them none of the conditions of eligibility, none of the limitations of the right of electing or being elected, established by the former laws, because these laws,

which are so many restrictions on the exercise of the right of sovereignty, are not applicable to national convention, in which this right ought to be exercised with complete independence. The distinction of active citizens appears not in these regulations, because it is also a restriction of the law. The only conditions required are those which nature has prescribed; such as the necessity of being connected, by a fixed residence, with the territory for which the right of citizenship is exercised; of having attained the age at which men are held by the laws of the nation of which they make a part, to be in a condition to exercise their personal rights: finally, of having preserved absolute independence of will.

But to assemble new representatives of the people required time; and although the National Assembly have made as short as possible the periods of the operations which the convention made necessary; although they accelerated the period at which they must cease to bear the burden of the public weal, in such a manner as to avoid the least suspicion of ambitious views; the term of forty days would still have exposed the country to great misfortunes, and the people to dangerous commotions, if to the King had been left the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the constitution; and the suspension of these powers appeared to the representatives of the people the only means of saving France and liberty.

In pronouncing this necessary suspension, the Assembly have not exceeded their powers. The constitution authorizes them to pronounce it in the case of the absence of the King, when the term at which

this absence incurs a legal abdication is not yet arrived; that is to say, in the case in which there is not yet ground for a definitive resolution, but in which a provisional act of rigour is evidently necessary, in which it would be absurd to leave the power in hands which could no longer make a free and beneficial use of it. In the present instance, then, these conditions are as evidently united as in the case provided for by the constitution; and in conducting ourselves by the principle which the constitution has pointed out we have obeyed it—far from having infringed it, contrary to our oaths.

The constitution foresaw that all accumulation of powers was dangerous, and might change into tyrants of the people those who ought to be only their representatives; but it judged also, that this danger supposed a long exercise of this extraordinary power; and the term of two months is that which it has fixed for all cases in which it permits this union of powers, which in all other cases it has so rigorously proscribed.

The National Assembly, far from extending this term, has reduced it to forty days only; and far from exceeding the period fixed by the law on the plea of necessity, they have brought themselves within the narrowest limits.

When the power of sanctioning the laws is suspended, the constitution has pronounced that the decrees of the legislative body shall have of themselves the character and authority of laws; and since he to whom the constitution gave the choice of ministers, could no longer exercise his functions, it was necessary that a new law should put the

choice into other hands. The Assembly conferred the right on themselves, because this right could not be given but to electors who belonged to the whole nation, and because they alone have that character at present. But they were careful to avoid giving ground for the suspicion that, in conferring this power on themselves, they sought to gratify ambitious or personal views; they decreed that the election should be made aloud, that each of them should pronounce his choice in presence of the national representation, in presence of the numerous citizens who attended their sittings. They took care that each of their own body should have his colleagues for his judges, the public for a witness, and should answer for his choice to the whole nation.

Frenchmen, let us unite all our forces against the foreign tyranny which dares to threaten with its vengeance twenty-six millions of freemen. Within six weeks a power, which every citizen acknowledges, will pronounce on our divisions. Woe to the man who, listening, during this short interval, to personal sentiments, shall not devote himself wholly to the common defence! who shall not see, that at the moment when the sovereign will of the people is about to speak, we have no enemies but the conspirators of Pilnitz and their accomplices!

It is in the midst of a foreign war, at the moment when numerous armies are preparing for a formidable invasion, that we call upon the citizens to discuss in a peaceable assembly the rights of liberty. That which would have appeared rash among any other people, seemed to

us not above the courage and the patriotism of the French; and undoubtedly we shall not have the misfortune of finding ourselves deceived in judging you worthy to forget every other interest but that of liberty, of sacrificing every other sentiment to the love of your country.

Citizens, it is for you to judge if your representatives have exercised for your good the powers you have confided to them; if they have acted according to your wishes in making a use of their powers which neither they nor you could foresee to be necessary. For us, we have discharged our duty in seizing with courage on the only means of preserving liberty that occurred to our consideration. Ready to die for it, at the post in which you have placed us, we shall carry with us, at least, on quitting that post, the consolation of having maintained it faithfully.

Whatever judgment our contemporaries or posterity may pass upon us, we shall not have to dread that of our own consciences: to whatever danger we may be exposed, the happiness will remain to us of having spared the torrents of French blood, which a conduct more weak would have made to flow; we shall be spared remorse at least; nor shall we have to reproach ourselves with having seen a means of saving our country, and not having dared to embrace it.

(Signed)

GAUDET, President.

GOUJON,
G. ROMME,
MARANS,
CRESTIN,
ARENE LECOINTE-PUIRAVAU,
Secretaries.

Declaration to be made to the Foreign Powers, relative to the King's Suspension, drawn up by M. Brissot.

ALTHOUGH the representatives of the French people have already, and repeatedly, manifested to foreign powers the sentiments by which they are directed with regard to their external connections, they think it incumbent on them to give a still more ample declaration, on occasion of the present unexpected crisis, which brings forward a new revolution, and, by the suspension of a constitutional branch of the government, appears to create some uneasiness in some of the neutral powers.

This is not a time to recite the causes of the war which is now drawing the blood of Europe; the articles agreed to by the coalesced powers are public, and sufficiently testify that the courts of Vienna and Berlin, in contempt of all treaties, in contempt of the right of nations, which they invoke while they trample them under foot, are leagued together against the independence of the French nation, and to reinstate Louis XVI. on his ancient throne. Every measure was vainly employed to prevent or dissolve this conspiracy; and it would have brought dishonour upon France; and have endangered her liberty and security, to have suffered any longer her independence to be sported with, under the affectation of an apparent respect for her King: she declared war against the court of Vienna; or, rather, she began to put herself in a situation to repel an aggression concluded by treaties; and for the execution of which there were carrying on effectual preparations.

During

During this war with foreigners, who pretended to take up arms for the King of the French, the nation might reasonably expect that the King would act a decided part, and form opposition not only by express declarations, but by such military preparations as might leave no room to doubt of his sentiments.

These expectations of the nation have been disappointed; the King has not taken a single measure proper to convince either the French or foreign nations of his constitutional sincerity. Such acts of his as have been denominated formal, either came very late, or were equivocal, and were not stamped with that frankness and loyalty which carry conviction. The preparations he made were faint; they were slow and inadequate; the decrees which ordered them were ill executed, or not at all. Offensive war met with every obstacle, and was entered into no farther than to turn it into an intrigue, wherein the court of the Thuilleries, the generals, and the foreign powers, visibly acted in concert.

Nor were the treasons going on at home less manifest than those concerted abroad: the King was constantly attended by men who detested the revolution, and by ministers who gave it a retrograde tendency. When his council was composed of patriots, they were soon dismissed from it. He had need of a guard devoted to anti-revolution principles: such an one was formed, and yet that did not satisfy him, but he must also pay a salary to his quondam body guards, who were disbanded by a decree, and actually in a state of open rebellion on the frontiers. To put an end to popular associations which

supported liberty; to bring the National Assembly into disrepute; to create misunderstandings between the national guards and the people; to discredit assignats, and facilitate the return of the emigrants; were so many feats to be achieved; and the King had closed with all such projects, and encouraged them with criminal perseverance; proofs of all which have been discovered in the books of accounts of the civil list, and other authentic pieces. The money allowed to maintain the splendor of the throne was employed to crush the nation and stifle liberty, to hire assassins, and murder the very people who had raised him to that throne. Such a multiplicity of treasons could not but be detected; and the representatives of the people were examining what remedy the constitution afforded, in order to prevent them for the future, and whether the King's case did not amount to that of abdication, when the people rose, and prevented the decision.

At present, it is proved that the blood which was shed in the insurrection of the 10th of August must be laid to the account of those court-devoted chiefs who transformed the Thuilleries into a place of war; and were so dastardly perfidious as to order their soldiers to fire on the citizens of Paris and the confederates, at the very instant they and the Swiss were interchanging tokens of amity and confraternity. The friends of tyranny expected, in this conflict, to see despotism triumph; but they themselves were vanquished; and the people, now wrought up to fury, demanded the King should be divested, and even deprived of life.—Their representatives,

atives, however, judged there was a medium whereby to reconcile the wishes of the people, the spirit of the constitution, the safety of the state, and that of the King: and this consisted in the measure of suspending the King from his functions, convoking the people to judge him in a convention, and yielding their places to that convention as soon as it could be assembled.

By the suspension, the threads of collusion between the executive and the foreign powers were cut asunder. An appeal to the people is an homage paid to its sovereignty, and to the constitution: the people alone, by a new deputation, could pronounce between the King and the present legislature. If the misunderstanding, the treasons, and misfortunes of France spring from any constitutional source, the people alone could find out the evil, and apply to it a cure.

This vigorous measure, to which France will owe her preservation, has been applauded by all the nation: the citizens, the administrations, the armies, have almost universally adhered to it. — And yet this measure seems to have alarmed some of the neutral powers, who had continued their agents in France. One of these potentates, whose principles by France are respected, and whose alliance is greatly valued, professes a strict neutrality, and a resolution not to interfere with the internal government of France; yet expresses, at the same time, the keenest solicitude about the King's situation; and thus declares a resolution to be neutral and not to be neutral in the same breath; the ambassador is accordingly recalled,

under the pretext that the King is suspended.

Other potentates have followed the same line of conduct, without making use openly of the same language; but dictated, as is evident, by the same principles.

The representatives of the French people are therefore under the necessity, from the duty they owe to their constituents, and in order to perpetuate a good understanding between France and the said potentates, of hereby exposing the principles of political jurisprudence, in order to set before the potentates in question the errors which influence their conduct.

They have all of them, in reality, acknowledged the French constitution. Now that constitution lays it down as a principle, that the people has an unalienable right, against which there lies no prescription, to change its own government when it thinks convenient. On the other hand, the constitution specifies divers cases, in which the King is understood to have incurred abdication.

Into some such case the King is judged to have now fallen by the representatives of the French people; and they are seconded by innumerable addresses, by facts and proofs incontestible; but it not being equally evident that the present case is one of those wherein a legislature is authorized to pass sentence, the legislature remit the judgment to the nation itself, and suspend the King till the trial commences: in doing this, the legislature has made use of the power granted to it by the constitution, in the case of the King's being absent, or by a necessary analogy, of his being in a state

a state of lunacy, and of all other similar cases wherein the welfare of a nation is concerned.

The neutral powers, therefore, cannot, without contradicting their own conduct, break off or interrupt the connexions with France, on the pretext of the King's suspension, and the convocation of a National Convention: for those two are constitutional cases, and the constitution they have acknowledged; so that to make a rupture on account of those two measures, is to interfere with the government of France, while all such interference is at the same time disavowed.

By the French constitution the King is the first public functionary, the organ of the nation in respect to foreign powers. In himself he is a mere citizen, like another; he is raised above other citizens by being appointed the nation's representative; but even in that quality he can never be considered as above the nation. To pretend that, because he is suspended from his functions, all political relations are to be interrupted with the nation, is to suppose that he is either the superior or the equal of the nation, or that he is the nation collected in himself; it is to suppose that foreign relations are entered into for the king, and not for the nation: a doctrine incompatible with the people's sovereignty, and independence on foreigners. Foreign potentates ought to be informed, that the rights of people, and the tranquillity of Europe, do essentially stand on this basis; that each state is respectively independent, and that this independence is guaranteed to each one by all the others; the which, however, must be overturned, if any foreign

power claim a right to interfere with the interior changes a neighbouring people may think it convenient to adopt.

France, long before her own revolution, had condemned one of her kings who obstructed so passionately that last revolution, to which England owes her liberty, and the house of Hanover her crown. What right had a French King to oppose the exercise of an inalienable right in the English people to change their own government, and to alter the line of succession to their crown? And how comes it to pass that the cabinet of St. James should at present adopt the principles which it reprobated not a century ago? If France has not a right to change her constitution, nor to suspend her executive power, we must then conclude that the English are rebels, and the house of Hanover usurpers. But assuredly no Englishman, no well-informed man, will maintain such a doctrine; and, indeed, the French nation is far from apprehending any hostile dispositions on the side of England, the assurances of whose government are solid, and the friendship and loyalty of whose people may be firmly depended on. When the cabinet of St. James has more calmly compared the conduct of the French with the true principles of policy, it will clearly see that the French nation has alone the right to decide, by its representatives, whether the first public functionary has incurred forfeiture, and whether the constitution is to be the exclusive mode of the government of the nation, in whose decisions on these points no earthly power has any right to interfere.

The representatives of the French people will not spend their time in refuting the calumnies spread against them in foreign countries, nor in apologizing for that anarchy with which, for four years, the nation has been reproached. But is it credible that 25,000,000 of people can have lived four years in anarchy? that a million of men can take arms, fly to the frontiers, and fight in support of anarchy? Where is the people whose governors are in better understanding with the governed, whose government is more vigorously administered than in this nation, the pretended seat of anarchy?

Let the representatives of that nation here call upon the ambassadors of foreign powers. Has not that people, said to be in anarchy, in the very height of its insurrections and conflicts, when no power could withstand its omnipotent will, constantly respected the inviolable habitations and privileges of foreign ambassadors?

Let those who speak of anarchy visit our camps, where, in spite of the immense numbers, reign order and discipline, indefatigable and unconquerable courage! — A people in anarchy is a people of egoists; the individuals hide themselves, and do not fly to battle—the discipline required for combat will not be submitted to by a people in anarchy. — But if foreign nations mean to be convinced of the love of order now existing in France, let them attend to an instance of it that is new to the world, an instance that must convince the most reluctant, and that is, the bold, the solemn probation to which France at this moment submits herself; while a most formidable coalition is

threatening her with numerous armies trained to war, well-disciplined, already at her gates in her very territories. At such a crisis, France sees her King suspended, a new ministry formed, the people invited to rise, primary assemblies convoked, the present legislature superseded by a National Convention, empowered to express the supreme will of the people to judge the constitution and the King.—Does the history of any people offer an example of so sublime, so bold a measure? And, did not a steady love of order pervade the realm, would not the mere mention of such a measure have long ago set every thing in uproar? whereas at present it unites the citizens more closely together, stifles all dissensions, and melts down all parties into one; for there is but one party remaining at this day, ever since the retreat of that chief, whose family is the only pretending one in France. What kingdom in Europe would not have been torn by dissensions and disorders, had the smallest of the abovementioned operations been attempted therein?

A nation so united as to undergo without danger such a probation, is as formidable to her adversaries as she will be to all foreigners, and constant in her attachments; for all her virtues are linked together. She will therefore more calmly wait till more sound reflections bring back to her the neutral powers, who have taken the alarm at the last revolution. Trusting in the rectitude of her intentions, the justice of her cause, the power of her arms, the bravery of her citizens, and especially their unshaken resolution to live free or perish, she will continue to live in good understanding with the neutral powers,

ers, and to cultivate the commercial and friendly interests that connect them with her; and it is therefore hereby declared, — That all the agents of France, actually residing with due credentials at foreign courts, are there to continue their services as long as their character and treaties are respected. France will observe those treaties with scrupulous exactness, and will therefore shew the greater ardour in pursuing, by every means, the reparation of any real injuries or affronts that may be offered to her. In doing the most impartial justice to other governments, she is entitled to demand a similar return; and will employ every means in order to attain it.

Memorial to the King of Prussia.

Sept. 26th, 1792.

THE French nation has undoubtedly decided its fate, and foreign powers cannot refuse to acknowledge the truth of this assertion. They no longer see the National Assembly, whose powers were confined; whose acts required to be either confirmed or abrogated to have the force of laws; who possessed only a contested authority, which might have been considered as usurped; and who had the wisdom to appeal to the whole nation, and to request of themselves, the eighty-three departments, to put an end to their existence, and to supply their place by representation invested with all the powers and complete sovereignty of the French people, authorized by the constitution itself, under the name of the National Convention.

This assembly, the first day of its

sitting, actuated by a spontaneous movement, which is the same throughout the whole empire, decreed the abolition of royalty. This decree was everywhere received with great joy; it was everywhere expected with the utmost impatience; it everywhere augments the energy of the people; and at present it would be impossible to make the nation re-establish a throne overturned by the crimes which surrounded it. France then must necessarily be considered as a republic, since the whole nation has declared the abolition of monarchy. This republic, then, must either be acknowledged or combated.

The powers armed against France had no right to intermeddle in the debates of the National Assembly on the form of its government. No power has a right to impose laws on so great a nation; they therefore resolved to employ the right of the strongest. — But what has been the result? — The nation has been more incensed; they have opposed force to force, and the advantages certainly which the numerous troops of the King of Prussia and his allies have gained, are of very little consequence. The resistance which he meets with, and which increases as he advances, is too great not to prove that the conquest of France, represented to him as very easy, is absolutely impossible. Whatever difference of principles may exist between the respectable monarch who has been misled, and the French people, neither he nor his generals can any longer consider that people, or the armies which oppose him, as a collection of rebels. — The rebels are those insatuated nobility who, after

having so long oppressed the people in the name of monarchs, whose throne they themselves shook, have completed the disgrace of Louis XVI. by taking up arms against their own country, by filling Europe with their falsehoods and their calumnies, and by becoming, by a conduct as foolish as it is criminal, the most dangerous enemies of Louis XVI. and of their country. I have often myself heard Louis XVI. lament their crimes and their chimeras.

I shall leave the King of Prussia and his whole army to judge of the conduct of these dangerous rebels—are they esteemed or despised? I do not require an answer to that question; I already know it—yet these men are suffered to remain in the Prussian army, and to form the advanced guard of it, with a small number of Austrians, as barbarous as themselves.

Let us now come to the Austrians. Since the fatal treaty of 1756, France, after sacrificing its natural allies, became a prey to the ambition of the court of Vienna. All our treasures served to satiate the avarice of the Austrians. In the beginning, therefore, of our revolution,—at the opening of the National Assembly, under the name of the States General, the intrigues of the court of Vienna were multiplied to deceive the nation respecting its real interests; to mislead an unfortunate King, surrounded by bad advisers, and lastly, to render him perjured.—It is the court of Vienna that has occasioned the downfall of Louis XVI. What has been done by that court, the crooked politics of which are too subtle to display a bold and open conduct? It represented the French as monsters, while it, and the criminal emigrants, paid emissaries and con-

spirators, and kept up by every possible means the most frightful discord. This power, more formidable to its allies than its enemies, has engaged us in a war against a great King, whom we esteem; against a nation which we love, and which loves us. This reversion of all political and moral principles cannot long continue. The King of Prussia will know one day the crimes of Austria, of which we have proofs, and will abandon it to our vengeance. I can declare to the whole world, that the armies united against the forces which now invade us, cannot be induced to look upon the Prussians as their enemies, nor the King of Prussia as the instrument of the perfidy and vengeance of the Austrians and the emigrants. They entertain a nobler idea of that courageous nation, and of a king whom they wish to consider a just and honest man.

The King, say they, cannot abandon his allies—Are they worthy of him? Has a man who has associated with robbers a right to say that he cannot quit that society? He cannot, it is said, break his alliance.—Upon what is it founded?—On perfidy and projects of invasion.—Such are the principles upon which the King of Prussia and the French nation ought to reason, in order to understand each other.

The Prussians love royalty, because, since the great elector, they have had good kings, and because he who now conducts them is doubtless worthy of their affection.—The French have abolished royalty, because, since the immortal Henry IV. they have always had weak, proud, or timid kings, governed by mistresses, confessors, insolent or ignorant ministers, base and abject courtiers, who have af-

flicted

sifted, with every kind of calamity, the most beautiful empire in the universe.

The King of Prussia has too pure a soul not to be struck with these truths. I present them to him for the interest of his own glory, and, above all, for the interest of two magnanimous nations, the happiness or misery of which he can secure by one word; for, as it is certain that his arms will be resisted, and that no power can subdue France, I shudder when I think on the dreadful misfortune of seeing our plains strewed with the dead bodies of two respectable nations, from a vain idea of a point of honour, for which the King himself will one day blush, when he sees his army and his treasure sacrificed to a system of perfidy and ambition, in which he has no share, and to which he is rendered the dupe.

In the same degree that the French nation, become a republic, is violent and capable of making every effort against its enemies, in the same degree it is generous and affectionate towards its friends. Incapable of bending its head before armed men, it will give every succour, and even expend its blood for a generous ally; and if ever there was an epoch when the affection of a nation could be depended on, it is that when the general will forms the invariable principles of a government: it is that when treaties are no longer subjected to the insidious politics of ministers and courtiers. If the King of Prussia will consent to treat with the French nation, it will become a generous, powerful, and unchangeable ally; but if the illusion of a point of honour prevails over his virtues, his humanity, and his real interests, he will then find enemies worthy of

him, who will combat him with regret, but to the utmost, and who will be continually succeeded by avengers, whose number daily increases, and whom no human efforts will prevent from living or dying free.

Is it possible that the King of Prussia, contrary to the rules of true policy, immutable justice, and humanity, should consent to be the instrument of the will of the perfidious court of Vienna? should sacrifice his brave army and his treasures to the ambition of that court which, in a war it has been directed to undertake, has the fineness to expose its allies, and to furnish only a small contingency; while it alone, were it brave and generous, ought to support the whole burthen? The King of Prussia at present can act the noblest part that any king ever acted. His operations alone have been attended with success: he took two towns: but this success was owing to treachery and cowardice. Since that he has found free and brave men, from whom he cannot withhold his esteem. He will still find a greater number; for the army which stops his march increases every day: it is in excellent discipline, and animated by the same spirit: it has been freed from traitors and cowards, who might have excited an idea that France could be easily conquered; and instead of defending, it will soon attack, unless a reasonable negotiation makes a distinction between the King and his army, whom we esteem,—and the Austrians and the emigrants, whom we despise. It is time that an open and sincere explanation should terminate our discussions, or confirm them, and enable us to know our real enemies. We will combat

them with courage; we are upon our own soil; we have to avenge the excesses committed in our fields; and it may be readily believed that a war against republicans proud of their liberty must be a bloody war, which can never end but with the entire destruction of the oppressors or the oppressed. — This dreadful reflection ought to agitate the heart of a just and humane king. He ought to consider that, instead of protecting by his arms Louis XVI. and his family, the more he continues our enemy, the more he will aggravate their calamities.

I hope, for my part, that the King, whose virtues I respect, and who has shewn me marks of esteem which do me honour, will be pleased to read with attention this note, dictated by the love of humanity and of my country. He will pardon the hurry and incorrectness of the style of these truths from an old soldier, occupied still more essentially with military operations, which must decide the fate of the war.

(Signed) DUMOURIER,
Commander of the Army
of the North.

Declaration of the Duke of Brunswick.

WHEN their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia entrusted me with the command of their armies, which have since entered France, and rendered me the organ of their intentions, expressed in the two declarations of the 25th and 27th of July 1792, their Majesties were incapable of supposing the scenes of horror which have preceded and brought on the imprisonment of the royal family of France. Such enormities, of which the history of the most barbarous

nations hardly furnishes an example, were not, however, the ultimate point to which the same audacious demagogues aspired.

The suppression of the King's functions, which had been reserved to him by the constitution (so long boasted as expressing the national wish) was the last crime of the National Assembly, and which has brought on France the two dreadful scourges of war and anarchy. There is but one step more necessary to perpetuate those evils; and a thoughtless caprice, the forerunner of the fall of nations, has overwhelmed those who qualify themselves the substitutes of the nation, to confirm its happiness and rights on the most solid basis. The first decree of their convention was the abolition of royalty in France; and the unqualified acclamations of a few individuals, some of whom are strangers, has been thought of sufficient weight to overbalance the opinions of fourteen centuries, during which the French monarchy has existed.

This proceeding, at which only the enemies of France could rejoice, if they could suppose its effect lasting, is directly contrary to the firm resolution which their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia have adopted, and from which they will never depart,—that of restoring his Most Christian Majesty to his liberty, safety, and royal dignity, or to take exemplary vengeance on those who dare to continue their insults.

For these reasons, the undersigned declares to the French nation in general, and to every individual in particular, that their Majesties the Emperor and the King of Prussia, invariably attached to the principle of not interfering in the internal government of France, persist equal-

ly in requiring that his Most Christian Majesty, and all the royal family, shall be instantly set at liberty by those who now imprison them.

—Their Majesties insist also, that the royal dignity shall, without delay, be re-established in France in the person of Louis XVI. and his successors; and that measures may be taken in order that the royal dignity may not again be liable to the insult to which it is now subject. If the French nation have not entirely lost sight of their real interests, and if, free in their resolutions, they wish to end the calamities of war, which expose so many provinces to the evils inseparable from armies, they will not hesitate a moment to declare their acquiescence with the peremptory demands which I address to them in the name of the Emperor and King of Prussia; and which, if refused, must inevitably bring on this kingdom, lately so flourishing, new and more terrible misfortunes.

The measures which the French nation may adopt, in consequence of this declaration, must either extend and perpetuate the dreadful effects of an unhappy war, in destroying, by the abolition of monarchy, the means of renewing the ancient connections which subsisted between France and the sovereigns of Europe, or those measures may open the way to negotiations for the re-establishment of peace, order, and tranquillity, which those who name themselves the deputies of the national will are most interested in restoring speedily to the nation.

C. F. DUKE OF BRUNSWICK
LUNENBURG,

Hann., Sept. 28, 1792.

Address from the National Convention of the Republic of France to the Thirteen Helvetic Cantons.

Brethren and Allies,

THE house of Austria has long endeavoured to draw you into the league formed against the liberties of France; your declaration of neutrality has not disconcerted it; and it is seeking new pretexts in the events of the 10th of August. It dares still to hope you will be seduced by the language of calumny and intrigue. We will speak to you that of freedom and reason. — Louis XVI. reigned only by a constitution which he had sworn to maintain; the power he held from it he employed to subvert it; numerous armies were already advancing under the guidance of his brothers; it was in his name they came to conquer France; he had everywhere hatched treasons; the throne of despotism was to be again erected. — The people feared for their liberties, they complained, and the answer they received was the signal for massacring them, given in the palace itself of their first officer. At the head of his assassins were the Swiss guards, whom the constitution had ordered to be disbanded, and to whom, nevertheless, we had reserved their rank and pay, as an effect of that good-will which unites the French to the Helvetic nation.

It was necessary to conquer — it was necessary to destroy the instruments of such an attempt, or again to receive our chains. And you, who know the value of liberty, you we ask, — Ought free citizens to deliberate in their choice?

Such, brethren and allies, are the events which our enemies shew you, under such perfidious colours. We have

have shaken off the tyranny of the Bourbons as you did formerly that of the Austrians; and it is to you that these Austrians propose to assist the accomplices in their hate to liberty.—The French do not dread one enemy more; they know how to resist the efforts of every despot, and those of every people who can have the baseness to serve their ferocious projects. — But it is with grief they shall see ranking among their enemies a nation which nature appears to have destined their eternal ally.

We will not recall to your memory what they have done for you, and particularly what they did in the last century, to force Austria to acknowledge your national independence. It is your present interest, it is your glory, it is your political existence, that we invite you to consider. Is it not indispensably necessary to your country to be enlivened by an uninterrupted commerce with France? What have our enemies to offer you as a recompense for the loss of our friendship? Do you not see that our enemies are yours? Have you forgot the inclination that Joseph discovered in spite of himself? They are hereditary in his house, which, faithful to the principles of tyrants, still regards Switzerland as its property.

Should your long mistrust of its political conduct abandon you in a moment that the great struggle which is taking place between despotism and liberty may perhaps decide for ever the fate of nations, to what disgrace, to what dangers even do you not expose yourselves, if, after having by your example taught modern nations that the people are imprescriptibly sovereigns, you

should espouse, against emancipated France the cause of a race of tyrants, which has constantly shewn itself the enemy of all popular sovereignty?—Ah! if ever you should have declared yourselves against France, it ought to have been when one of its guilty chiefs had formed with Austria the most monstrous of alliances. Now that this alliance is broken, their cause is again become yours! It is particularly so since they are become a republic.

What signifies, then, these jealousies with which it is endeavoured to inspire you on the march of our armies. It is not against them, but against the French refugees among you; it is against some of your members sold to despotism; it is against wicked men, who separate their cause from that of the people, and who would impel you to sacrifice the general interest of the Helvetic Body to their personal ambition; it is against these that you should have been on your guard.

Our armies have no other destination but to drive tyrants from the land of the French republic, and at the same time to attack the coalition in its own dwellings. They will ever respect the territory of neuter or allied powers.—They will respect property even on the land oppressed by the tyrants who have provoked us; and will avenge themselves of those only, by offering liberty to the people whom they hold in bondage.

Substance of Dispatches from M. Saint-Croix, Minister Plenipotentiary of France at Treves, relative to the Dispersion of the French Emigrants assembled there, Communicated by Order

*of the King to the National Assembly,
on the 16th of January, 1792.*

AN extraordinary courier has been sent by M. Sainte-Croix, with the dispatches, which have been transmitted to him by the minister of the Elector of Treves. The King has ordered a communication of their principal contents to the National Assembly.

M. Sainte Croix has watched with the greatest attention over the efficacy of the dispositions, which had been made the subject of an * ordinance for the dispersion of the meetings formed by the French emigrants. By this last dispatch he positively announces, that the dispersion is as real and as complete as the nation has desired and the King directed. The annihilation of every hope of receiving succours from the most considerable powers; the wisdom of the government of the Low Countries, and the more serious reflections of the Elector, are, according to M. Sainte-Croix, the causes which have accelerated the success of his negotiation. M. le Baron de Duminique, with whom he has had a long conference, has promised him to take measures still more severe and more extended than those which were announced by the first note of the Elector. He has announced to him the following arrangements:—All bodies of Frenchmen formed in the electorate, under whatever denomination, shall remove. Many of them are already removed; and at the moment of the departure of the courier, a void was perceivable in consequence of

their removal: there was but one company regularly formed, which was named the body-guards. Many other small corps, for instance the company of French guards, composed of forty-six men, are dispersed. Uniforms have been prescribed by an order. Horses follow men; divisions of cavalry are departing every day: fourscore artillery horses departed on the same day with the courier; and, in consequence of an order of regency, carriages which were lodged in different places have been sent away. In a word, the emigrants are dispersed on all sides; they are all upon their route, by the most frightful roads, in spite of the snow, where scarcely twenty-five men can halt in one village for want of lodging. They march without any fixed destination, and receive no orders till they reach a considerable distance. It is probable that they will proceed to the country of Nassau and the neighbouring principalities; and many return into France.

With respect to ammunition and arms, M. Duminique has assured M. Sainte-Croix that there remain none at the disposal of the emigrants, and that the Elector will cause the measures ordered by the Emperor to be exactly executed in his states. He has farther assured him that the emigrants have no cannon; and that if they had any, they have been obliged to sell them. That all the contracts for furnishing them are broken; that the flour will be sold without delay, and that there will remain to them no magazines of any kind.

* This ordinance was communicated to the National Assembly on the 6th of January. The purport of it will appear sufficiently from the execution of it here related.

There

There has also been transmitted to M. Sainte-Croix a note touching the Cardinal de Rohan. The Emperor has caused the most lively remonstrances to be made to him by his vice-chancellor, stating, that he will not tolerate on his territories any hostile preparations; and that he forbids his subjects all enterprises contrary to the laws of good neighbourhood, and which may give rise to an invasion on the part of the French. In fine, M. Duminique has communicated to M. Sainte-Croix a note, by which the Emperor announces that he is ready to protect all the states of the empire, and, above all, such as have been injured; but forbidding, at the same time, that any one of them should disturb, by assemblies, or any act of their chief, the good harmony subsisting between the empire and France.

Note from the Government General of the Netherlands to M. de la Graviere, Resident of France, at Brussels, dated January 15th, 1792.

THE government-general of the Low Countries has already marked to M. de la Graviere the satisfaction which it received from the measures of reciprocity which the King has taken for preventing the assembling and arming of certain emigrants, calling themselves Brabanters, who have directed their inquietudes and sinister projects against their country, at Lisse, at Douay, and at Bethune and its environs, under the conduct of a Count de Bethune Charost, who does not take the trouble to conceal his foolish designs. The measures taken by the King are perverted by

the societies calling themselves "Friends of the Constitution," whom the states bordering on France cannot but consider as the friends of licentiousness, of disorder, and of insurrection against the legitimate authorities. It is in this point of view that the government-general of the Low Countries has the honour to denounce to M. de la Graviere by the present official note, a seditious writing, entitled "The Discourse pronounced by S. J. F. Girard," &c. which has been profusely spread in print through the Belgic provinces. This writing, so contrary to the intentions manifested by the National Assembly and by the King, had been preceded by another piece, entitled "Seraphin Joseph Girard, Elector of the Department of the North to his Fellow-Citizens," &c. The protection openly promised to the factious by the societies calling themselves constitutional, in France, emboldens them to that extreme, that they no longer observe measures in their conspiracies, or in publishing their projects of open plunder.

The care which the government-general owes to the tranquillity of these provinces, requires that, in imparting these circumstances it should strongly insist that the execution of the dispositions ordered by the King and the French government, for securing the public repose, and preserving good neighbourhood on the frontiers, should answer without delay to the declarations made in that respect, and that those inquietudes be done away which create a necessity for measures of precaution. When proper means are employed on the part of France for dissipating the cause of such measures, it is to be hoped they will be found superfluous on our part.

Extract

*Extract * from the Instructions of M. Delessart, Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris, to M. Noailles, Ambassador from France to the Court of Vienna.*

Paris, Jan. 21st, 1792.

* * * * *

I HAVE already spoken to you concerning the official note which was transmitted to you by the Prince of Kaunitz on the 21st of December. I shall again speak to you concerning it. This unexpected declaration produced at first the greatest agitation, for it was conceived that the language of the court of Vienna conveyed a degree of menace in its tone. In order to justify this opinion, it will be necessary to enter into some details.

It was in the month of November that you acquainted the Austrian minister with the formal invitation which the King had just renewed to the Elector of Treves, for the purpose of procuring a dispersion of those bodies which were collected in his dominions; and at the same time you demanded, in the name of the King, "the interposition of the good offices and authority of the Emperor, to induce the Elector to comply with this act of justice." These bodies, the hostile preparations, the collection of military corps, were incontestibly notorious to every one. The measures of the emigrants to excite everywhere enemies against France, were not less notorious. The court of Vienna, more than any other court, perhaps, was furnished with proof. Nevertheless, instead of attempting to induce the Elector of Treves to put a period to this cause of fermentation

and inquietude, the court of Vienna appeared indifferent to all these movements, and thereby added to them a greater degree of power and importance.

It was impossible for the nation to view with the same indifference the aggression with which it was menaced. The National Assembly addressed itself to the King, disclosing to him a wish that had manifested itself in all parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of inviting him to take the necessary precautions which the safety of the state required. It was then that the Elector of Treves, terrified by this measure, requested the protection of the Emperor; and that, without any communication, or any preparatory elucidations, the Prince of Kaunitz declared to you, "that the Emperor had given orders to the Marshal Bender to march to the assistance of the Elector of Treves, if he should be attacked." It is true, that this order appeared to relate to some violence and incursions committed by the municipalities, in disobedience of the intentions of the nation and of the King; but allowing even this supposition, acts of this nature should never have been considered but as private operations, against which the Elector might easily have defended himself by means in his own power, which were susceptible of an amicable arrangement, and which certainly did not require any movement on the part of Marshal Bender to repress them. We are not ignorant, in truth, that at the very time when the Emperor gave this order, he sent word to the Elector of Treves to follow a fixed rule with respect

* This paper is so called by the National Assembly, and is all that was published.

to the emigrants, and to imitate in every thing the example which had been set on this subject in the Low Countries." We are not ignorant also that on the previous compliance with this condition, depended that assistance which General Bender was to afford to the Elector in case of an ulterior attack on our part. Why was not this disposition disclosed in the note transmitted to you? It will be unnecessary to explain to you how devoid of veracity that exposition is which the Elector made to the Emperor. Every thing which he is obliged to do for the purpose of conforming to the rules established in the Low Countries, gives the lie to the assertions he has made, and proves in the clearest manner the really hostile condition in which the emigrants were in his dominions.

But I cannot pass over in silence that passage in the official note in which the Elector of Treves affirms, "that it is easy to discover that the King was not free when he subscribed the document which was transmitted to him on the part of his Majesty." This mode of expression ought not to have procured the Elector of Treves so easily that protection which he requested.

I pass on, Sir, to the last paragraph of the note of the 21st December. It is this article, the perusal of which has produced the greatest number of reflections, and has left the deepest impression. It is there said, "that the Emperor is too sincerely attached to his Most Christian Majesty, and feels too much concern for the well-being of France and the general repose of Europe, not to desire ardently the prevention of this extremity, and of the infallible consequences which

it will produce, as well on the part of the chief and the states of the German empire, as of the other sovereigns who have united in concert for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the safety and honour of crowns."

I. It cannot be conceived in what manner particular acts, committed perhaps by certain municipalities, ought to interest all Europe; since, as has been already observed, a small portion of good-will would have terminated such events in an amicable way.

II. The following expressions have made a deep impression:—"The sovereigns who have united in concert for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the safety and honour of crowns." It has been conceived, that these words are an index to a league formed without the knowledge of, and perhaps against, France: it has been a matter of astonishment, that the Emperor, the brother-in-law and ally of the King, should not have informed him of this combination of the sovereigns of Europe, at the head of which his Imperial Majesty seems to be placed. This observation, Sir, naturally leads me to speak to you of the uneasiness which has already entered into the minds of many, and to which the words which I have just quoted added a great degree of strength. It is apprehended, that there does indeed exist a combination between the principal powers of Europe, for the purpose of producing some change in the French constitution. It is supposed that these powers entertain a design of establishing a congress, in which this object will be discussed between them. Finally, it is imagined that, uniting their power

power and their means, they will endeavour to force the King and the nation to accept those laws which they may make.

I do not doubt that the emigrants have often represented this plan as the thing in the world most pacific and easy to be executed; but I cannot persuade myself that it has been so easily adopted. I cannot believe, above all, that the Emperor, guided as he is by views of wisdom and justice, can have imbibed such ideas. Vain would be the attempt to change by force of arms our new constitution: it has become to a great majority of the nation a species of religion, which they have embraced with enthusiasm, and which they will defend with that energy which belongs to the most exalted sentiments.

Those who would draw the foreign powers into violent measures, repeat incessantly that France is full of malcontents, who wait only for the opportunity of declaring themselves. There are many who suffer and who complain; but I firmly believe, and my belief is commensurate with the belief of those who know the actual disposition of the public mind, that the first moment in which the constitution shall be attacked, there would be but one party, one sentiment, one interest; and the greatest part of the malcontents, attaching themselves to the common cause, would become its warmest defenders.

At the same time that they speak of malcontents, they exaggerate the want of discipline in our armies, the disorder of our finances, and our intestine commotions; in a word, they represent us in a state of absolute imbecility. I do not dissemble, that our embarrassments are

great; but were they still greater, they would much deceive themselves if they thought they could insult France with impunity, or if they despised her power.

You have often informed me, Sir, that the people were extremely astonished at Vienna, "at the apparent disorder of our government, at the want of subordination in the different powers, and at the little respect with which the King was treated." It ought to be considered, that we are but just coming out of one of the greatest revolutions that ever happened; that this revolution, in its essential characteristic, being at first wrought with an extreme rapidity, has been prolonged by divisions arising in the different parts, and by the opposition established between different passions and interests. It was impossible that such opposition and such effects, such innovations and such disasters, should fail of producing longagitations; and it may reasonably be expected that the re-establishment of order can only be produced by time.

Besides, what is the cause of this intestine fermentation, at which the court of Vienna seems so much offended? It is the steps which the emigrants have taken, their preparations, their projects, their menaces, and the support, more or less considerable, which they have received in most of the courts of Europe.

There was, without doubt, an epoch in which their cause, apparently connected with that of the King, might have excited the interest of sovereigns, and more particularly of the Emperor. But when once the King, by the acceptance of the constitution, had put himself at the

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the head of the new government, the emigrants ought to have created no further interest, except from their misfortunes; and it was easy to judge that their pretensions and movements, in affording hopes to some and uneasiness to others, would produce troubles in the kingdom, and would perhaps communicate those troubles to a large part of Europe. Hence the document of the 21st December, which seemed to announce an intention of protecting them, produced a kind of explosion, and gave rise to so many suspicions and reproaches. And upon whom was all this to fall? Upon the King; because malevolence endeavoured to inculcate a belief "that there exists between the Emperor and the King a perfect intimacy; that all their measures are concerted; and that it is thus the King, who protects the emigrants, directs the coalition of all the powers of Europe." It would therefore be a great means of calming mens minds, and re-establishing order and tranquillity in the kingdom, if a stop were put to these scandalous associations of emigrants, who, without titles or territories, endeavour to elevate themselves to power, thinking only to revenge their private injuries, and to make good their personal pretensions.

It appears, Sir, that one of the things which has most displeased the Austrian minister, is the licence of speech and writing; and that he pretends that a government, in which such excesses are tolerated, is in itself intolerable. Upon this subject we have laid down wise principles, and established just laws. But it ought to be considered, that our organization is only in its infan-

cy; that the resources of our new government are not yet in possession of all their energy; and that, in the midst of disquietude, occasioned partly by foreign powers, it is impossible that the laws should exercise all their dominion in the interior of the kingdom. Let them cease to disquiet us, to threaten us, and to furnish pretexts to those who only wish to produce disorder, and order will soon be established. This deluge of libels, with which we have been so completely inundated, has already diminished, and continues daily to diminish. Indifference and contempt are the arms with which this affliction ought to be encountered. Ought all Europe to be irritated against the French nation, because it conceals in its bosom some declaimers and pamphleteers; and would they do them the honour of answering them from the mouth of their cannon? Moreover, if it were possible that a miserable cause like this should draw all the powers of Europe into a war, this war, whatever might be the event, would not destroy the object against which it was undertaken. It would, on the contrary, add to its strength and activity.

I have just, Sir, pronounced an important word: a word which occupies every person's mind; a word which gives uneasiness to some, and is the desire of others. This word is War. You will easily believe that the King is at the head of those who oppose it. His excellent mind, acting in concert with his heart, revolts at the idea. I regard it, even if it should be fortunate, as a calamity to the kingdom, and a scourge to humanity. In the mean time I can assure you, that the King has been very sensibly affected by the
document

document of the 21st of December. Every intelligence that has been since received, either from Brussels or Coblenz, has confirmed the real disposition of the Emperor; and his Majesty, desiring that the National Assembly should partake in this sentiment, has required me to communicate successively every thing that could tend to this end. But the order given so abruptly to Marshal Bender; the apparent intention of succouring the Elector of Treves, at the very time that this prince observed the most hostile conduct towards us; the annunciation of a combination unknown to us between the powers of Europe; the tone and temper of the official document, have made an impression which the wisest could not avoid receiving, and which the King has not been able to efface.

I return to that essential object, the war. Is it for the Emperor's interest to suffer himself to be drawn into this fatal measure? I will allow, for the sake of argument, that the most favourable events may attend his armies;—what then will be the consequence? The Emperor will leave off, by being more embarrassed by success than he would have been by disasters; and the only fruit which he will gather from this war, will be the sad advantage of having destroyed his ally, and of having increased the power of his enemies and his rivals.

I think, then, from incontestable evidence, that peace is as necessary to the Emperor as to France; I think that it is prudent for him to preserve an alliance, which cannot hereafter produce any inconvenience to him, and which may be beneficial; I think that, instead of taking part in measures which

might tend to overthrow the kingdom, he ought, on the contrary, to desire the preservation of its power and prosperity.

You ought, Sir, to demand explanations on three points. 1st. Upon the document of the 21st December. 2d. Upon the Emperor's interposition in our internal affairs. 3d. Upon the meaning of that expression;—“the sovereigns combined for the safety and honour of crowns.” Each of these explanations, demanded from his justice, may be given with that dignity which accords with his person and power.

One circumstance will perhaps embarrass the imperial court in that explanation, which I will suppose it may be inclined to give: this is, the affair of the princes having possessions in Alsace and Lorraine, in which the Emperor may think himself obliged to interpose as chief of the empire. I shall first however observe, that this is a separate transaction, and ought to be treated in a way different from that which is the object of the present discussion. I shall add, that the decree of the 14th allows this negotiation a greater degree of latitude than it has hitherto possessed; for, except every thing which might tend to re-establish the feudal rights on the territories of France, a measure which was and will always be impossible, every thing else is permitted; and the King will certainly never refuse any reasonable arrangement. I believe that I may hope that the National Assembly will be disposed to adopt the proposition of his Majesty on this subject.—In a word, Sir, I express to you the wish of the King, that, of his council, and I hesitate not in saying that of the sound part of the nation:—We wish for peace.

peace. We ask that a period should be put to this expensive state of war into which we have been drawn; we demand a return to a state of peace; but we have received so much cause of uneasiness, that it is now absolutely necessary we should receive a full and ample assurance of it.

Instructions of the Prince de Kaunitz to M. Blumendorff, the Imperial Minister at Paris, dated Vienna, 17th of February, 1792.

THE ambassador from France at this court has been directed to demand explanations respecting the note which I delivered to him on the 21st of December: he has acquitted himself by communicating to me the following extract of the dispatch, which was addressed to him for that purpose by Mons. Delessart on the 21st of January last.

It might be sufficient for me to refer, respecting the explanations demanded, as well to the notoriety of the facts as to a posterior note sent by me to the French ambassador on the 5th of January, which, without doubt, was known at Paris sixteen days after, at the date of the dispatch of M. Delessart; nevertheless, the sentiments and intentions of the Emperor respecting France are so pure and sincere, that he is readily inclined to repeat the fullest explanations, being sensible that it is of infinite importance for them to be justly known, and entirely to dispel the false light in which it is endeavoured to represent them, for the purpose of endangering their mutual tranquillity.

The explanations that the ambal-

sador has been commissioned to demand, may be reduced to the two following heads: "The orders given to Marshal Bender;" and "The concert which subsists between the Emperor and several other powers for the maintenance of the general tranquillity, and the safety and honour of crowns."

EXPLANATION ON THE FIRST HEAD, — "AS TO THE ORDERS GIVEN TO MARSHAL BENDER."

The Emperor, without waiting for a requisition from France, was the first to subject the reception of the French emigrants in all his dominions, to the most strict rules of a simple asylum; and it is also not secret throughout all Europe, that since their assembling, the Emperor has continually given the most positive directions and advice to hinder them from any actions that might disturb the general tranquillity. On what foundation then, or to what purpose, does M. Delessart reproach the court of Vienna with having appeared in any manner indifferent to the movements of the emigrants?

The orders to Marshal Bender, which is the point in question, were connected with an absolute condition, that the Elector of Treves should fully perform his promise "of adhering to the same rules which are in force in the Low Countries relative to the emigrants;" and M. Delessart confesses this to have been known in France. This point required, therefore, no explanation; and I know not what to think of the minister's reproach on account of "this disposition not having been expressed in the note of the 21st of December," when at the same time the "assistance demanded by the Elector

Electoral is there avowedly promised, in case the tranquillity of his frontiers and his states should be infringed, notwithstanding the wise measures of that prince in adopting the same regulations which were put in force in the Austrian Low Countries;" and when at the same time, in my second note of 5th January, the declaration on our part, of assistance, is positively limited to the case of an invasion taking place, "in defiance of the moderate and prudent precautions of the princes of the empire, in observing a conduct similar to that pursued by the government of the Low Countries." If such manifest indications were not sufficient to clear all doubt, and if, in respect to himself, it were possible to suppose the Emperor would support armaments which he has forbidden in his own estates, what could remain to be desired, after the letter that the Count de Mercy addressed you on the 7th of January, and of which, Sir, you acquainted me that you had made an exact communication to M. Delessart; by which this ambassador enjoins you "to communicate to the French minister, that the Emperor had declared he would grant no assistance to the Elector, if he did not fully satisfy the demand of France, not to permit in his states assemblages of emigrants, nor any preparations, nor hostile steps of any kind whatever; but that he should adopt in every respect the same impartial conduct which has always been observed in the Low Countries towards the French emigrants?" This official explanation, together with the above indications, is confirmed by the fact, and by the reports of Mons. de St. Croix on the execution of the orders given to prevent these

assemblages. Did it not therefore place in the hands of the minister sufficient motives of satisfaction to dissipate the most confirmed and malevolent mistrust?

How, therefore, can Mons. Delessart confine the motives for the orders given to Marshal Bender to the supposition of some violence, and some incursions committed by the municipalities? Why does he pass over in silence the other motives which my note of the 21st December specified, "that daily experience does not give sufficient assurances of the stability and preponderance of moderate measures in France, and a regular subordination of powers, especially of the provinces and municipalities?" Of all this passage, the last word only is caught up. Is it that the other motives which it expresses, and which are found at length in my note of the 5th of January, but on which he also observes silence, are not equally true as important? It is assuredly easier to pass them over, than to combat their justice and reality.

It was therefore clearer than day that the Emperor, far from being inclined to threaten France; was only inclined to remind her of the obligations he was under, as chief of the Germanic body, as a co-estate and neighbour, to succour another state of the empire against unjust attacks which evidently were to be apprehended from the extreme violence manifested in the temper of the national assembly, as well as of the nearest departments and municipalities, joined to such a precipitation and disproportion of measures, as did not permit any delay in the orders for eventual assistance. And as it is equally evident, that there

did not remain to France a shadow of doubt as to the true intentions of the Emperor,—the result of course is, that on the first head there was no ground for requiring the explanations which have been demanded, if the French minister had not been absolutely determined to start objections.

EXPLANATION RESPECTING THE
CONCERT OF POWERS.

“Without doubt,” says Mons. Delessart, “there was an epoch in which their cause (that of the emigrants) apparently connected with that of the King, might have excited the true interest of sovereigns, and more particularly of the Emperor.”

At this period, which the minister fixes before the time that the King, by the acceptance of the constitution, placed himself at the head of a new government, France gave to Europe the spectacle of a lawful king forced by atrocious violence to fly; protesting solemnly against the acquiescence which they had extorted from him; and a little afterwards, together with his family, stopped and detained prisoners by his subjects.

Yes; it then did concern the brother-in-law and the ally of the King to invite the other powers of Europe to join with him in a declaration to France, “that they all view
“the cause of his Most Christian
“Majesty as their own; that they
“demand that this prince and his
“family be set at liberty, and have
“power to go where they please;
“and they require for these royal
“personages inviolability and due
“respect, which by the laws of nature and of nations are due from
“subjects to their princes; that

“they will unite to avenge, in the
“most signal manner, every further
“attempt that may be committed or
“suffered to be committed against
“the liberty, the honour, and the
“safety of the King, the Queen, and
“the royal family; and that, finally, they will not acknowledge as
“constitutional laws, legally established in France, any but those
“which shall have the voluntary
“acquiescence of the King enjoying perfect liberty. But if, on
“the other hand, these demands
“are not complied with, they will
“in concert employ all the means
“in their reach to put a stop to
“the scandalous usurpation of power, which bears the appearance
“of an open rebellion, and which,
“from the danger of the example,
“it concerns all the governments
“of Europe to repress.”

These are the terms of the declaration which the Emperor proposed in the month of July 1791, to the principal sovereigns of Europe to be made to France, and to be adopted as the basis of a general concert.

He defies a word to be found which is not sanctioned by all the principles most sacred in the law of nations:—and is it pretended that the French nation, by its new constitution, has raised itself above the universal law of all countries, in all ages? Nay, more; they could not, without contradicting the constitution itself, give the title of a league against France, and an union of powers to oblige the King and the nation to accept laws which they shall have made, to a concert, whose only view was to succour and support the inviolability of the King and French monarchy, which the new constitution acknowledges.

knowledges and functions as an immutable foundation of the government.

To this same epoch of the detention of the King and his family, must be referred the stipulation comprised in the preliminary articles of a defensive alliance between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, which were signed the 25th of July, 1791, importing "that the two courts would jointly consult, and would employ themselves to accomplish a concert on the affairs of France, to which his Imperial Majesty should invite the principal powers of Europe:" a stipulation which rests entirely, as plainly appears, on the avowed principles and views of the concert, as does also the declaration signed in common by the Austrian and Prussian monarchs at the time of their interview at Pilnitz, on the 27th of August following.

This concert was on the eve of being consolidated, when the King and Queen were released, the royal authority restored, the maintenance of a monarchical form of government adopted as a fundamental principle of the constitution, and his Most Christian Majesty declared, in his letter of the 13th of September to the National Assembly, that "he accepted the constitution, though in truth he could not discover that energy in the government which would be necessary effectually to direct and preserve the unity of all the parts of so vast an empire; but he consented, that experience only should decide."

Then the Emperor addressed himself a second time to the powers whom he had invited to this concert, and proposed to them to sus-

pend their design, as may be proved by the circular dispatches which for this purpose were received by the Imperial ministers at the different courts in the course of the month of November; and of which you will not make any difficulty of producing the copy hereunto annexed.

This proposed suspension was caused by the King's acceptance of the constitution, and by the appearance that he had done it freely, and in hopes that the dangers which threatened the liberty, the honour, and the safety of the King and the royal family, as also the existence of the monarchy of France, would cease in future. It is only in case these dangers should be reproduced, that the concert will again resume its activity.

Instead then of this circular dispatch containing that which is advanced without proof by the invitation, in form of a decree, which the Assembly presented to the King on the 25th of January, "that the Emperor had endeavoured to excite a concert of different powers inimical to the sovereignty and safety of France," it shews the direct reverse; it shews, that his Imperial Majesty had sought to pacify the other powers, by engaging them to participate with him in those hopes which were the motives of his Most Christian Majesty's acceptance of the constitution.

Since that time the concert of the Emperor with those powers has only eventually existed, on account of the apprehensions which it was natural to entertain in consequence of a revolution which, to make use of Mons. Delessart's own words, "having been wrought with extreme rapidity, was prolonged by

divisions; it being impossible that so many contrary opinions, so many efforts, and so many violent exertions, should not leave after them lasting agitation." These fears, and the concert of passive observation, which is the result of them, have a double motive, equally well founded as inseparable in its objects.

As long as the interior state of France, instead of giving reason to expect that the favourable predictions of M. Delessart will be realized on the recovery of order, the activity of government, and the execution of the laws, shall manifest, on the contrary, daily encreasing symptoms of ferments and resistance, the powers, friends of France, will have the most just motives to fear the repetition of the same violences against the King and the royal family; and even to apprehend that the French nation will be plunged in the most dreadful evil that can attack a great state,—popular anarchy. But this is also an evil the most infectious towards other nations; and as more than one foreign state has already furnished fatal examples of its progress, other powers must be denied the same right of maintaining their constitutions, which France claims of protecting her own,—if it be not allowed that never did there exist a motive of alarm, and a general concert more just, more urgent, and more essential to the tranquillity of Europe.

The relations too of the best authenticated daily events must be disbelieved, to attribute the principal cause of the agitation in the interior of France to the stand the emigrants have made, to their preparations, their projects, their threats, and to the assistance they have received. The impotent ar-

maments of the emigrants did not require the collecting of forces thirty or forty times more numerous: the armaments of the emigrants are dissolved, while those of France continue; and the Emperor, so far from approving their designs, insists that they make no attempt to disturb the public tranquillity. The princes of the empire follow his example; no power supplies them with troops; and the pecuniary aid which may have been afforded them in consideration of their misfortunes, is hardly sufficient for their subsistence.

No; the true cause of this ferment, and of all the consequences which may ensue, is but too manifest to the eyes of France, and of all Europe; it is the influence and the violence of the republican party, condemned by the principles of the constitution, and proscribed by the constituent assembly; a party, whose ascendance in the present legislature has been viewed with dread by all those who have the good of France at heart.

It is the violence of this party which produced those crimes and scenes of horror which disgraced the commencement of the reformation of the French constitution, called for and secured by the King himself; and the consummation of which Europe would have seen with unconcern, had not attempts, forbidden by all laws, human and divine, forced foreign powers to unite for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and for the safety and honour of crowns.

It is the agitators of this party who, since the new constitution has declared the inviolability of the monarchy, invariably seek to sap and overthrow its principles, some-

times by motions and direct attacks, and sometimes by a settled plan to annihilate it in effect, by leading the legislative assembly to seize the exclusive functions of the executive power, or forcing the King to yield to their wishes by explosions which they excite, and by the mistrusts and reproaches which their manœuvres bring upon the King.

As they well know that the majority of the nation is unwilling to adopt their system of a republic, or, more properly, of anarchy; and as they despair of succeeding to bring it about, if tranquillity should be established in the interior of the nation, and peace preserved with the surrounding powers, they direct all their efforts to foster the internal troubles, and bring on a foreign war.

It is in the first of these views that they carefully encourage religious disputes, as the most active cause of civil commotions, annihilating the effect of the tolerating views of the constitution by an intolerance in its execution directly contrary to its spirit. It is to this end they endeavour to make the reconciliation of the different parties impossible; and the method they take of reclaiming one side, which has been alienated by the severest trials the human heart can suffer, is by depriving them of the hope of mitigation or protection; and while they themselves are seen to attack and violate with impunity the new constitution in its most essential principles, they excite the public enthusiasm for its immutability and perfection, and yet baffle the desire of rendering it permanent by the temperate improvements of judgment and experience, not less important towards its es-

sential end, the establishment of a free monarchy, than necessary to reunite all classes in unanimity, and restore that order and energy which are absolutely requisite for internal government.

But knowing well that their existence, and the success of their views, depend only on the degree of enthusiasm which they may excite in the nation, they have provoked the present crisis between France and foreign powers. It is for this purpose, therefore, that they have induced the government to lavish the public revenue, insufficient for the current expences and the support of the credit of the state, in a war-establishment of 150,000 men, under the pretext of making head against about four thousand, whom the emigrants did assemble, and do no longer assemble, in Germany; but in reality with the evident intent that these armaments, accompanied with menacing language, shall infallibly provoke counter-armaments, and finally an open rupture with the Emperor and empire.

This is the reason that, instead of appeasing the just apprehensions which the foreign powers have entertained for a long time on account of their dark yet detected projects of seducing other nations to anarchy and revolt, they plot at this day, with a publicity of declarations and measures without example in the history of any civilized government. They reckoned that sovereigns must at length cease to oppose indifference and contempt to their furious and calumniating harangues, when they should see that the national assembly tolerates them in its bosom, collects them, and even decrees their publication. They reckoned, above all, that they

should drive the Emperor to extremities, and force him into serious measures (which might again be turned to keep up the alarms of the nation) by protecting and supporting the new conspiracy of a revolt which has been lately discovered in the Low Countries, and of which it is known, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that the focus exists at Douay; and that the whole scheme was founded on the assurances of assistance from the republican party in France. It is in general against the Emperor, and to take advantage of the unprepared state of his forces in the neighbouring provinces, that their principal or at least their first design seems directed; expecting, without doubt, to prevent the consequences of an attack which would become the common cause of the powers, by endeavouring with negotiations, and separate deceitful offers, to disunite them, and to inspire them in a contrary sense with the same emotions of jealousy and rivalry of alliance, which they will nowise excite at a time when every thing conspires sincerely to fix on the firmest basis a system of repose and general moderation.

It is finally owing to the fatal influence of this same party, and to the same object of precipitating a war with his Imperial Majesty, that the extraordinary decree of the 25th of January may be attributed; by which, encroaching on the initiative reserved to the King by the constitution, the liberty is taken of reproaching the Emperor with having violated the treaty of union and alliance of 1756, because he wished to succour the King of France when a prisoner, and the French monarchy when nearly destroyed, at the

period of the 21st of June last; and because afterwards he used all his influence to bring the other sovereigns to an union with the determination and the hopes of his Most Christian Majesty. By this decree the King even is invited to demand an explanation, in the name of France, who is arming for war, of the hostile designs of the Emperor, who has not armed at all, who has put a stop to the armaments of others, and whom France obliges at this day to arm in his own defence. By this decree, adding insult to injustice, a right is arrogated of prescribing, on reproaches without proof, to a respectable sovereign, the ally of France, a peremptory time of satisfaction; as if the rules and regards consecrated by the public law of nations were to be subjected to the arbitration of a French legislature.

Notwithstanding these offensive proceedings, the Emperor will give to France the clearest proof of the constant sincerity of his attachment, by preserving on his part that quiet and moderation which his friendly concern for the situation of the kingdom inspires; he does justice to the personal sentiments of the King his brother-in-law; he is far from ascribing such measures to the majority of the nation, who either groan under the evils produced by a frantic party, or involuntarily take a part in the errors and prejudices which are instilled into them against the conduct of his Imperial Majesty.

To lay open the details and the true intentions of his conduct towards France, without reserve and without disguise, to the eyes of the King and the whole nation, is the only weapon to which the Emperor wishes

wishes to have recourse, to baffle the artifices of a cabal, which, establishing a state within a state, and founding its ascendant, forbidden by the law, on troubles and confusion, has no other means of supporting itself in the inextricable embarrassments which it has prepared for the nation, than to precipitate it into still greater embarrassments and calamities, under favour of which it may accomplish its plan of overthrowing the monarchical government, confirmed by the constitution.

It is with this amicable and salutary intention that the Emperor, at the same time that he sought, not only in words but by actions, to dissipate the uneasiness caused in France by the emigrants, thought it his duty to remind her of the existence of the concert of powers, and declare to her his resolution of assisting the states of the empire, in case of attack, for the purpose of making those who should provoke hostilities responsible to the King and the nation; and doubtless the French minister would not suffer them to remain ignorant of a declaration, word for word similar, which was officially made by the envoy of his Prussian Majesty, with the like intention.

Finally, it is with the same view that the Emperor opposes truth to malevolence, being persuaded that his Most Christian Majesty and the sound and major part of the nation, will plainly see the professions and actions of a sincere friendship, and be much obliged to him for dissipating freely, and without management, the illusions to which it is intended they should fall victims.

You will remit for this purpose a copy of this dispatch to the minis-

ter for foreign affairs, requesting him to lay it before the King, and to procure for it the most exact and extensive publicity.

Note addressed to the French Ambassador at Vienna, by the Prince de Kaunitz, on the 19th of February, 1792, accompanying a Copy of the Dispatch of the Prince to M. de Blumendorff.

THE chancellor of the court and the state, Prince de Kaunitz Reitberg, cannot dissemble with the ambassador of France that the Emperor has been extremely surprized at the demands of explanations contained in the dispatch of M. Delessart, of the 21st January, as well as at the reproaches and the insinuations respecting consequences with which they are accompanied. On reflecting that never was an impartial and pacific intention more clearly announced and proved than that of his Imperial Majesty in the affair of the assemblings in the country of Treves; that the nature and the legitimate end of the proposals of concert made by the Emperor in the month of July, 1791, as well as the moderation and amicable intention of that which he made in the month of November following, could not escape the cognizance of the French government, after the one and the other had so long transpired, and even the public newspapers had reported the substance and the essential passages,—his Majesty has asked himself, what is the aim of those who demand explanations on matters so well known to them?—Two facts, which contradict all their facts and all their arguments.

But his Majesty will easily find the solution

solution of the problem is the consideration of those circumstances of effervescence and explosion which necessitated this measure of the French ministry, and in the principles and avowed designs of the persons who have brought on those circumstances of violence. All Europe is convinced, as well as the Emperor, that the persons distinguished by the denomination of the Jacobin Party, willing to excite the nation to an armament, and then to a rupture with the Emperor, after making the assemblings in the territories of Treves a pretext for the first, are now searching to draw pretexts of war by means of explanations which they have brought on with his Imperial Majesty, in a manner and with circumstances visibly calculated to make it difficult for that prince to reconcile in his answers the pacific and amicable intentions which actuate him, with the feeling of his dignity wounded, and his repose endangered, by the fruits of their manœuvres. The chancellor of the court and the state doubts not, however, that the answer transmitted by his orders to the Imperial *chargé des affaires* at Paris, and of which the ambassador will see the contents in the subjoined copy, will be judged by France, or at least by the rest of Europe, as perfectly proper in the present state of things.

On one hand, the explanations demanded are there given with the greatest candour, the motives of the Emperor's proceedings explained by incontestable facts, and the whole evidenced by the very words of his transactions, which he sees himself forced to produce, in order to convince the French nation how calumnious are the imputations, in

which the liberty has been taken of taxing the Emperor with unjust attempts against the sovereignty, the independence, and the safety of France, in concerts and alliances tending to interfere in its government, and to overturn and change by violence its constitution; and that, on the contrary, his Imperial Majesty has not passed one step beyond the line of conduct marked out to him by his character of ally, of friend, and of neighbour, and imposed upon him by the most legitimate solicitude for the maintenance of public tranquillity. On the other hand, the Emperor believes it his duty, for the welfare of France, and also because he is authorized in so doing by the provocations and by the dangerous secret practices of the Jacobin party, to expose and denounce publicly a pernicious sect as the enemies of the Most Christian King, and of the fundamental principles of the present constitution, and as the disturbers of peace and public repose. Will the illegal ascendancy of this sect bear it up in France over justice, truth, and the safety of the nation? This is the question to which all others are now reduced. But whatever may be the result, the cause of the Emperor is that of all other powers; and if he feels pain from the present state of things, yet it is only in consequence of his sentiments and his concern for his Most Christian Majesty, and for a kingdom and nation in friendship with Austria, that the chancellor of the court and the state is induced to abstain from entering upon the subject of the differences between France and the Germanic empire, with which he is not immediately concerned. He should
with

with in general to meet a more agreeable occasion of repeating to the ambassador of France assurances of the most distinguished respect.

(Signed) KAUNITZ.

Letter from the Count de Goltz, Envoy Extraordinary of the King of Prussia at the court of France, addressed to M. Delessart.

THE undersigned envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the King of Prussia at the court of his Most Christian Majesty, has the honour to remind his Excellency M. Delessart, that he has repeatedly informed him that an invasion of the territory of the empire by the French troops cannot but be regarded as a declaration of war against the Germanic body; and that, in consequence, his Prussian Majesty could not avoid opposing it, in conjunction with his Imperial Majesty, with all his forces. He has more particularly given this information to the ministry of France, on occasion of the official note which the Imperial court sent to the ambassador of France under date of the 5th of January last. He now repeats it in consequence of a dispatch dated the 17th of this month, from the chancellor of state and of the court, Prince de Kaunitz, to M. de Blumendorff, *chargé des affaires* of his Majesty the Emperor, and transmitted by the latter to the ministry of his Most Christian Majesty; which dispatch contains the principles on which the courts of Berlin and Vienna are perfectly in concert.

The Count de GOLTZ.

Paris, 28th February, 1792.

Note of the French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, to the Imperial Minister, March 11th, 1792.

THE ambassador from France to his late Imperial Majesty has received instructions relative to the official note which the chancellor Prince de Kaunitz honoured him with on the 19th of February, and also to the other pieces that were joined to that note.

The King had caused these instructions to be sent to him on the very day the Emperor, to whom he had the honour of being accredited, died. The importance of the communications he is ordered to make, do not give him time to wait for new credentials; he would reproach himself were he to delay the measures prescribed to him, which have for their object the preservation of a good understanding, and general tranquillity. After all the circumstances which have given mutual uneasiness, he is happy to have it in his power to propose means for their termination.

The King thinks that it neither becomes the dignity nor the independence of the nation to discuss objects which, he is of opinion, relate to the internal concerns of the kingdom: but his Majesty observes with pleasure the assurances given in the name of the Emperor, "that far from supporting the projects and pretensions of the emigrants, he was desirous to convince the French nation of the falsehood of those reports which have been propagated against his Imperial Majesty, and which impute to him designs against the safety and independence of France, by plans and alliances tending to interfere in the government and overturn the constitution." His

His Majesty has found in the answer of the deceased Emperor some amicable and pacific overtures; and he has received them with pleasure. As it is however necessary to remove all those doubts which have been too much prolonged, he declares, that, "conscious of his attachments to the French nation and the constitution, and equally trusting in the attachment of the French people, he cannot behold without uneasiness a confederacy, the object of which appears to give just cause of alarm." He, in consequence, demands of his ally to abandon that confederacy, and renew his assurances of peace and union. He explains to him his views without reserve, and relies on the same frankness and readiness in his declarations, which he expects as a pledge of mutual friendship.

The King has charged his ambassador to promise, that "as soon as his Imperial Majesty shall have engaged to discontinue all preparations for war in his dominions, and to reduce his military forces in the Low Countries and Brisgaw to the footing they were on at the 1st of August 1791, his Majesty will also discontinue all preparations, and will reduce the French troops in the frontier departments to the ordinary state of the garrisons." It is on this determination, the only one becoming the dignity and interests of two great powers, that the King has acknowledged the sentiment he expected from the late Emperor his brother-in-law, and the ancient ally of France.

Finally, the ambassador has been charged to observe, that after a proposal so just and so formal, the King relies on an answer of the same description, announcing a re-

solution to put a period to a situation in which France neither can nor will remain much longer.

Such are the sentiments which the King ordered his ambassador to express to the late Emperor the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

Overtures of conciliation and friendship are the first words that princes, already united by so many ties, address to one another. The measures proposed have for their object the insuring of two nations from the calamities of war. The ambassador congratulates himself on the opportunity of presenting this important reflection to the Prince de Kaunitz: it will be a pleasure for him to accomplish the desire of a monarch, whose chief actions aim at human happiness. The French ambassador has the honour to renew his assurances of the greatest esteem,

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Answer, dated 18th of March, 1792, of the Chancellor Prince de Kaunitz to the Note of M. Noailles, of the 11th of March.

THE French government having demanded a categorical explanation concerning the intentions and measures of the late Emperor relative to the present situation of France, this answer is sent in consequence of that demand. It is regarded only as an act of complaisance and friendly respect, after the steps taken on the subject of this question. But with much stronger reason would it suit the dignity of great potentates to refute with open fairness, not to discuss by confidential insinuations which may be dissembled in a reply, imputations and interpretations, with which are mingled

mingled the words of peace and of war, and which are accompanied with every kind of provocation.

The justice of the motives, and the truth of the assertions on which rest the explanations already given by order of the late Emperor, are incontrovertible; and the chancellor of the court and state, the Prince de Kaunitz, is therefore the less bound to add to them at present any new arguments. The King of Hungary and Bohemia fully adopts on this subject the sentiments of his father; and the new demands which the French ambassador has since been charged to make here, revert to those which have already been completely answered.

The King knows not of any armament, or any measures in the Austrian states, which can be denominated preparations for war. The defensive measures ordered by his late Imperial Majesty are not to be compared with the hostile measures of France; and as to those which his Apostolic Majesty shall judge necessary for the security and tranquillity of his own territories, and above all for stifling the troubles which the examples of France and the criminal proceedings of the Jacobin party foment in the Belgic provinces, he neither can nor ever will consent previously to tie up his hands with any one whomsoever; nor has any one a right to prescribe limits to his conduct. With respect to the concert in which his late Imperial Majesty engaged with the most respectable powers of Europe, the King of Hungary and Bohemia cannot anticipate their common opinions and determinations; but he does not believe that they will judge it expedient to dissolve the

concert until France shall have removed the causes which provoked or necessitated the opening of it. His Majesty, on his part, expects this the more, as he presumes too much on the justice and reason of a nation distinguished by its mildness and wisdom, to abandon the hope that it will not be slow to withdraw its dignity, independence, and repose, from the attempts of a sanguinary and furious faction, which promotes anarchy, in order to destroy, by insurrection and popular violence, the exercise of all sorts of authority, laws, and principles; and by an illusive mockery of words, is attempting to rob the Most Christian King of his liberty, to destroy every constitution and all regular government, and to violate the faith of the most solemn treaties, and the duties of the most sacred public right.

But should their designs and their artifices prevail, his Majesty flatters himself that at least the sound and principal part of the nation will then behold, as a prospect of consolation and support, the existence of a concert whose intentions are worthy of their confidence in the most important crisis which has ever affected the common interests of Europe.

This is what the chancellor of the court and state is charged to reply to the answer which the French ambassador had been ordered to make to his late Imperial Majesty; and in requiring him to transmit it to his court, he has the honour to repeat his assurances of the greatest esteem.

(Signed)

KAUNITZ REITBERGH.

Vienna, 13th March, 1792.

Letter



Letter of M. Louis de Narbonne, Minister at War of France, to the Duke of Brunswick. Paris, Jan. 9, 1792.

My Lord,

HAD I followed the rules of ordinary policy, I should not have been induced to make the bold demand which I address to you in the name of the King, and which I should have addressed to you also in the name of the nation, had the secrecy which this step requires permitted me to consult its wishes. Come and assume the command of the French army—I know not what the Duke of Brunswick, as a prince of the German empire, as a member of the Germanic body, may have to offer in answer to this proposal, but I address myself to an hereditary prince, to one who has courted success in war, and who has been so often gratified in that high ambition. I can say to him, “among us you will acquire a glory worthy of your character.” Is not this sufficient to engage you? Should you say, my Lord, that you are going to command an undisciplined army, I will answer, that political quarrels have divided it; but that it will rally under the standards of a man who depends only on his own genius, and who, in the cause of equality, finds himself previously disinterested by all the gifts of nature.

You will perhaps say also, that it is against the cause of Kings that you are going to take up arms; but our principles have consecrated monarchical government; and, without defending them in every point, I will remind you, that the Duke of Brunswick has practised in all his states several of our maxims;

that the greatest general of Europe has not endeavoured by force to render his country more military than the extent of it would allow; that he has done nothing but what is worthy of a great character; and that the glory, even the most suited to his genius, has not made him pursue measures contrary to the happiness of his people.

Whatever our principles may have exaggerated; whatever violence, above all, may be in our constitution, time already begins to apply a remedy; but nothing can equal the effect which will be produced by the presence of the Duke of Brunswick. In taking an oath to defend liberty, you would give cause of exultation to the French people; that mistrust which has ruined us would not approach the Duke of Brunswick.—Who would dare to doubt his word? Is not courage the surest pledge of loyalty?

The scourge of war might perhaps be averted from France. The name of the Duke of Brunswick will perhaps be sufficient to preserve us from it; but, even in the midst of peace, the glory of creating a power, and of re-establishing an army, would belong to him.

The faults and enemies of France may, perhaps, have made it be considered by Europe as a kingdom almost annihilated. Twenty-four millions of people, distant possessions, arts, all have been in danger of being forgotten; but all these still exist, all wait for the genius of good order. The French nation is susceptible of enthusiasm: the glory and example of your Serene Highness would excite it. By this sentiment you would rally a nation which is ruined only by being

ing divided. In a word, your presence, by depriving our enemies of hope, will deprive those factions, by which we are torn, of all the strength they derive from terror.— This word will no longer be pronounced in a country, the defence of which you undertake; and you will acquire every kind of glory by restoring to France that tranquillity which is necessary for framing good laws, and by securing to the King the eternal gratitude of a people to whom he shall have given the Duke of Brunswick as a defender.

You may be told that the French constitution, which you might think proper to support, abounds with faults; but such as it is, it is a grand epoch in the human mind; and no judgment ought to be passed on it while it is seen surrounded only by all the troubles of a civil war, really existing, though that expression has never openly been pronounced.

In short, the French people wish to bury themselves under the ruins of this constitution; and in their devoting themselves there will be something heroic, which will oblige the Duke of Brunswick, should he become their enemy, to confess, that *that* nation, in its defeat, knows how to snatch from the conqueror the prize of his glory.

I could also, in coolly discussing the interests of Europe, prove to your Serene Highness the utility of the step which I propose; but I place my hopes only in that love of glory which we ought to believe to be the characteristic of your Highness. To this sentiment I wished to address myself: it is the language of antiquity, a language such as the Romans would not have resisted, that I have thought proper to employ. The glory of the Duke of

Brunswick seems to be cotemporary with those ages of heroism.

Should I save my country by persuading your Serene Highness to pursue the courageous course which I request you to follow, you cannot doubt that my whole attention, in the office I occupy, shall be to unite all the means which prudence can suggest to second your views; and you will find the same enthusiasm which has dictated this letter, in the ardent care I shall employ to make you enjoy success in the noble step which I may prevail upon you to pursue.

M. de Custine will give account to your Royal Highness, with as much exactness as ability, of the present situation of the affairs of France. When you have heard him, and read this letter, you will pronounce an answer which will weigh much in the balance of the fate of the empire. But if, my Lord, you deceive my hopes, if you resist the impulse of your heart, all will not be terminated between you and the French nation. We shall still have the ambition of acquiring sufficient glory, to make the Duke of Brunswick regret having refused to gratify a wish which I have expressed to him in the name of the people and the King.

I am with respect,
my Lord, yours, &c.

(Signed) LOUIS DE NARBONNE.

*Answer of the Duke of Brunswick to M.
Louis de Narbonne, Minister at War.*

SIR, January 22.

THE letter which you have done me the honour to write to me, could not fail to excite my most respectful gratitude to the King, and the liveliest

liveliest sensibility on account of the very polite manner in which you executed the orders of his Majesty. I will not detain you with detailing the impression I have felt from the offer you have made to me, in terms proper to determine my sentiments.

The imagination is flattered by representing the situation of a military officer, employed in the army of a nation to which no kind of glory is a stranger, and which, in that career, has produced men whom it is easier to admire than to imitate. But, notwithstanding all the splendor of the sphere to which you invite me, I think myself obliged to request, that you will immediately communicate to his Majesty the motives that compel me to deprive myself of the advantages of a situation which would enable me to execute the orders of a great and just monarch, who attaches his felicity to that of the nation.

My relations, as members of the Germanic body, are not unknown to the King; those which attach me to the King of Prussia and his august family, to his monarchy and army, are known also to you, Sir. Permit me to add an acknowledgement of my incapacity to fill a place which requires talents that I am far from having a right to suppose I possess, though I am fully convinced, that a minister so enlightened as you, Sir, is one of the most capable, by the aid of your talents, to dissipate those fears which a well-grounded mistrust might excite in my mind. I must not neglect also to direct your attention to a secondary circumstance:—I allude to my health, which has experienced a violent shock by an obstinate malady, the effects of which are not entirely dispelled.

Be, Sir, the interpreter of my most respectful sentiments to the King, of whose kindness I am highly sensible, and present to him the ardent vows which I incessantly form for the glory and happiness of that august monarch.

It has given me great pleasure to receive M. de Custine: his talents and prudence announce him to be a man who does honour to his nation, and who is highly worthy of belonging to it.

(Signed) C. U. F. Duke of
BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG.

Letter from M. Dumourier, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, to M. Noailles, French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna.

Sir, Paris, March 19, 1792.

I HAVE laid before the King your dispatches of the 29th of January, and the 1st and 3d of March.

As the affairs of Austria may take a new direction, in consequence of the death of Leopold, the King does not expect an immediate answer to the dispatches transmitted you by M. Delessart. The disgrace of that minister has been occasioned in a great measure by the feebleness with which he conducted his negotiations.

It is unpleasant that you should have communicated to M. de Kaunitz the confidential letter, of which an extract, properly made, would not have furnished that minister with the means of a violent declamation, which could not be injurious to the pacific negotiations; which might have been perceived in the dispatches of M. de Kaunitz, to have formed a principle of the late

late Emperor's policy. The future negotiation will take a simple and direct course—such is the intention of the King, which he has recommended to me upon entering into the ministry; so that all the dispatches which you shall in future receive, may without danger be presented to the minister of the new sovereign.

Peace or war depends entirely upon the cabinet of Vienna. What you have said relative to the character of the King of Bohemia and Hungary, affords room to hope that he will reflect maturely upon the horrors of a long and terrible war, of which he alone must bear the expences and the losses, even if he were to achieve the ruin of France. I also think that the sacrifice of an alliance, which has been so useful to his family, will leave him after the termination of hostilities without any ally whatever, and so much the more in the power of his natural enemies, in proportion as he fails of success.

Certainly, if he should favour the criminal fury of the emigrants, which is a subject of such regret to the paternal heart of the King, there would only result to himself a state of feebleness and exhaustion equal to that in which he should have involved France; and then he would lose all that ascendancy which the possession of the imperial throne for two hundred years has given to his predecessors; he would likewise, perhaps, lose that exalted dignity; and, should he afterwards be attacked by his allies of the present moment, France, exhausted and torn in pieces by a civil war, which might last even long after the foreign war had ceased, would be unable to afford him assistance against his new enemies.

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This is a true picture of the dangers attendant upon his success. On the contrary, should the issue of the war prove unfavourable to the offending powers, the victories of France would affect the King of Bohemia and Hungary alone, on account of the vicinity of his territories to our frontiers. It is possible that the prospect of a speedy coronation may be held out to him, of which his accelerating the war may be made a condition; but this distinction of head of the empire, and head of the house of Austria, cannot avail him for one minute. From that moment the ties will be broken, and the war will become personal to him. Thus he alone will have to sustain all its weight, as already observed.

What can be the motives of such a war?—The claims upon Alsace and Lorraine?—These can be adjusted by negotiation alone; and, on the contrary, war will break off all measures of accommodation.—The cause of the emigrants?—The King attests that he has employed every means in his power to induce them to return to France. They are acting in open disobedience to his Majesty, and as criminals to their country. Can the King of Bohemia and Hungary take upon him to defend rebels? and would not the example be dangerous to himself?—Our armament? It was provoked by the treaty of Pilnitz, and by the asylum granted to the refugees on the frontiers. It is purely defensive; and, as a proof of it, the King has not ordered a fleet to be equipped, merely because England has not exhibited any symptoms of menace.

I shall say nothing of the clubs and pamphlets which have been so repeatedly complained of. If

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this were a just motive for war, all Europe would long since have undertaken a crusade against Great Britain. It is in our constitution, it is in our laws, it is in our declaration of rights itself, that the chiefs of nations may find our principles, and the foundation of our conduct. The King of the French has the new constitution engraven upon his heart; it has his firm attachment; it has his best wishes; his conduct will be invariable; and the open sincerity of his negotiation may be relied upon. Such is that persuasion with which you ought to inspire the new King and his ministers, which ought to deprive them of every motive of war.

The head of a great free nation, the King, will do every thing consistent with his dignity to avoid a war founded on motives so unjustifiable. If circumstances, or the blind infatuation of the chiefs of other nations, compel him to defend himself, he will present to the French nation the negotiations which he shall have made, in order to produce peace, and will derive from it the resources and energy necessary to carry on war.

A concert of powers is evidently formed against France. This concert can hardly exist beyond the present moment, because it strikes at the root of order and sound policy. It cannot remain; it must necessarily cease either after or during the war. In either case, the head of the house of Austria will remain alone exhausted of men and money. All danger of hostility would cease, on receiving a frank and open declaration on the part of the court of Vienna, and a mutual disarming would instantly take place.

The pretext of the necessity of a

large body in the Low Countries, to prevent the spirit of revolution from spreading there, is by no means a sufficient motive. The more troops are assembled in these five provinces, the more will the inhabitants be harassed, oppressed, and excited to insurrection. Armies cannot restrain a people when they wish to be free. The more force is opposed, the greater energy rises, till it becomes fury which cannot be resisted. Genoa may afford an example to the house of Austria. This small town routed a whole army.

The French revolution affords an example still more striking. Allow the Belgic provinces to be happy, and to maintain their constitution, and they will remain in tranquillity. The court of Vienna well knows who have excited the Belgic disturbances. It knows well that the Constituent Assembly rejected the Belgic provinces, because their theocratic revolution was the reverse of ours.

To their new allies they are indebted for this bad piece of service; and if they should no longer interfere in the affairs of Flanders, provided it enjoyed a good government, the ordinary garrisons would be sufficient for its security. The diminution of the troops in this province is then necessary to prove the good intentions of the King of Hungary, as well as the expulsion of all the emigrants who are convened from the Austrian dominions. This example would influence the inferior sovereigns of the Germanic league; in a short time the assembling of troops, suspicions of hostilities, would cease on both sides; all the menaces and preparation of war will disappear,

pear, and nothing will remain but to adjust in an amicable manner the claims of the princes. This cannot be done amidst the din and bustle of armies. As to the concert of powers, as it has only one object, which ought not to exist; as it is a political monster, it will destroy itself, and there will remain only the means of better securing the peace of Europe.

Such, Sir, is the basis on which the King orders you to treat with the court of Vienna, that you may obtain an open and decisive answer. I will lay before his Majesty the account of the success of your negotiation; and I am persuaded that, by holding out, with all the energy of truth, these powerful interests to the court of Vienna, you will soon be able to determine the issue of this political crisis, which cannot be of a long duration.

(Signed) DUMOURIER.

Letter from M. Noailles, the French Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, to M. Dumourier, French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Sir, April 2d, 1792.

I YESTERDAY received by the courier Duclos, the letter which you did me the honour to write me on the 19th of March. It was on the same day that the answer went off to the last note, which I had been charged to transmit to the ministry. I conformed entirely to the communication made on the 1st of March to the National Assembly. You will have seen, Sir, what has been the result. There is no doubt that affairs in reality have not assumed a new appearance since the death of the Emperor Leopold, nor has any change taken

place which ought to strengthen the hopes of those who entertain sincere wishes for the general tranquillity. The young King, as I have formerly informed you, will necessarily allow himself to be guided in the commencement of his reign; and if not in his own character, will at least, in the conduct of his ministry, display great inflexibility of principle.

I have, Sir, availed myself of the letter of M. Delessart, under the title of an "Extract, communicated confidentially." I did not communicate the whole letter. I preserved, however, a great part of it, because the expressions were so moderate as to give me reason to hope for the greatest success. The experience which I had from a residence of nine years, induced me to adopt this step. The Austrian minister all at once made a declaration of sentiments which before he had dissembled—the letter of M. Delessart was taken in pieces, and detached passages were perverted to a construction foreign to their real meaning.

These reflections are not intended to justify myself, but to prevent a statement of the real dispositions of the court of Vienna. Can my last note have given ground for those violent declamations which are to be found in the Austrian answer, and which brings us back to the very point from which we set out last July? It is not necessary for me now to dissemble those efforts which I have made to persuade the ministry here, that if they were desirous to secure their own repose and promote ours, they ought to avoid all censure of our internal administration. I have incessantly repeated, that censure, only allowable in private

vate conversation, when committed to ministerial communications, becomes the most sensible affront to the honour of a nation. What effect, Sir, have these representations, so strongly urged, produced? You have at present in your hands the communication of March 18th; the government here have made this communication, and those which preceded it, as public as possible, by publishing it, of which I enclose you three copies, and by announcing that an exact translation of them into German will speedily make its appearance. What can be more glaringly offensive, or what means can, after such a conduct, remain open for negotiation? So little am I acquainted with any, that I should think myself wanting to the honour of the nation and the dignity of the King, if I took any step with the ministry here till you shall have the goodness to answer my dispatch of the 19th of March. — I have only taken occasion to send to the chancellor of state a letter to the King of Hungary, presuming it was an answer to the notification of the death of the Emperor.

I shall suspend sending my resignation, from those motives of honour which I have mentioned; otherwise nothing is hazarded, since there is nothing to negotiate. — I shall mention, for this last reason, that I have had the honour to write to the King to entreat his Majesty to permit me to resign. I again demand this favour, Sir, through your mediation, and I solicit it with all the ardour of a zealous servant of his country; who, perceiving that he can no longer be useful at his post, thinks himself bound to yield it to another. I can, in the mean time, continue to attend to the ordinary business till the end, and

while I wait to receive the final orders of his Majesty.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Dispatch from M. Dumourier to M. de Noailles.

Sir, Paris, March 27th.

I HAVE received your letters of the 28th and 29th of February, and one of the 12th and 13th of March, and also one, No. 10, from M. Marbois, dated the 13th. I see, by your first letter, that the negotiations would be infinitely prolonged, if you do not carry it on according to the spirit of my first dispatches; that the King would not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the nation; and that should the opinion of M. Cobentzel prevail, we should not be able for a great while to terminate the business; for it is impossible to make us believe that the troops by which we were surrounded, ought not to give us umbrage; it is impossible to make us believe that the court of Vienna sends troops into the Brisgaw, reinforces those in the Milanois, and is forming an army attended with a train of besieging artillery and immense magazines, for the sole purpose of maintaining tranquillity in the Netherlands.

As the spring is approaching, and the troops are reinforcing; — as we see over all Europe hostile preparations making against us, it is no longer possible to be imposed on by words. — The opinion of Cobentzel is besides erroneous, when he attempts to make you believe that there is no reason why the federation of the different courts should not continue on the same ground as before; that is, depending on events. Whatever M. Cobentzel may say, our government is possessed

fed of strength, and rests on a firm basis. It has nothing to do with a republican system. The King is invested with constitutional power, far superior to despotic power. It is with a very ill grace asserted, that we are likely to cause alarms among all the neighbouring nations. If we are plunged in anarchy, we cannot be formidable to other powers. A league formed against us must therefore be intended for the purpose of dividing our spoils. If we be in a settled state, it is unjust to make use of menaces against us. In every point of view there is therefore no reason for forming a league against us. The reunion of Avignon is also a vain pretext. This country, in the bosom of the surrounding southern provinces, has for a great while belonged to France; her title to it has never been lost by prescription. It was simply a process between the King of France and the Pope; it is now a process between the French nation and the King of the French on one part, and the Pope on the other. — At the worst, it can only be terminated by granting an indemnity, in the same manner as to the German princes having possessions in Alsace.

The ministry of Vienna might have known by the conduct of the National Assembly, and by the constitution, which must be read, that we may be understood (and which constitution has been acknowledged by the Emperor Leopold) that we renounce all war for conquest; it is not, therefore, in our power to desire the inhabitants of the Netherlands to throw themselves into the arms of France.

M. de Cobentzel does not, any more than yourself, place any confidence in the observations which he made to you. Instead of tending

to a pacific negotiation, they would tend to break off all kind of negotiations. It is impossible the King can wait any longer. It is impossible that, after he has been invited by the National Assembly to demand a categorical answer, he should suffer this negotiation, on which the fate of Europe depends, to be farther protracted. It is ridiculous to demand, within eight days, the confutation of worn-out arguments, which are employed simply to gain time.

Entrusted with their presentation, and with the confidence of a great nation, he daily expects a categorical answer. By my first dispatches you are informed in what this answer must consist. — If the successor of Leopold be willing to observe his treaties with France, he must without hesitation break off those which he has made unknown to her, and with hostile intentions against her. He must also withdraw those troops by whom we are threatened, because such a state of perplexity is contrary both to the proceedings of an ancient ally, and to the interests of the court of Vienna. If this declaration be not very speedy and very sincere, the King will, on the return of the courier whom you shall send, consider himself as decidedly in a state of war, and he will be supported by the whole nation, which is eager for a prompt decision. Endeavour, Sir, to finish this negotiation, some way or other, before the 15th of April. If from this moment to that epoch we should be informed that the troops remain on the frontiers, and receive reinforcements, it will no longer be possible to restrain the just indignation of a free and spirited nation, which it is in vain to seek to vilify, to intimidate, or to impose

impose upon, until all preparations be ready to attack it. I expect from you, Sir, all the energy which becomes the French nation. You will preserve its dignity by speaking freely, and by speedily coming some way or other to a conclusion.

Letter from M. Noailles to the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Sir, April 5th, 1792.

YOUR dispatches of the 27th of March were brought to me by the courier Dorville, on the 4th of April. I immediately obeyed the instructions contained in them, by visiting the Count Cobentzel, vice-chancellor of the state and of court. I preferred addressing myself to him, because he is more accessible than Monsieur the Prince de Kaunitz, and because I was sure by his means of introducing whatever I chose to the knowledge of the sovereign.

I said every thing to the vice-chancellor which could produce a definitive explanation, such as you wished. I represented to him how much our uneasiness increased every day upon observing the hostile preparations directed against us. "I said it was in vain to object to our arming, or to our armaments; that it was well known they had been provoked; that we were desirous of being able to have confidence in the conduct of foreign powers with regard to us; that they had reason to be easy with regard to our conduct; that if malice had been less exercised against us, we would have quietly concluded the work of our regeneration; that the court of Vienna had begun a league or plot against us, by granting an asylum and protection to the emi-

grants, and countenancing their agents; and that at present they had assembled forces in the Brisgaw, which were to us very suspicious; that the tranquillity of the Low Countries did not require any thing like it; that we wanted better assurances than words; that simple pacific assurances at present appeared to us calculated solely to gain time; that at length things were come to that pitch, that I had a positive order to demand a declaration by which the court of Vienna should renounce her armaments and the coalition, or to make known in default thereof, that the King would consider himself to be in a state of war with Austria, and that he would be strongly supported by the whole nation, which was anxious for a speedy decision."

Count Cobentzel undertook to justify his court from the hostile views imputed to it. "He protested that the King of Bohemia was by no means inclined to meddle with our interior concerns, and did not design by any means to support the interests of the emigrants; he repeated what he had often said before, that they had sent reinforcements to Brisgaw, as they thought them necessary to preserve order and justice in the country, and that they might succour the states of the empire which had requested it of their neighbours." I observed, that so many precautions, after the concert that was known to us, justified our alarms. I insisted especially upon the conclusion of this concert, so contrary to what we might expect from our ally.

The reply of Count Cobentzel confirmed me in my former opinion, that his court did not wish to attack us, but would make requisitions,

Gons, which it would be difficult to avoid without a war. He said, that the concert was no longer personal to the King of Hungary; that he could not withdraw himself, but with other courts; and that this concert would continue till what remained to be settled with France was brought to a conclusion. He specified to me three points:

1st. That satisfaction should be given to the princes possessed in Lorraine and Alsace.

2d. That satisfaction should be given to the Pope for the county of Avignon.

3d. That measures should be taken on our part to that purpose; and that our government should have a sufficient power to repress whatever might give uneasiness to other states.

All the arguments on our part being exhausted, and the system established here not having the appearance of being near a change, I asked Count Cobentzel, if for answer to the representations which I had made him, I might say that his court adhered to the official note of the 10th of March. The minister perceiving himself surrounded by the circle which I had drawn, said, that he would take directions of his Majesty, and inform me of what he should be ordered to say.

M. de Bichoffswerder set out this day upon his return to Berlin. He would have begun his journey sooner, but that he waited for a circular letter, which will be addressed to the coalesced courts, and probably to the states of the empire, as co-states, demanding from each the assistance that they have proposed to give, either in money or men, in case of war.

This, I am informed, was the motive of his delay, but I have no certainty upon the subject. M. de Bichoffswerder will stop at Prague to see the Prince of Hohenlohe, and agree with him upon the time and place for an interview between the Austrian general and the Duke of Brunswick. This interview is expected to take place at Leipzig in the course of a month. According to my opinion, the court of Vienna has adopted a plan purely defensive, notwithstanding the endeavours of the court of Berlin to suggest another.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Second Letter from M. Noailles to M. Dumourier, dated Vienna, April 7th, 1792.

I HAVE detained the courier, Sir, for the answer of the Count de Cobentzel; he has just informed me, on the part of the King his master, "that the note of the 18th of March contains the answer to the demands I have been charged to renew; and that the disposition expressed in that note could be the less altered, since it also contained the opinion of the King of Prussia upon the affairs of France: an opinion agreeing in all respects with that of the King of Hungary." The Count Cobentzel also informed me, that he had received orders from his Majesty to make the same communication to M. Blumendorf at Paris.

(Signed) NOAILLES.

Note presented by Count de Kellar, the Prussian Minister, to their High Mightinesses the States-General.

THE ties of confidence and friendship, projected for some years, as well at Berlin as Vienna, have been formally cemented by a defensive treaty of alliance, signed at Berlin, on the seventh of February, and ratified a short time before the decease of the Emperor.

The King of Prussia, desirous not to retard the communication of this treaty to your High Mightinesses, has authorised the undersigned, his envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to deliver to you a copy of the said treaty, which he has this day the honour to present to you.

The stipulations it contains having for their aim the general tranquillity of Europe, as well as the repose and happiness of individuals, his Majesty believes them to be perfectly applicable, without the smallest inconvenience, to the position and interests of the United Provinces.

The King of Hungary and Bohemia, on his part, disposing himself, High and Mighty Lords, to invite you to concur in this alliance, and to propose to your defensive engagements, similar to those of the aforementioned treaty, the friendship and intimate relations which already unite the court of Prussia with the republic, engage his Prussian Majesty to advise your High Mightinesses of the overtures his Apostolic Majesty is about to make to you. The King cannot, at the same time, forbear the testimony of the satisfaction he feels, on observing the republic adopt the same principles which have determined his Majesty's alliance with the house of Austria. — Wishing that your High Mightinesses may see, in the same point of view, the utility and

advantages which will result from these alliances, the King will felicitate himself on the power of contributing, as far as may depend on his Majesty, to the success of the negotiation, which cannot fail to conduce to the republic, and the satisfaction of all the powers interested.

LE COMTE DE KELLAR.

Hague, April 27, 1792.

On the 23d of August 1792, the Minister at War read in the National Assembly the following Note of the Court of Petersburg, ordering away the French Minister M. Genet.

THE disorder and anarchy which have for some time prevailed in France, to the prejudice of that authority which foreign powers were accustomed to acknowledge, and which are manifested every day more and more by new excesses, have at length determined the imperial court of Russia to suspend the intercourse and correspondence which it formerly kept up with that kingdom, until his Most Christian Majesty shall be re-established in all those rights and prerogatives assigned to him by human and divine laws. On these considerations, after having recalled from Paris her minister plenipotentiary, and her *chargé des affaires*, who remained there some time, her Majesty thinks that the presence of the Sieur Genet, established under the latter title in her capital, is become not only superfluous, but even intolerable. He is therefore informed, that he must quit her capital in eight days, and the states of Russia as soon after as possible.

Letter

Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France to the National Convention. Paris, Oct. 1st, 1792.

Citizen President,

I ANNOUNCED to the National Convention that overtures for a negotiation had been made in the name of the King of Prussia to General Dumourier. I mentioned at the same time that decision of the executive power which ordered the generals to listen to no proposals until the armies of despots had first evacuated the land of liberty. The proposals of the King of Prussia were however remarkable, as they contained a precise acknowledgement of the national authority, and of the quality of representative of the nation in external relations, which had been attached formerly to the political existence of the constitutional King. Another acknowledgement, no less remarkable, was, that the ancient order of things destroyed by the will of the nation since 1789, was contrary to the happiness of the people.

Such an unexpected acknowledgement, spontaneously made, without any previous negotiation, might incline us to think that the enemy's armies are in the greatest distress. There are, however, other motives equally pressing, which make them think of peace—a kind of truce was agreed upon—General Dumourier took advantage of it to collect and properly dispose the different bodies which were to be joined to his army. He made in quietness, and with silence, all those movements which were necessary to give him a superiority, by his situation, and to confine the enemy in theirs. While he was

thus preparing for his military plans, frequent communications, which could not but be advantageous to liberty, were established between the two armies. General Dumourier embraced this opportunity of exchanging prisoners of war.—The cartel agreed on with the Prussian generals, was formed according to the laws decreed by the National Assembly. The emigrant prisoners were not included in it; and the Duke of Brunswick did not even persist in a remonstrance, which he had made in their favour.

A conference on this occasion took place between the Duke of Brunswick, Count de Luthefinski, minister of the King of Prussia, and Lieutenant Colonel Adjutant General Thouvenot, who was charged with conducting the exchange of prisoners. In this conference the Duke of Brunswick expressed himself almost in the following terms:—As our nations are not formed to be enemies, might not some means be devised for accommodating matters in an amicable manner? We are in your country: it is desolated by the inevitable misfortunes of war; we know that we have no right to prevent a nation from giving itself laws, and from tracing out its internal government—we do not wish it—we are only interested for the fate of the King. Assure us that a place will be assigned to him, in the new order of things, under any denomination whatever, and his Majesty the King of Prussia will return to his own states, and become your ally.

The moderation of this language, from a man who signed the manifestos already published, and to which the contempt of the French nation

nation has done ample justice, must appear surprising.

Lieutenant Colonel Thouvenot replied, "that the will of the French Republic would not yield to any foreign influence; and that the representatives of the nation, to whom the valuable deposit of its honour and glory was particularly intrusted, would continually persist in maintaining decrees which had been sanctioned by general opinion."

The Duke of Brunswick terminated the conference, by saying that he would transmit to General Dumourier a memorial upon the subject. This memorial is a third manifesto, worthy in every thing of the two former. General Dumourier received it with indignation, in which we shared, and which must also be excited in the National Convention, and in all France.

It was immediately announced that the truce was broken; and letters from the General, written in a style suited to a man honoured with the noble employment of conducting Frenchmen to victory, procured an answer from the King of Prussia's aid-de-camp, stating, that the intentions of the King and of the Duke of Brunswick had been misunderstood; that a new conference was demanded; and that the royal and imperial armies would not be the first to break the truce. General Dumourier refused to consent to any new conference, or any delay in the operations of the campaign, unless the memorial of the Duke of Brunswick should be first annulled. Such is the actual state of things.—What passed during that circumstance will shew the French nation in that respectable point of view which belongs to it.

All our proceedings have been marked with candour and firmness. We have abandoned stratagem and weakness to our enemies; and all Europe must perceive in our conduct a people who set a just value upon peace, but who are not afraid of war.

(Signed) LE BRUN.

Extract of a Letter from M. Bourgoing, the French Minister at the Court of Spain, to M. Dumourier, the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Aranjuez, 5th April, 1792.

* * * * *

IT would be very vexatious, Sir, if, when every thing seems to concur for uniting the two nations, differences purely local should arise to disturb the good intentions of the two governments. We need entertain no farther apprehension on account of the hostile preparations of Spain. The cordon, which prejudice and exaggeration have made an object of terror, comprehends at the utmost but twelve or thirteen thousand men from Saint Sebastian to Barcelona, which certainly would not be formidable, even if it were destined against us; but it appears to me by demonstration, that even the hot-headed Florida Blanca entertained no such idea, and still less his successor. I think, therefore, Sir, on this side, there is nothing to excite our alarms, or cause the expenditure of treasure in preparations. These are facts which it may be proper to make known throughout all France; because they will prevent inquietudes, and consequently render credit more secure.

Memorial

Memorial transmitted to his Excellency the Count de Bernstorff, Minister of State and of Conference to his Danish Majesty, by the Ministers of Austria and Prussia, in June, 1792.

THE undersigned envoy extraordinary of his Hungarian Majesty, and the *chargé des affaires* of his Prussian Majesty, have the honour of communicating to the minister of his Danish Majesty the subsequent memorial, relative to the affairs of France, and to accompany it with some observations and requisitions of their courts on that subject. There are at present at stake the common cause of all sovereigns, and the common interests of all governments. Hence arises the necessity of obligation for them all to interfere efficaciously, by the union of their means and forces; and their community of efforts requiring necessarily a previous concert, for the purpose of settling with those courts the end of the concert, and the means of effecting it.

The end unites two different objects; the one embraces the injured rights of the Princes of the empire, as well as those of the holy see, and the dangers with which the propagation of French principles threatens, more or less, sooner or later, the other states, if they do not proceed in preventing it. The other relates to the maintenance of the essential foundations of monarchical government in France. The first of these two objects is determined in every point by their declaration itself; the second, on the contrary, does not yet admit of a positive determination.

All the other powers have by no means a right to require of a great and free power, such as

France, that every thing should be entirely re-established in its former state, and that it should, without alteration, adopt its former mode of government. It follows, that they should and ought to acknowledge, as legal and constitutional, such a modification in its ancient government, and its internal administration, as the King, enjoying full liberty, shall accept, in conjunction with the legitimate representatives of the nation. Besides these, several important considerations seem to prescribe to the wisdom and foresight of these united courts, to display and maintain invariably the greatest moderation in that respect.

As to the means to be employed, they ought to be sufficient, in order to render the success infallible, proportioned to the respective forces of the united powers, and regulated upon one general plan of operations.

This concurrence of efforts may be effectuated either by troops, or by subsidies of money, proportioned in favour of the powers who shall undertake to furnish a greater number of troops than the amount of their contingent. In both cases it will be necessary to specify the nature and quantum of these means which they shall engage to furnish, as well as the term at which these engagements shall be fulfilled. In order to proceed to the arrangement of these points, his Apostolic Majesty and his Prussian Majesty propose the city of Vienna as the centre of the distances, with a view to accelerate and abridge the labour as much as possible.

But when, in consequence of the concert, the assembling of the armies shall be effected from all quarters,

ters, and followed by a declaration of the powers announcing their common intention, and the objects of which they demand the redress; and if then it be necessary to establish a formal armed congress, it follows, that this congress cannot be held at Vienna, at too great distance from France, but in some other place that the united powers shall judge most convenient. Their Apostolic and Prussian Majesties are ready on their part to concur in this manner with all the promptitude and energy possible, in support of the common interests of all sovereigns and governments.

The measures that the two courts have taken till now being purely defensive, the active measures that they shall further pursue will depend upon the fulfilment of the proposed concert, and consequently the effective co-operations of the other courts,

It is in virtue of the precise orders, and in the name of their respective courts, that the undersigned have the honour of inviting the court of Denmark to this concert, and the engagement of furnishing its minister at Vienna with instructions, and with full powers necessary for that purpose, demanding the eventual information of the means that it should contribute to the common end, and the limited time in which it may be able to furnish them.

As the present notorious extremity of the affairs of France, and, above all, the hostile invasion of the territory of Germany, and of the circle of Burgundy, which it is about to renew, renders urgent the necessity of accelerating, as much as possible, the execution of the combined measures, the under-

signed flatter themselves, that his Excellency M. le Comte de Bernstorff, will not delay to inform them of the intentions of his court relatively to its accession to the proposed concert.

(Signed) WEGUELIN.
BREUNNER.

The Answer of his Excellency the Count de Bernstorff.

IT is with all the sentiments worthy of the confidence of the sovereigns, his friends and allies, and with an equal return of confidence, that his Danish Majesty has received and weighed the overtures of their Apostolic and Prussian Majesties. He has there perceived the most just principles, and the most respectable solicitude for the happiness and tranquillity of all Europe, evidently threatened by the French anarchy, and also by the imposing appearance of these deceitful but seducing forms. The proposal of a perfect concert, to secure the general basis of social order, to set bounds to the attempts of those who despise it, and to restore the French again to that prosperity which they once enjoyed, but which has been annihilated, cannot but flatter the King my master. If he cannot concur in it, it does not proceed from a difference of opinion or views; it is from reasons founded on a different position, upon greater interests, upon duties which ought to form his law and his guide, and which do not permit him to listen to his inclinations, or consult his regrets. His Majesty will explain himself upon this head with truth, frankness, and the utmost cordiality. He knows that it is only thus

thus that he can prove his esteem and friendship to the sovereigns to whom he is attached, and whose virtues he well knows and most sincerely respects.

It is no longer possible to be silent, or to maintain peace by a formidable concert. The French have already declared war. The general system of the King is the most perfect and impartial neutrality; but he cannot entirely reconcile himself with one of the belligerent parties in opposition to the other, by a re-union which has only taken place since the war has in reality commenced. Denmark has acknowledged, as well as the deceased Emperor and the King of Prussia, the constitution of France, since Louis XVIth has solemnly avowed it. There is not yet any direct and public proceeding. The sovereigns who have not particular reasons, are not yet called to support or avenge the cause of him who believes himself free, and entirely satisfied with the limitation of royal authority, adopted without complaint.

There is a wide difference between neutral and distant powers, who have not been provoked, and those that have been offended, who ought to defend themselves, who, by their engagements, their vicinity, their forces, their position in general, are under the necessity of taking a part, and besides are able to perform a principal part without inconvenience. Their first object, and what is most worthy of them, is without doubt to preserve their subjects from the dreadful infection which spreads itself as the most active and dangerous poison; his Majesty has prevented its progress by means adapted to the genius of

his nation; and he will not deviate from his system.

Denmark is besides a maritime and commercial power. It has then particular measures to pursue, especially with respect to a nation with which it is connected by a treaty of commerce, and which requires the most careful management. Its prosperity does not solely depend upon peace, but likewise on the opinion that it shall not be interrupted, and that there exists nothing which can have this effect; and the King cannot permit himself to destroy this opinion.

His Majesty was unwilling to delay his answer under a pretext of consulting with others, or waiting till he might be assured of the concert or universal concurrence of sovereigns, so difficult to be foreseen or imagined. He has wished to prove how much he was impressed by the truths expressed with so much force and dignity in the memorials which have been communicated to him. He confesses and acknowledges also his obligation to concur, as a member of the empire, in all the common measures which shall be employed in its defence, and in the support of its rights. His Majesty will be always equally ready to confess and to fulfil his duty.

From the department of foreign affairs, at Copenhagen, the 1st of June, 1792.

(Signed) BERNSTORFF.

The Republic of Geneva, in consequence of Treaties which stipulate, that when War exists between France and Savoy, it may call in a Garrison from the Cantons

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Cantons of Berne and Zurich, having resolved to station 1600 Swiss Troops within its Dominions, the Executive Council of France ordered a sufficient Number of French Soldiers to march into the Territories of Geneva to prevent the Entrance of the Helvetic Troops. The Counsellor of State of Geneva visited the French Commissioners with the Army on the 8th of October, 1792, who referred him to General Montesquiou; and the Dispute at last terminated in the following Convention:

I. **A**LL the corps of Swiss troops which are now in Geneva, shall successively retire into Switzerland; and the said retreat shall be completed betwixt the present period and the 1st of December next.

II. Between this time and the same epoch, the heavy artillery, and the French troops who surround Geneva, and who had approached it on account of differences terminated by the present convention, shall be withdrawn, and posted in such a manner as not to give any cause of alarm to Geneva.

III. From the date of the present convention, a free communication between the inhabitants of Savoy and the two Republics, and full liberty of passing from Geneva to Switzerland, and from Switzerland to Geneva, shall be re-established on the same footing as in time of peace, agreeably to treaty and to usage.

IV. The Republic of Geneva expressly and solemnly reserves to itself all anterior treaties with its neighbours, and particularly that of 1584, with the respectable cantons of Zurich and Berne, as well as the first article of the treaty of 1784.

The French Republic not mean-

ing that the reserve should connect it with treaties in which it is not concerned, nor prejudice in any thing the power it has reserved to itself of revising its own treaties, executed provisionally until the time of such revision.

V. The present convention shall be ratified by the French Republic and the Republic of Geneva, and letters of ratification shall be duly exchanged on both sides within the space of twelve days, or, if possible, sooner.

Done and agreed upon between us, at the quarters-general of Landracy, Nov. 2, 1792; First Year of the French Republic.

(Signed) MONTESQUIOU.

J. F. PRÉVOST, Chancellor of State.

AMI LULLIN, Counsellor of State; Member of the Grand Council.

FRANÇOIS D'IVERNOIS, Member of the Grand Council.

Address of the Genevese Minister to the National Convention, on his Presentation, Dec. 19, 1792.

CITIZENS, I am sensible of the value of such a reception as you honour me with:

Hitherto the presentations made to the depositaries of power, have offered a vain and fastidious ceremony only. On the one part were seen men erected into demigods, receiving an almost idolatrous worship; on the other, servile adorers, drunk themselves with the incense offered at the shrine of their idols. Now a simple citizen presents himself with confidence before men honoured

honoured with the same title. The ministers of a powerful and glorious nation have willed, that the representative of a small but free and sovereign republic, should receive from them the proof of goodwill and fraternity.

In seeing thus among free states the strong countenance the weak, and being pleased with alliances in which the latter have all the advantage, we truly feel that liberty is the most valuable of all ties; that amidst so many nations, strangers to each other, the free nations are fellow-citizens, and the sentiment of their reciprocal sovereignty establishes between them a tender tie of equality.

Citizens, the republic of Geneva felicitates itself on preceding the other states in testimonies of attachment and confidence for the French republic; and if, under these circumstances, they honoured me with their choice, it is because they knew that, to be the faithful interpreter of their thoughts and wishes, it was only necessary for me to express my own sentiments.

Letter from the King of Sardinia to the Thirteen Cantons, and the Allies of the Helvetic Body.

Victor Amadeus, by the Grace of God, King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, &c.

Most dear and great Friends,
Allies, and Confederates,

YOU must doubtless have been informed, and learnt with astonishment, the invasion of Savoy by the French, who entered it on the side towards Mont Melian, with a superior force of more than 20,000

men; without any previous declaration of war, and without having been provoked by any measure or act of hostility whatever on our part. We cannot forbear communicating this to you, as an event which must excite the surprize and indignation of all the powers of Europe, and interest in a particular manner the Helvetic body, with whom we and our royal predecessors have always sincerely desired to live as good neighbours and ancient allies, friends, and confederates.

Considering then the fatal effects and dismal consequences which such an unheard-of proceeding as that of the French towards us and our states is likely to occasion to all neighbouring countries, we are persuaded, that taking a part in the disagreeable circumstances into which we are thrown by it, you will not omit, at the same time, to pay the greatest and most serious attention to every thing that may result from it. We even hope, that weighing in your wisdom the means most proper and efficacious to hinder and prevent the progress of an evil which threatens to ruin all states, by overturning all governments, you will maturely consider, whether, among these means, that of concerting with us measures tending to that end, and that in particular of assisting us to deliver Savoy from the yoke of the French, may not be the most proper. You will know, yourselves, the influence which the example of what has just passed in Savoy may have in neighbouring countries, and the dangers which may thence result to them, without our endeavouring to represent them to you. We shall here consequently, confine ourselves to request, that, convinced of the injustice

justice of the attack of the French against us,—of the consequences which may be apprehended from it,—and of the necessity of forming some good and strong union between all the interested and good neighbours,—above all, to prevent them, you will, as far as your own circumstances allow, form some determination favourable to our just views, and enable us to hope that we shall receive from you that assistance which our confidence in your friendship, and in the interest which you have always taken in every thing that concerns our family states, induce us to ask from you, on so weighty and pressing an occasion as the present.

In expectation of this, nothing remains for us but to assure you of the continuance of our great affection; and we pray God, &c.

Written at Turin this 10th of October, in the Year of Grace 1792, and of our Reign the 20th.

(Signed) VICTOR AMADEUS.

Form of the Answer to be returned to the King of Sardinia. November, 1792.

Sire,

WE have learnt with much regret by your Majesty's letter of the 10th of October, that the flames of war have extended to your Majesty's states; and we take a real interest in this unhappy event.

Your Majesty invites all the Helvetic body to make yours a common cause against the French nation. You must still remember that we addressed to you, as well as to the other two belligerent powers, a declaration, in which we engaged to observe the strictest neutrality. Your Majesty will deign to take in-

to favourable consideration, that the situation and circumstances under which the Helvetic body now are, and the assurance which they gave in consequence, require that they should remain faithful to the system they have adopted, and that they should scrupulously adhere to a neutrality which has been announced to all the belligerent powers.

We beg that the Almighty will be pleased soon to restore peace, so desirable, and to pour down his blessing on your Majesty in particular, and on all your subjects.

Letter from the King of Sardinia to the Canton of Berné.

VICTOR AMADEUS, by the Grace of God, King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem, &c.

Most dear and great Friends,
Allies, and Confederates,

IF at the first moment when we heard of the invasion of Savoy by the French, we did not hasten to communicate to you that disagreeable event, we flatter ourselves that, without ascribing this delay to any want of confidence on our part, in the sentiments entertained by your republic towards us, you will consider it as the natural effect of our first surprise, and of the indispensable operations in which such an event must engage us. Hoping, however, that you must have elsewhere learnt, with as much indignation as displeasure, a proceeding so injurious and flagrant on the part of a neighbouring nation, with which we were not at war, and which we had not provoked by any hostilities whatever,—we now communicate to you, as to good friends
and

and neighbours, the just alarm which we have reason to conceive respecting the farther plans which the French may have formed against the remainder of our states, and the determined resolution we have formed of employing all our means to oppose them with effect.

The interest which your republic has always taken in every thing which concerns us as well as our states, does not permit us to doubt that you will be particularly disposed in this disagreeable conjuncture to give us new proofs of it, as far as the situation and circumstances of your state will permit. Of this we flatter ourselves the more, as the connexion which has always subsisted between the states of your republic and our duchy of Savoy, and the dispositions which we have always found in it to contribute, according to respective circumstances, to the preservation of the said duchy in its ancient dependence on our dominion, assure us that you will not behold with indifference what has happened in the said duchy, and the consequences which may thence arise to neighbouring states.

Referring the above to your wisdom and penetration, we can only assure you, that notwithstanding the necessity under which we are at present of uniting all our forces on this side of the Alps, to secure Piedmont from an invasion by the French, we will omit nothing which may be in our power to repair the losses we have sustained; and we think we may particularly depend on the friendship of your republic; and the more so, as its own interest is concerned; and to find it disposed to assist us in accomplishing

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our end, when the series of events shall permit. In the mean time we have heard with great satisfaction the measures which you have so vigorously pursued, both to prevent the city of Geneva from sinking under the power of the French forces, which threatened it, and to secure your own state from any disagreeable event on their part:— and we most ardently wish, that you would farther open to us the measures which you think necessary to be adopted, to remove still farther from your frontiers an enemy which may justly be called the common one of all Europe. At the same time, if you think proper to combine any measures with us for that purpose, and which may contribute more effectually to the respective advantage of the two states, we shall hasten to receive with as much pleasure as gratitude every thing which you may propose. You may, consequently, from this moment, be persuaded that we shall

continually be disposed to concur, on our part, in whatever may be the most proper for attaining the desired common end; and we have reason to flatter ourselves that the powers, our allies, and those who have guaranteed our states, will find the case sufficiently urgent, and our cause sufficiently just, to induce them to hasten to give us that assistance which we have a right to expect, in conformity with our treaties, and the pressing requisitions which we have made.

On this we pray God that he will take our most dear and great friends, allies, and confederates, under his holy protection.

Written at Turin the 10th of
October, the year of grace
X 1798,

1792, and of our reign the twentieth.

(Signed) VICTOR AMADEUS.

Letter from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, Oct. 22.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to the National Convention the translation of a letter which has been addressed to me by the minister of the Ottoman Porte. The convention will there see what manœuvres have been employed at that court to discredit Citizen Semonville, appointed ambassador in the room of the heretofore Count de Choiseul. As soon as the recall of the latter, and the nomination of the former, were known, the ambassadors of Vienna, Berlin, and other courts, used every kind of intrigue to cause Citizen Semonville to be rejected by the Porte; and in this they have succeeded. The provisional executive council has already pursued proper measures to undeceive the Ottoman Porte, and to avenge the insult offered to this citizen.

(Signed) LE BRUN.

Declaration of the Kings of Prussia and Hungary, delivered to all the Ministers at the Diet of Ratisbon, excepting those of Saxony and Hanover. Delivered at Ratisbon, May 17, 1792.

IN consequence of the association made between all the princes, on the invitation of the deceased Emperor, for the defence and safety of the empire, the Kings of Prussia and of Hungary, conjointly, hope that some of the states of the empire

will withdraw themselves therefrom; but, on the contrary, will hasten to contribute, by every means in their power, to support the war against France, who threatens the empire. Their Majesties demand that the aforesaid states, without entering into any discussion on the question, whether the war is against the empire or against the house of Austria, will explain themselves categorically on the succours they are willing to supply; and on which, however, they are left to their entire free will, flattering themselves, that the supplies will be proportioned to the grandeur of the respective states. These succours may be given in troops, in warlike stores and arms, in money, or in provisions, and a full liberty to the belligerent armies to recruit in the said states. If, contrary to all expectation, there should be any state who, by any reason whatever, renounces the association, their said Majesties will be forced purely and simply to cover their own states, as also those of their allies, and to abandon the others to their fate. They will even adopt the principle, "He that is not for us is against us," and will put it in execution as circumstances may require; but their Majesties have so high an opinion of the patriotism of all the states of the empire, that they assure themselves beforehand of receiving from each a speedy and satisfactory answer.

[This declaration, after being made verbally, was delivered in writing to all the ministers at the Diet, except those of Saxony and Hanover. It was received with general dissatisfaction. The imperious tone assumed by the Kings of Hungary and Prussia, and their menacing

nacing the co-estates, were loudly complained of. "If Francis I." it was said, "already takes upon him to command us, what will he do when elected Emperor?"—"I told you," said the minister of Saxony, "that in this young prince we should find a master."]

Letter of the Helvetic Congress to the King of the French.

Sire, June 11, 1792.

THE necessity of preserving our precious country in these critical times, with the same courage and firmness as our ancestors, who, reposing in God, founded our republic, under the protection and visible assistance of the Almighty, has engaged all of us, the cantons and allied states, maturely to weigh and to deliberate, by our deputies assembled at Frawenfeld for that purpose, on the most proper means of preserving the tranquillity and peace of our country, and averting the dangers arising to it from abroad.

In consequence of these mature deliberations, we have the honour of addressing to your royal Majesty the present letter. — Following the example of our ancestors, we have taken the firm and unanimous resolution to observe with fidelity, on our side, the most entire and strict neutrality towards the great powers actually engaged in war, and to support the same by an armed force, as circumstances shall require; for which end we are already fortifying our frontiers, to put them in as secure a state as possible.

At the same time we presume to conceive hopes that the principalities of Neuchâtel and Vallangin,

the Republic of Genève, the Val de Munster, (Montrier Grand Val) as well as the other states of the Bishop de Bale, who are all more or less intimately connected with some of our co-estates, will be, as usual, included in the neutrality, and respected on that account as at every former period. In consequence, we earnestly demand of your Majesty to issue orders for the troops which are in the territory of Porentruy to be withdrawn, in order that the confederate territories may be more safe, and may not have reason to fear an invasion on the part of the belligerent powers.

After this formal and solemn declaration of neutrality, we hope, from the generosity of your royal Majesty, that you will, upon our urgent demand, give orders that your troops and armies may not set foot upon the Helvetic territories, that they may not occupy any post, that they may not make any incursion, nor traverse the country. We take the liberty of asking, as before, that you will soon issue the agreeable declaration which we hope to obtain likewise from his Apostolic Majesty, the King of Hungary and Bohemia, in consequence of the demand which we have made this day. We will employ all the means in our power to act and observe with fidelity all that is required by a full, loyal, strict, and true neutrality.

We regard this gracious declaration, which we expect from your Majesty, as a new proof of your goodness and benevolence towards all the confederation. We beg you would continue to preserve the same dispositions, and pray that the Almighty may maintain the prosperity.

perity of your sacred person, and of the royal family, and conduct all events for the general good.

Your Majesty's most attached and zealous servants, the burgo-masters, magistrates, counsellors, of the Thirteen Cantons and United States of Switzerland.

Given and sealed in common with the seal of the state of Zurich, June 11th, 1792.

Memorial presented to the Porte by the Imperial Internuncio.

THE sanguinary faction of the Jacobins, wishing to diffuse everywhere that spirit of discord and anarchy by which they are animated, have dispatched to Constantinople one of their most dangerous members, named Semonville: a man so notorious for the perversity of his principles, that several courts have already refused to receive him as an ambassador, or to admit him into their territories. The execrable projects of this emissary, known to the imperial and royal courts, tend to nothing less than to destroy that perfect harmony, so happily established between the two empires, in order to prepare a diversion favourable to those hordes of villains, whom his august allies are endeavouring to deprive of the power of subverting all Europe. The undersigned internuncio has too often had an opportunity of admiring in the proceedings of the Sublime Porte its exalted wisdom and its just sentiments of its dignity, to dare suffer himself for a moment to think it will so far debase itself, as to receive, in a public capacity, before that throne where honour sits with

majesty, the most worthless of these factious men, commissioned to offer the most insidious proposals; but as evil-minded or ill-informed persons affect to represent the admission of Semonville as a thing indifferent in itself, it is the strict duty of the undersigned to extinguish their voice by a formal remonstrance, and to declare, that if, contrary to the intention of the allied powers, and contrary to all probability, Semonville should be admitted, the court must suppose that the most powerful interest, awakened by deceitful offers, has prevailed over the only course prescribed to the Sublime Porte by the extreme delicacy of its honour, that of absolutely rejecting an emissary, sent abroad by the enemies not only of the allied powers, but of the whole human race. In short, the undersigned flatters himself that the explanation which he has had the honour of officially requiring by the present memorial, will serve to strengthen the confidence which his Imperial Majesty already has in the valuable friendship and exalted sentiments of the Sublime Porte.

After this information on my part, will not his Imperial Majesty have reason to suspect the greatest coolness on the part of his friend, should he not hesitate to receive and acknowledge as ambassador one of the principal members of that sect who are his enemies? Will not those powers who are neighbours to the Ottoman empire, be alarmed at the possibility of the success of a negotiation, the intention of which is to make the Porte again take up arms against them? These alarms will give rise to measures which prudence prescribes, and to suspicions which must necessarily affect

affect that harmony which has been just happily established by a peace.

When I propose to the Sublime Porte to reject M. Semonville, I do not mean that it should reject every other minister whom France may send: this would be declaring myself an enemy to the new constitution; but as a minister is only the agent who maintains the bonds of amity between two courts, a court which may find in an individual qualities disagreeable to it, has a right to reject him, and to require another. By refusing to receive M. Semonville, the Sublime Porte will in no manner break its connection with France.

Aug. 9, 1792.

(Signed) KNOBELSDORFF.

Memorial presented to the Porte by the Prussian Envoy.

AS soon as the undersigned learnt that M. Semonville was appointed ambassador from France to the Ottoman Porte, he thought it his duty, and of the utmost importance to the Sublime Porte, to communicate to it some information on that subject. He made the strongest remonstrances, in order that they might prevent his arrival; but as these remonstrances had no effect, he has been induced to present, in this memorial, a detail of the reasons which made him pursue those steps.

M. Semonville, appointed some time ago minister of the court of France at the court of Turin, was rejected, because he was known to be a zealous Jacobin in his conduct at Genoa, where he stirred up the people against the government: an usual and favourite conduct of the Jacobins, who, after having shaken the throne of France, and spread

licentiousness and disorder throughout the whole kingdom, have resolved to seduce the people of all countries, to preach up revolt to them, and to instigate them to murder their sovereigns.

The existence of M. Semonville in any country is dangerous, for he is a Jacobin; that is to say, a member of a villanous sect, composed of mad fanatics, inspired with democratic rage, sworn enemies and avowed assassins of all sovereigns, against whom they employ perfidy, treachery, poniards, and poison: all means are equal to them, provided they can deliver the earth from *despots*: an injurious title which they give to lawful sovereigns. Such is their language, and such their morality: an infernal morality, which they have the impudence to propagate in the face of the whole world. Such are all the Jacobins; such is M. Semonville—and shall such a monster approach the foot of the sacred throne of the Emperor of the Ottomans? This idea fills me with horror; my heart, alarmed for days which are precious to it, has spoken; but should it be possible that this true language of my heart is not heard, I can still add that of policy. In the first place, it is contrary to the dignity of so great a sovereign to receive as a minister a man already rejected and despised by another court; that the King, my master, now at war, not against France, but against the Jacobins and the unhappy people whom they have seduced, &c.

[This memorial, which is very long, concludes, like that of the Imperial Intercuncio, by formally demanding “that the Porte will refuse to receive Semonville as ambassador.”]

X 3

Extract

Extract from the Dispatch of the Minister of the Ottoman Porte to the Court of France.

OUR most dear and sincere friends, whose end we wish may be happy, it is evident, that in order to preserve the good harmony which subsists between France and our Sublime Porte, the ambassadors sent by France should be men distinguished for their talents, wisdom, and judgment. Hitherto the Sublime Porte has had reason to commend the ambassadors sent to it by that power. We have now learnt that the ambassador residing at present at the Sublime Porte has been recalled; and that one named Semonville, who has observed an imprudent conduct in other courts, has been chosen to succeed him; we have therefore written you this friendly letter, to inform you that it is our desire that you would appoint another person, more capable of discharging this important and useful mission to the greatest advantage of the two powers.—When this letter shall reach you, by the grace of God, our desire will be fully known to you.

At Constantinople, the well-guarded.

Memorial presented by Order of the Grand Signior to the Ministers of the Christian Princes resident at Constantinople.

AS the present war between France and the powers of Prussia, Austria, England, and Holland, will give rise to battles and attacks, both by sea and land, whilst it is well known that the said powers are connected by friendship with the Sublime Porte, and that

the latter is neutral in this war, it becomes necessary to renew an ancient regulation of the year 1194 (which answers to 1780) when some of these powers were at war, in virtue of which the vessels of these powers were to abstain from engaging in the ports of Turkey, near its coasts, under the cannon of its fortresses, and in places lying within three miles of the shores of the White Sea, both in Asia and Europe, &c. In case of an engagement in the open sea, between ships of the belligerent powers, none of the captains of the Ottoman fleet, nor any other naval officers or commanders, shall intermeddle, or give any marks of partiality in favour of either party, &c.

Instructions to the Captain Pacha.

THE present war between France and the powers of Prussia, Germany, England, and Holland, and the hostilities which are now carrying on, making it manifestly evident that battles and mutual attacks will take place both by sea and land; and the said powers being connected by friendship with the Sublime Porte, which is entirely neutral; and as in times past, and particularly during the years 1194 and 1195 (which correspond with the years 1780 and 1781 of the Christian æra) when some of the said powers were at war, a regulation was made, which was then communicated and presented in a memorial to the ministers of the belligerent powers, in order that they might execute it with all diligence; and as orders were issued, addressed to the Grand Admiral

Admiral of this empire, for protecting trading vessels, which navigated the seas under my jurisdiction in the Archipelago, both on the coasts of Asia and of Europe,—according to this regulation, it was established that the vessels of the said powers which might be under the cannon of fortresses at the entrance of harbours near trading ports, and within three miles of them, should abstain from molesting each other, or committing mutual hostilities; and that those who might transgress in this respect should be repulsed, and amicably reprehended by their respective consuls.

That such of his subjects as might wish to enter themselves as sailors, with a view of privateering, should be seized and punished.

That none of our Mussulmen subjects, or others, should take charge of merchandize and effects in ships belonging to the said powers at war, without having a document or act from the consuls.

That in case any battle or action should take place between the ships of the said powers in the open sea, none of the commanders of my imperial fleet, naval captains, or officers, shall dare to interfere, or to give marks of partiality, by supporting any of the parties.

Having, therefore, found it necessary at present to issue the same imperial order concerning the above regulations, these presents are expedited to you by the Captain Pacha, the tenor of which is as follows:

The ships belonging to the powers at war shall abstain from molesting each other, from committing hostilities, and from giving each other battle at the entrance of harbours, and near the trading ports in

my jurisdiction, under the cannon of fortresses, and within three miles of them. In consequence of this, memorials have been delivered on the part of the Sublime Porte to each of the ministers, and to the *chargé des affaires* of the said powers, who reside at my port of felicity, the contents of which they must communicate to their respective courts in writing, and to all those whom it may concern, in order that the said naval regulations may be observed, and that they may give an answer, by memorial, to my Sublime Porte, to be registered in its department.

As all the powers engaged in the present war are connected in friendship with my Sublime Porte, you will take care to give orders, by your particular mandates, and to recommend to all the naval commanders who are in the islands of the Archipelago, and to all others whom it may concern, that on account of our neutrality they must abstain from any act contrary to anterior orders, and to the regulations above specified; and that they must be careful not to make the least movement in favour of either party.

You must pay strict attention to every thing specified in the present order which has been issued; that as soon as it is known to you, and communicated to the English and Dutch ministers, you may transmit orders by your own mandates to judges, commandants, and officers, as well as to commanders of fortresses, captains, and commandants of my imperial fleet, and to all others whom it may concern, and who may be in the islands of the Archipelago, and in the fortresses and ports both in Asia and Europe.

And, as has been above specified,

X 4

you

you will not permit vessels belonging to France, Germany, Prussia, England, and Holland, to commit hostilities against each other, under the cannon of fortresses, nor at the entrance of ports, or within three miles of them; and those who may transgress in this respect shall be amicably reprimanded by their consuls.

You must be careful that no bad subjects may enter as soldiers and sailors, with the idea of privateering: and as soon as you are informed of such circumstance, you must seize the offenders, and bring them to condign punishment.

You must take care also, that none of our Mussulmen subjects, or others, shall take charge of effects in vessels belonging to the said powers, without having previously received a document from their respective consuls.

That none of our naval officers or commanders may interfere in the engagements which may take place between the ships of the said powers on the open sea, and that they shall shew no partiality to either party.

Finally, that as all these powers are friends to the Sublime Porte, care must be taken to shew no preference to either party; and you must act with prudence, in such a manner as to do nothing which may be contrary to the good friendship which subsists between them and this high empire. You must do your utmost endeavours to see the above regulations put in execution, that they may be everywhere published; and that those who offend against them may be brought to punishment.

Written in the middle of the month of Schahan, in the year 1207 of the Hegira,

Substance of the Articles contained in the Definitive Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Porte; concluded at Jassy, Jan. 9, 1792.

I. **T**HERE shall be from henceforth a stable, permanent friendship between the high contracting powers.

II. All the stipulations in force before the late rupture shall be renewed.

III. The Dneister shall hereafter be considered as the frontier and line of demarcation between the respective states. All the territories situated on the right hand of that river, shall be restored to the Porte.

IV. The principal cities of Moldavia and Wallachia shall be confirmed in their ancient rights and privileges; the inhabitants shall be exempted from all tribute during two years; and those who wish to sell their property, and remove elsewhere, shall be permitted so to do.

V. The Sublime Porte hereby guarantees the tranquillity of Grusinia, Georgia, and the neighbouring territories.

VI. The Sublime Porte undertakes to do the same in regard to Caucasus.

VII. The Sublime Porte undertakes to do the same in regard to all the piracies of the Barbary corsairs, and to indemnify the subjects of Russia from any losses they may sustain in consequence of an infraction of any of the above three articles.

VIII. Liberty shall be granted to prisoners of all nations, whether Russians, Greeks, Moldavians, Poles, &c.

IX. All hostilities shall cease, &c. &c.

X. The

X. The two high contracting powers shall send ambassadors reciprocally to each other.

XI. All the Russian forces, either appertaining to the sea or land service, shall quit the Ottoman territories on or before the 10th of May.

XII. The ratification of the Count de Besborodko and the Grand Vizier shall be interchanged within fifteen days.

XIII. That of the respective sovereigns in five weeks, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

Declaration of M. Bulgakow, Russian Ambassador, at Warsaw, delivered to the Diet on the 18th of May.

THE liberty and independence of the illustrious republic of Poland, have at all times attracted the attention and concern of all her neighbours.

Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, who, together with this claim, still unites the right of her formal and positive engagements with the republic, has endeavoured in a more peculiar manner to watch over the inviolable preservation of these two precious attributes of her political existence.

These continual and generous endeavours of her Majesty, being the effects of her love for justice and order as well as her affection and good wishes towards a nation whom the identity of origin, language, and so many other natural relations with the nation she reigns over, rendered dear to her, did doubtless repress the ambition and avidity of those rulers who, not satisfied with the share of authority

assigned to them by the laws of the state, aspired at a greater extent of power at the expence of these very laws.

With this intent they have, on one hand, neglected nothing to weary out the active vigilance of the Empress over the integrity of the rights and prerogatives of the illustrious Polish nation; and, on the other hand, to defame the purity and munificence of her intentions, and placing them on every occasion in the most odious point of view.

In this manner they have had the perfidious dexterity to cause to be declared, as a cumbersome and humiliating yoke, the act by which Russia guarantees the lawful constitution of this nation; whereas the greatest realms, and among the rest the German empire, far from rejecting such like guarantees, have considered, fought, and accepted them as the most stable foundation of their property and independence.

Events of a recent nature shew better than all proofs, how indispensable and efficacious such a guarantee might be; and that the republic without them, after having been involved by the practices of her internal enemies to recover her constitution, could have no other claim on the intervention of the Empress than solely her friendship and generosity.

Meanwhile, those who very long since meditated the degradation and ruin of the ancient liberty of the republic, grew bolder and bolder, when part of the nation proposed all sorts of perverse and erroneous notions, and only waited for a favourable moment to execute their ruinous designs. They thought they

they would find it in the two wars by which Russia was attacked at once. About this time the diet assembled at Warsaw. The instructions which the legates had received from their Woywodships, fixed the same as a free and ordinary diet. All at once it was transformed into a confederate diet, without any known good reasons. The act of confederation, which was made public, announced the transactions of the same. Its chief objects were to be "the maintenance of the free republican government,—the maintenance of the magistrates in their functions and actual limits,—and the preservation of the property of citizens."

It belongs to the people of the Polish nation themselves to judge from the consequences and result of the transactions of this diet, how far it has abused public confidence, by departing from the original objects of its meeting, and adopting others which were entirely opposite to them. Without entering upon an enumeration of all the illegalities and violations of the laws and immunities of the republic, which this confederate diet, or rather the faction prevailing in it, presumes to execute, it will suffice to say, that after having usurped, mingled, and concentrated in itself all branches of power, whose union in the hand of one individual is utterly inconsistent with republican principles, has moreover usurped in a most tyrannical manner each branch of this power; it has prolonged its duration for above three years and an half (a duration of which the Polish annals do not offer a single instance) and finally crowned all its ruinous enterprizes by totally subverting, on the 3d of

May 1791, the edifice of government, under which the republic was happy for so many years.

On this day this edifice vanished, and on its ruins arose a monarchy, which in its new laws, by which it was thought to limit it, offers nothing but contradictions, incoherency with the old laws, an entire insufficiency in every respect, which leaves not even to the Polanders the shade of that liberty and those prerogatives of which they were always so jealous.

The elective throne is rendered an hereditary one; and that law, which the wisdom of their ancestors had dictated, and which forbids to meddle during the life-time of the King with the election of his successor, was transgressed in as rash a manner as were all those that did guarantee the perpetual consistency of the republic.

The means made use of for executing these violent actions, were well enough calculated to characterize them. On the day of the revolution, the palace and the diet-hall were crowded with the Warsaw mob. Armed persons were introduced—cannons were brought from the arsenal, in order to fire on such as might endeavour to prevent the success of the plot. The regiment of artillery and the Lithuanian guards were assembled for supporting the mob. Their fury was excited against those whose resistance was dreaded. Several legates who persevered in their patriotic sentiments were threatened with death. When the legate of Kalitsch humbly approached the throne to remind the King of his sacred oath, concerning the *pacta conventa*, that sacred and indissoluble tie which connects him with the nation,

nation, he was trod under foot in an unmerciful manner, in spite of his inviolable character as a representative of this nation, to the shame and disgrace of every Polisher who has not lost all sense of honour and liberty. A revolution effectuated in this manner, was deemed by its promoters to have been the free wish of the nation.

Not satisfied with the internal misfortunes they brought upon their unhappy mother country, they also endeavoured, by all possible methods, to hurt her abroad, by having plunged her into discords which are likely to degenerate into an open war with Russia, the old ally; the best and most solid friend of the republic and the Polish nation.

It required the whole extent of the known generosity of the Empress, and especially that justice and penetration by which she knows how to discern the intentions of the spirit of party from the general wish of the nation, to prevent her from sooner resenting the extreme abuses by which she has been continually provoked.

A brief enumeration of the string of facts belonging to this matter, will set the truth of this assertion in a proper light.—At the time of the declaration of the war to which Russia was necessitated by the Ottoman Porte, the ambassador of the Empress delivered to the ministry of the republic, which had then no diet, a note, apprising them of the instantaneous marching of the Russian troops through the Polish states; and proposing to appoint commissioners in the palatinates that were nearest to the quarters of these troops, in order to agree with them concerning the furnishing and payment of the requisite forage.

All this was regulated and amicably agreed upon with mutual satisfaction, though at that very period animosity and rancour seemed already to manifest themselves. But as soon as the diet was formed, and the long harboured plan of subverting the republic had got the better of all considerations, with respect to the preservation of peace within and without the kingdom, it was not only required immediately to withdraw the Russian troops from the Polish territory, without even excepting the small number of those that were to guard the magazines, but also the furnishing them with provisions was rendered difficult by means of several impediments to the establishing of new magazines for their support; and it was required that even the old magazines should be removed beyond the frontiers of the republic. On the same occasion, the treasury board made the unjust proposal that, on crossing the river Dniester, duties of exports should be collected for those magazines, which were procured at a considerable expence, and greatly to the advantage of the Polish citizens.

Such a proceeding was, in fact, contrary to the reciprocal equity which two neighbouring, friendly, and allied states owe to one another.

The oppressions of all kinds practised upon the subjects of her Majesty the Empress, were carried to such a height, that some of those, whose business retained them on the territory of the republic; and who, fully relying on the sanctity and inviolability of existing treaties and the law of nations, though carrying their trade on in the quietest manner, were, notwithstanding, most maliciously impeached for having excited the inhabitants of the places

places to insurrection; and were arrested and thrown into prisons. When the judges who were commissioned to try these people, found no traces of the crime they stood impeached for, they had recourse to the torture, to extort a confession; and after having in this manner forced it out, these hard-hearted judges condemned them to die, and absolutely had the sentence carried into execution. The first essay of inhumanity, injustice, and cruelty, opened a vast field for inquisitions of all kinds, by which the provinces were chiefly oppressed whose inhabitants confess the orthodox Greek religion. The Bishop of Pajejastaw and Abbot of Siuck, though an imperial subject, fell a victim to this persecution. Notwithstanding his high ecclesiastical dignity, purity of manners, and austerity of principles, he was accused of crimes which malice, and the eagerness of encreasing the once effectuated fermentation, invented upon every occasion. The prelate was arrested and conducted to Warsaw, where he was doomed to lasting imprisonment. — Even in the very centre of the metropolis, and towards the Empress's ministers, the law of nations was as little respected; for their chapel, which is considered as a part of the hotel occupied by them (and the Russian arms being suspended, clearly proves to every body that it is a privileged place) was forced by Polish soldiers, who seized upon a minister of the altar, and carried him before an incompetent tribunal. The satisfaction which the minister has demanded on this subject has been refused, upon vague and insignificant pretences. In short, not only the solemn treaties which connect-

ed Russia and Poland were violated and transgressed in the most important articles, but the animosity has been carried so far as to send an extraordinary deputation to Turkey, then in open war with Russia, offering to this power an offensive treaty aimed against Russia: — a fact of which the archives of the ministerial correspondence of the cabinet of Warsaw contain the documents and clearest proofs.

The respect due to the person and the exalted rank of the Empress, was not observed in the speeches held in public sessions in the diet; and this rudeness, instead of being reprimanded, as it deserved, was even encouraged and applauded by the chiefs of the party that subverted the laws of the constitution of the republic.

The least of these grievances, without mentioning those which are voluntarily suppressed for the sake of brevity, would already justify, in the face of God and men, the resolution of her Majesty to take signal vengeance. Yet it is not with this view that her Majesty publishes this declaration of the said grievances. Her innate equity does not suffer her to confound all the Polish nation with one of the parties which has betrayed her Majesty's confidence. The Empress, on the contrary, is fully convinced that the greatest number had no share in any of the things attempted against herself and the republic.

For this very reason she is willing to sacrifice her just resentment to a hope more compatible with her generous and pacific sentiments, of seeing all those grievances remedied by means of a new diet, which shall more strictly adhere to the orders of their superiors, and the immutable funda-

fundamental laws of the state, than the present existing diet, which has trespassed upon them all in the most manifest manner, and marked all their transactions, in opposition to those laws, with the stamp of their own illegality.

But should her Majesty refuse to listen to the voice of her own resentment, she cannot be deaf to the voice of claims made to her by a great number of Poles, among whom are several who are as illustrious by birth and rank in the republic as they are by their patriotic virtues and ability for serving the state.

Animated by a pure and praiseworthy zeal for the welfare of their country, and the recovery of its former liberty and independence, they have united themselves for the purpose of forming a lawful confederation, as the only effectual remedy for the misfortunes which the illegal confederation and usurpation at Warsaw has caused to the nation.

With these sentiments they have claimed the support and assistance of the Empress, who did not hesitate to assure them of both, being guided on her part by her friendly and amicable dispositions in favour of the republic, and her desire of strictly fulfilling the obligations of her treaties.

In order to fulfil her promise, the Empress has ordered part of her troops to enter the territory of the republic. They shew themselves there as friends, and co-operating in the re-establishment of the rights and prerogatives of the republic. All such as shall receive them under this title, will, besides a perfect oblivion of what is past, receive every protection and security for their persons and property. Her Majes-

ty hopes that all good Poles, who truly love their native country, will know how to value the intentions of her Imperial Majesty, and perceive that it is for their own benefit that they should co-operate, with all their heart and soul, in the generous endeavours which her Majesty is to employ in conjunction with all true patriots, for restoring to the republic liberty and laws, of which it has been deprived by the pretending constitution of the 3d of May. If there should be any who harbour any scruple concerning the oath which they have been led to take from error, or which they were compelled to by force and seduction, such may consider, that is the only true and sacred oath by which they engaged to maintain and defend the free and republican government under which they were born; and that the renewal of this former oath is the only means of repairing the perjury of which they have been guilty in taking the new oath. Yet, if there are any found who, persevering in a perverse way of thinking, should oppose the benevolent intentions of the Empress, and the patriotic wishes of their fellow-citizens, they may thank themselves if they meet with the treatment they deserve; the more so, as they had it in their power to secure themselves by a sincere abjuration of their errors.

The extraordinary ambassador and minister plenipotentiary has orders to notify these resolutions of her Majesty the Empress; and also to publish her just motives; he is, moreover, to invite the illustrious Polish nation to place an unlimited confidence in the generosity and disinterestedness which induces her to take this step, and which makes her

her most ardently desire that the republic, by means of a prudent balance of the different powers, which forms the safest means of securing both her internal tranquillity and her good understanding with her neighbours, should recover the solid basis of its welfare.

Given at Warsaw, on the

7—18th of May, 1792.

(Signed) BULGAKOW.

Promulgation of the Provisional Administrators freely chosen by the People of Mons.

In the name of the Sovereign People,

WE declare before the face of Heaven and Earth, that all the bonds which united us to the house of Austria-Lorraine are broken: we swear that we will never more contract them, and acknowledge in no one any right to the Belgic sovereignty; for it is our will to regain the exercise of our primitive, imprescriptible and inalienable rights. All authority arising from the people, we declare that the states of Hainault, as well as all superior and subaltern judicature is at an end, inasmuch as they have not been constituted by the people; and we expressly forbid them to exercise any functions whatsoever, under pain of being considered as usurpers of the public sovereignty.—Done in the general assembly of the free town of Mons, the 8th of November 1792, first year of the Belgic republic.

(Signed)

A. G. GRENIER, Vice-President.

C. F. LARIVIERE, Secretary.

Address of the King of Poland to the Army.

BY virtue of the constitution, enacted 22d March, 1792, the supreme and general command of all the forces of the republic is entrusted to us in the following terms (here the act of legislature is recited): thus the defence of our dear country is confided to us and to you. The enemy that invades it is well known to every Polisher. So many injuries, misfortunes, and humiliations heaped on us by Russia, call to God and your courage for vengeance. The war is no sooner declared than begun, without the least justifiable motive. Some degenerate Poles, rebels to their country, have lent a pretext for it. They wish, with foreign aid, to restore the ancient anarchy, subjection, and insignificance, which your King, at the head of a virtuous diet, has luckily banished from the Polish territories. Brave countrymen! we are now called upon to maintain our possessions, our honour, and our liberties—to defend our brethren, to revenge so many wrongs which we and our forefathers have suffered, and to protect the honour of your King, who consecrates, with pleasure and sincerity, the remnant of his old age to his country. The nation longed to have a respectable army, but anarchy and foreign influence always opposed it: at last, by cheerful offers, it is raised to have in you its defenders, the improvement of whose condition was not forgotten by the present government. It was proper to add regularity and discipline, common and necessary in all armies, to the courage of Poles, which, though they may seem new to you, are not the less requisite for the strength; ho-

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nour, and glory of the army. To execute those regulations shall be the duty of your commander, and to obey them ought to be your ambition: we all must obey the laws, and those who execute them. The army we have opposed to us, owes its strength to a blind obedience and submission to orders. Endeavour to surpass it even in this, and then neither its numbers nor its bravery will be able to intimidate the Poles. It is true, Russian troops have been accustomed to despise the Polish soldiers; but you have now an open field to deserve a more honourable opinion in future. Your country, for whose independence we are going to fight; your King, whose steps are directed by justice, shall value and reward your merit and valour. You may be sure of being amply repaid for the hazard of your lives, by the gratitude of your countrymen, by the acquisition of glory, and by the hands of your King.

Therefore, as your King and your commander, we recommend to you most earnestly to unite good conduct to obedience, fortitude to courage, and love of your country to loyalty.

We recommend to the commanding officers vigilance and attention, exemplary temperance and courage, vigour and justice on every occasion.

The army of a free nation, thus qualified with a good cause on their side, cannot fail to find their support in the powerful arm of the Omnipotent. You serve for honour—let it be your guide; the honour of a Polish soldier is of the highest importance, because it is a pledge of his allegiance to his country, to which he owes all.

Do not suffer a traitor amongst you (should any unfortunately be

found) and the safety of your country will be your own work. In every danger remember and think of your dear country; our life is the least thing that we can offer her. Your common father, your King, and your commander, gives you for ever this word of command,—Children! let us either live free and respected, or die with honour.

Given at Warsaw, May 25th, the twenty-eighth year of our Reign.
(Signed)

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS, REX.

Circular Letter of the King, and the assembled States of Poland, addressed to the Nation.

THE Declaration of the Empress of Russia, delivered by her minister at Warsaw, and communicated to the provinces, is known at this moment in every part of the territories of the republic. Every Polish citizen will learn from it the situation of our country since its publication:—in this declaration, the sovereignty and dignity of the republic are treated with contempt. A diet, to which the nation has delegated all its powers; a diet connected with the whole nation, by a confirmation of the confederacy in all the dietines, and by the election of double representatives; a diet the most important and interesting in all its proceedings and regulations, and distinguished in the last dietines by an union and obedience to laws hitherto unknown,—that diet, by an insupportable insult, is called a prevailing party, and declared illegal. A new meeting of a diet is announced, the support of foreign troops promised to unlawful leagues; repentance and retracting the rejection of the guarantee held forth to the states and to all citizens.

citizens firm in their duty, as the only means of avoiding hostilities. The inhabitants, by circulating this publication, excited to broils and disturbances, to an insurrection against lawful authority, to the horrors of a civil war, false assertions alleged to magnify the pretended injuries, in defiance of all public faith, the invasion of Russian armies, with a denounced and already effected threat of prosecuting in their lives and fortunes, all those who will not join them against their own country.

There is no instance in the annals of mankind, of one nation, of one government, using such contemptuous language to another. The above-mentioned declaration breaks and violates all the laws of nations, addressing Poland not like a sovereign state, but as if issuing arbitrary orders to a conquered province.

Whatever sensation this writing has occasioned to us, to the assembled states, and to the whole community, you Polish citizens, undoubtedly share it all. A few unworthy Poles (painful reflection) hostile to their country, provoked against the diet, for not having in its endeavours to raise the republic conformed to their private views, went to Petersburg, inculpated the diet and the nation; and having applied themselves to destroy that work, erected with so much labour and expence, which constitutes the freedom and independency of the republic, which restores the ancient splendor of the Polish name, and recovers the rank and dignity of our nation in Europe, they have obtained the above-mentioned declaration, and have introduced a foreign army into the country. Their

impious efforts, coincided but too well with the interest of Russia. It was far from agreeable to the Russian government to see Poland shake off the odious guarantee, to find her sensible of her ancient anarchy (which reducing her to the lowest degradation, would have brought her to unavoidable destruction) establish a firm and lasting government, raise sufficient forces to defend her liberty and independency, provide an income equal to the public expensiture; in a word, become a nation well regulated at home, and respected by her neighbours. The conspiracy of those degenerate sons of their country, whom Russia calls a legal confederacy, happened conveniently to her views; and drawing from it a specious pretext, she enters forcibly our territories, and supports the conspiracy of those detested citizens, who (according to the tenor of the declaration) have solicited the assistance of the Empress, and now jointly with her armies, do not shudder to attack the lives and fortunes of their brethren.

We acquaint you, therefore, respectable citizens, in our name and that of the assembled confederate states, that the present state of Poland is that of self-defence against the Russian power; that Russia has declared war against Poland; but at the same time let us inform you, that, confident of the courage and spirit of the nation, the more efforts our enemies make to destroy our government and country, the more vigorous will our measures be to repel this foreign invasion.

Worthy citizens, the fate of your dear country is now at stake! such as you shall preserve it by your courage and virtue, will it pass to your remotest

remotest posterity. - You are going to fight in defence of your country, your privileges, your freedom, and your fortunes; in defence of your parents, wives, and children; in short, of all that is most dear to man.

We have an army raised by your zeal and assistance, supplied with every requisite, which will be your protection. There is an heroic spirit and courage which promises to support it. Such a noble ardour in defence of the country and national liberties, as is only to be found in free nations, inspires us with the most flattering hopes. We receive from all parts news the most consoling to our paternal feelings, with what eagerness citizens of all conditions, at the call of their country, enlist and join the national army.

The love of our country pervades all individuals, and excites their generosity in the public support. There is no class of citizens who, inflamed with a patriotic zeal, do not contribute, according to their capacity. We have a certain confidence, that the same gracious Power who has inspired the whole nation with such a noble ardour, considering the justice of our cause, and the purity of our intentions, will not refuse his irresistible aid.

But, above all, respectable citizens, seek for the safety of your country in union and firmness. We have sufficient strength to oppose our enemy, but nothing can save us from the effects of division and discord. A foreign war is never so dreadful to a nation as the internal disunion of the citizens. Has any power been able to effect any thing against Poland, while all the citizens, joining their King, have boldly stood forward in defence of their

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national laws, immunities, and territory? You will soon hear, dear citizens, the voice of falsehood and deceit; you will receive writings full of treachery and fraud. Those whose blindness and obstinacy have carried them so far as to make them insensible to the horror of raising their arms against their own country, and of bringing foreign soldiers against her, will calumniate the present government, will create distrust against us and the virtuous diet, will try to divide and separate you, knowing that they cannot resist your united strength and endeavours. Arm yourselves with fortitude and virtue, and give proof of such unanimity, such concord, in the defence of your country, in resisting perfidy and deceit, as you have demonstrated in accepting, in voluntarily swearing to maintain this happy constitution; and lately on the same occasion in the expression of your patriotic sentiments, so dear to our paternal feelings. They who have brought a foreign army against your country deserve your vengeance, and not your confidence. That army which comes for the purpose of destroying your government, prepares only the return of your former slavery instead of liberty. You have already experienced at how dear a rate Russian protection is obtained. Violently carrying off from our residence, and during the diet, senators; ministers; and nuncios; the contemptuous treatment of our nobility, the violation of property, the oppression of towns, the seizure and forcible transportation of peasants and their families; and finally, the dismembering of the republic;—these are the effects of the guarantee imposed upon us by Russia! And

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can you expect any thing better at present from this power? As soon as Russia has seduced you, she will renew the ancient wounds of your country; she will renew all our misfortunes. The nobility and citizens will only feel the heavier pressure of a newly enforced yoke, for having dared to become free and independent; the poor villagers, our labourers, and husbandmen, whom the law (benefiting all the Polish inhabitants) has received under its protection, will be driven in numbers from their fertile fields into desert wastes; and lastly, the partition of the republic, and the final extinction of the Polish name, will be the fatal consequence of the disunion of Polanders.

Citizens and dear countrymen, this is the advice and warning you receive from your King and father, and from the confederate states of the republic. But your virtue, the love of freedom, so natural to every Polisher, assures us that fraternal concord will unite you in the defence of your country; that, inspired with the same spirit which guides your King and father, you will assemble under him, and will make a rampart impenetrable to all the attempts of the enemy.

In the present convulsive state of the republic, you plainly perceive that it is improper either to put an end to the diet, or to dissolve the confederation, without endangering the sovereignty and freedom of the nation. There remained, indeed, but little to accomplish; but in the moment when action is required, when we go in person to lead a nation entrusted to our care, peaceful deliberations must be suspended. From this motive we, with the assembled confederate states

of the republic, find ourselves obliged to terminate the present sittings, and to prorogue the diet and confederacy to a more distant period.

The writing presented by the Russian minister, under the name of a declaration, does not acknowledge the present diet; it treats it with contempt, though distinguished by a double representation, and the universal will and consent of the nation;—consequently it insults the will of the whole nation, which has not only delegated its power to this diet, but by a voluntary oath, and a universal expression of thanks, has given the most solemn sanction to its proceedings. The dignity, then, of the supreme national authority demands the continuation of this diet:—the invasion of foreign troops cannot be reconciled with the freedom of dietines; and the remembrance is but too recent of those unfortunate diets, when the election of nuncios was carried on under the influence of foreign arms;—the nation still deplores their fatal consequences, and speaks of them only with horror. To guard the republic against similar violences, it is necessary that the supreme authority should exist in this diet, which was freely assembled, and whose salutary works received a general approbation at the last dietines (acting with equal freedom) throughout the country. Besides, the negotiations with his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, are not yet brought to a conclusion. The final arrangement cannot be determined but by the supreme power of the diet. The moment will at last arrive, when Heaven, merciful to our prayers, will restore us peace and tranquillity; and

and the preference of a diet in its full power will be necessary. And as the Russian declaration insists upon a meeting of a new diet, which being controuled by a foreign army, would only be subservient to the commands of Russia, so the preservation, integrity, laws, liberty, and independence of the republic, require that the same diet, a diet truly free, shall continue its care and deliberations.

You see, citizens, what is your situation; you see what measures your King and diet undertake for the common safety. Let the defence of your country engage all your thoughts and attention; let the strictest peace and union prevail amongst you in such a critical moment as this; follow your King, your father, your commander; follow him whom you have raised to the throne from amongst yourselves, and who, in his advanced age, is going with you to expose his life in the common defence of his country. Let us encourage each other by words and examples; let us boldly encounter all dangers in support of our laws and liberty; let us conquer all difficulties and dangers by our courage and fortitude. Let every man consider, that on the present fate of the republic depends his own, that of his children, and his latest progeny.—Thou, God of armies, God of our forefathers, who seest the innocence and the justice of our cause, who knowest the purity of our intentions, infuse and maintain the spirit of union and concord in the Polish nation! Grant success to those arms whose object is not to shed blood for the sake of ambition, unjust spoil, or dominion over others, but solely to defend our national laws and liberty,

which even thou allowest to free and rational beings—to defend that country which thy Almighty power has so often protected, and which even now thou hast rescued from the brink of destruction, by the spirit of thy wisdom and councils! A faithful King and nation implore thy assistance, and will praise in hymns of gratitude thy providence and mercy.

Wishing that this our address may the sooner reach the public knowledge, we recommend to all ordinal commissions of the palatines and districts, to insert this circular letter in all public records: likewise to have it read from all the pulpits, and published in all the parishes and churches four following Sundays.

Warsaw, May 29th, 1792.

The Answer of the Republic of Poland to the Declaration delivered at Warsaw, May 18th, 1792, by M. de Bulgakow, Envoy of Russia.

THE declaration which M. Bulgakow, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, delivered at Warsaw on the 18th of last month, while it presents a state of things unexpected, and calculated to impress with sentiments of grief a free nation, the friend of peace and of justice,—solely occupied in providing for her own conservation, safety, and independence,—offers at the same time, in the series of motives alleged in support of its result, a consideration very capable of softening the aspect of consequences afflicting to humanity, which on the first view seemed attached to that declaration. It is, that the impulse

by which it was dictated, equally foreign, undoubtedly, to the known magnanimity of her Majesty the Empress, as to the true character of the facts alleged as the reasons of it, bear the invisible stamp of unfavourable impressions; the work of a dexterous and interested imposture, which assuming the mask of civic zeal, has found means to surprise the confidence of a sovereign, whose heart it knew accessible to the imposing voice of patriotism.

A connected and explanatory narrative of the objects set forth in that declaration, will be sufficient completely to dispel the false light under which malevolence has endeavoured to represent the most simple details, for the purpose of distorting them. Can it be possible that the ascendancy of truth unveiled, should find no access to the equitable spirit of her Imperial Majesty?

The liberty and the independence of Poland, these two essential attributes of her political existence, are recognized by the declaration itself, to be the objects of all her neighbours in interesting themselves in her affairs. The confirmation of them has also been the guide, the limit of all the wishes and the efforts of the present diet.

To shew to the eyes of all Europe, as well as to those her Majesty the Empress, that the national liberties, far from having been infringed or sacrificed to the ambitious views of a pretended ruling faction, receive, on the contrary, in the late laws, wise combined powerful safeguards against all usurpation, a simple exposition of the progress and the results of the labours of the present assembly shall suffice. It will exhibit the whole equally free from

the vice of illegality charged upon it, as from characters incompatible with republican principles.

Convoked under the happy auspices of the public spirit, whose energy was soon displayed, the present diet commenced its operations with all the favour of the national opinion. This advantage pointed out the epoch of useful reforms; and it was seized with ardour. But to be efficacious, such an enterprise was ill adapted to the duration and forms of an ordinary diet. The necessity was felt of transforming it into a considerable diet — a mode known and useful, even on less important occasions. The happy effects of this measure soon demonstrated its propriety. The harmony, the active progress of the deliberation, a spirit of fraternity daily more and more apparent, announced a revolution happily effected in the national ideas and dispositions. The public voice applauding the patriotism that centered all efforts in the public good, encouraged the legislators to give to their labours a greater degree of latitude than the tenour of the act of confederation, prepared in the first fermentation of indefinite ideas of amelioration seemed to embrace.

From the natural connexion of the different parts of administration, a partial reform could have produced only results incomplete or incoherent. The administration of justice, the finances, the police, public force, all equally demanded the enlightened eye of examination, and were fully investigated. The general approbation followed close upon and justified every reform that was made. A second choice of representatives, founded on the expiration of the biennial term, im-

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pressed a sanction of the national will, still more imposing on the labours already accomplished, and authorized further proceedings. Accordingly the spirit of the new was soon seen to assimilate with that of the old representatives. A union of will and of sentiment necessarily reinforced the system of patriotic views. In proportion as opinions were enlightened by discussion, and ideas generalized, mens minds approached faster and faster towards conviction, that the best laws would fall short of the good which was their object, if it were not made a point to perfect the means of putting them in execution, and to prevent those periodical convulsions that exposed the best establishment to uncertainty. The consequence was a plan of constitution which was sanctioned on the 3d of May, and which is only the abstract of a plan of reform of government, ordained by the diet, and submitted to its deliberation nine months before.

In making the crown hereditary, Poland had felt all the reasons for so doing, in a long and unfortunate experience of the troubles inseparable from vacancies of the throne. She even served the interest of the neighbouring powers by the suppression of an abuse which was constantly a recurring source of speculations and jealousies to cabinets, and exposed them to influences often involuntary and injurious to their own tranquillity. These internal and external advantages appeared a sufficient price for the sacrifice of an illusory prerogative, of which the nations the most enthusiastic in their zeal for liberty, and the most attached to republican principles,

have perceived the emptiness and the danger.

It was by a calculation deduced from the same experience, that the nation discovered the inconveniences of the vicious composition of the executive power, divided in such a manner as to present imposing forms and inefficient consequences. Deposited in the hands of the King, with proper modifications, it has acquired all the advantages of unity, without leaving an opening for abuses of authority, — considering the responsibility of ministers not removeable at will, and subject to the superintendence of the legislative body, which has always the power of preventing or repressing a departure from their duty. Such a system, impressing on government all the energy compatible with republican principles, is equally favourable to external convenience, by the stability which it gives to the political connections of Poland.

Thus the constitution of May 3d, resting on foundations wisely adapted, is its own defence against the imputations of monarchical views, which the enemies of the prosperity and quiet of their country strive to make believed, to awaken the apprehensions of the nation and the attention of her neighbours: — in vain do they exert themselves to paint that memorable day in odious colours.

If patriotic enthusiasm, animated by the importance of its objects, as well as by the fear of intrigue, in the slowness of the ordinary forms, the means of making it miscarry, did not confine itself to the strict observance of some formalities, the following sitting of May 5th, most eminently compensated for this

omission, by impressing on the work the imposing character of the unanimity of a reconsidered opinion, soon did a uniform voice of applause and joy resound from one extremity of the kingdom to another; different national assemblies, different meetings of individuals, successively transmitted to the King in addresses dictated by a patriotic enthusiasm, the public homage of gratitude for the blessing of a constitution, calculated to cement the national prosperity. This public spirit, enlightened with respect to the true interests of the country, crowned its display in the general assembly of the dietines, in a manner that astonished all Europe—voluntary oaths to maintain the constitution; homages and delegations solemnly decreed to the King and the states, proved at how high a price it was estimated by the nation. And this is not the solitary conclusion of a small number of districts or palatinates, yielding to the impulse of some preponderating influence; it is the general and uniform expression of profound sentiment, whose towering flight pronounced, banishes all ideas of intrigue, constraint, and seduction; it is the intimate adherence of the nation to a work in which she sees with conviction the confirmation of her liberties, of her happiness, and her tranquillity.

This state of things, which is very far from being exaggerated, refutes the supposition of an existing faction; which, according to the terms of the declaration, to accomplish its views of domination at the expence of republican equality, was striving to interpret the act by which the ancient constitutions of Poland were guaranteed, as a most heavy and degrading yoke.

The Polish nation has but one and the same sentiment on the nature of guarantees. It is conformable to the known ideas of the public jurisprudence of all ages and countries respecting acts of this kind. Their operation cannot be directed but against some third party, who would infringe the rights of one body politic guaranteed by another; and in this sense the guarantee becomes the respectable safeguard of the public tranquillity. Any other acceptance of such political engagements would present only the idea of a shackle, incompatible with the independence of a nation, instead of that of a supporter. The example of the German empire offers no exception to the general axiom. Composed of several states equally free, equally independent, this federative body finds in the guarantee a solid confirmation of the respective rights of each of its co-states against any other.—The republic of Poland forming but one and the same body politic, comes not within the application. An act of guarantee that should concern her, and that should be entered into by herself over herself, would carry in it a contradictory idea, so much the more, as it is only on the demand of the legal authority of the republic that the guaranteeing power could legally act in consequence of its engagements; otherwise, if a part of the citizens, revolting against authority, could support their insurrection by a foreign interference clothed with an appearance of law; if the solitary cry of a few individuals could usurp the rights of a national reclamation, such an abuse of guarantee would become the principle of a subversion of all order, of all tranquillity; a consequence dreadful and repugnant.

ment to the common interests of society.

In pursuing the development of the declaration, at the conclusion of the assertions which inculpate the progress and the whole of the operations of the present diet, are found particular complaints which betray the stamp of the same insidious insinuations that have aggravated the nature of them.

The sending of an extraordinary legation to Turkey is represented as having had for its object an offensive league against Russia. It is notorious that this mission had reference to the same period, and to the same motives, as all the others decreed to the greater part of the courts of Europe, that of Peterburgh included. If the nomination of this last was fruitless, the fault, it is well known, lay not with government.—The common object of these missions was to make known to all the courts, the spirit and the pacific object of the indispensable operations of the diet, tending solely to the amelioration of the internal government.—The same spirit dictated the instructions with which Count Potocki was furnished for Turkey. The negotiations into which he afterwards entered were no part of his original instructions. Being arrived at Constantinople, he found the Ottoman ministry clearly disposed, not only to renew and to cultivate the amicable connexions with Poland, but even to add to them by more positive engagements. Pressed as they were by the arms of Russia, the Ottomans would have been glad to find a useful diversion in an alliance with Poland. They accordingly made the first advances, accompanied with offers the most seductive.

The states of the republic being informed of this state of things, having to demand the enjoyment of indulgences, the most important to commerce, founded on ancient treaties, did not think it advisable to reject, by an absolute refusal, these first overtures, which opened a prospect of means and arrangement advantageous to Poland. In the mean time, the instructions to this effect, sent to the minister of the republic, were restricted by all the reservations necessary to secure the interests of Poland, without compromising those of her neighbours. Accordingly, the whole of this negotiation, in which the Ottoman ministry shewed as much eagerness to draw the minister of the republic into their views as he opposed circumspection, offered rather proofs of regard for her Majesty the Empress, than just causes of complaint.

The circumstances of the evacuation of the magazines and the Russian troops, set forth with aggravation in the declaration, will also appear to be much softened, by recollecting the period to which it belongs.

It was, in fact, that in which the republic saw herself at the eve of a crisis which might long disturb her internal tranquillity. Official reports from different parts of the kingdom, almost at the same time, had announced the indications of a general disposition to revolt among the peasants of the Greek communion, united and not united. Soon after, multiplied advices confirmed the successive unfolding of this baneful germ of sedition. The imminence of the danger called for prompt and vigorous measures: assurances were obtained, by the uni-

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form depositions of some of the revolted, apprehended in different parts, that the first sparks of this commotion had been struck and fomented by the fanaticism of some monks of the Greek communion not united, seconded by the suttlers and other Russian subjects. A systematic concert of these machinations appearing in different parts of the kingdom, threatened a dangerous conspiracy. In this alarming situation, the stay and the frequent passing of Russian troops, occasioned by their indispensable communications with the magazines established in Poland, gave a just cause of apprehension that their presence might encourage the people, easy to be deluded to a revolt, which they saw daily fomented by subjects of that nation, and might equally favour the confux of the latter into the kingdom. These considerations required the measures adopted, both to obtain the entire evacuation of the Russian troops with their magazines, and to subject their passing and staying in Poland, to a regulation compatible with the maintenance of the internal safety.

The enlightened equity of her Majesty, the Empress, will perceive in this conduct of the Polish government, the symptoms rather of well-founded uneasiness than that of ill-will towards her.

The same solicitude rendered indispensable the measures qualified in the declaration, with the term of persecution against the Russian subjects.

In order to stop the conspiracy in its source, endeavours were made to discover the authors. These did not escape the vigilance of enquiry; and, if among a great number of individuals apprehended, the hand

of justice fell on some guilty heads, these acts of rigour following as the consequence of regular proceedings, were called for by the interest of the public safety, which was deeply endangered. The charge against the judges of having employed even torture to extort a confession of the crime, is repugnant to the known organization of the justice of Poland:—Humanity has there proscribed, as in other well regulated countries, the barbarous practice of torture. No fact, no complaint of this nature, has reached the knowledge of government, which would not have failed to do signal justice. The principles of mildness and humanity which direct it, even inspired the foresight of preventing the possibility of having to regret misplaced rigours that the precipitation of the subordinate judges might have occasioned, at a crisis in which the indications of a flame ready to burst forth, were likely to aggravate apprehension. The establishment of a commission of enquiry provided against it. Its object was to endeavour to cut all the threads of a conspiracy discovered in its birth, and to prevent, rather than punish, the crime. The vigilance, the solicitude of this commission, fully answered the expectation of the public. By measures wise and multiplied, it soon succeeded in putting a stop to the fears of a revolt, by cutting off the means of propagating one.

The arrests of the Archimandrite of Sulk was one of those necessary measures. All the suspicions, all the informations supported by depositions, were united against him. The rank which he held in the hierarchy of Greek communion not united in Poland, the credit he possessed

possessed among his followers, added to the dangerous influence of his known principles and inclinations, of which his papers, when seized, furnished the proofs. To secure his person was a measure due to the interest of the public safety.

Such is the collective aspect of measures which the gravity of circumstances commanded. The true colour under which they are here presented, clears them of all their odium.

The particular accident that occurred in the chapel of the Greeks not united, situated in the suburbs of Warsaw, has still less of these odious colours. The inadvertence of a subaltern officer and some soldiers, deceived (as was proved before the commission of enquiry) by the external appearance of the house, occasioned their fault, for which sufficient reparation was made, by the discharge of the one, and the vigorous punishment of the others. False reports have, no doubt, represented this fact like all the rest, accompanied with circumstances of a nature to exasperate the spirit of her Imperial Majesty.

It was undoubtedly by interesting her delicacy, that it was hoped to surprise her conviction; but the accuracy of knowledge which distinguishes that Sovereign, will make her easily discover, in this detail of the several objects laid before her as causes of complaint, all the malice that wilful misrepresentation had added to them; and the pure intentions of the King and the Polish nation, may expect in consequence of these explanations, to obtain of her Imperial Majesty the same justice that impartial Europe has already rendered them.

But if, contrary to all expecta-

tion, these intentions, directed by the love of peace and justice, having no object but the safety and internal peace of Poland, should be still misunderstood; if the reclamations of some individuals, dissatisfied with order, should prevail in the mind of her Majesty the Empress over the wish of the nation; and if the Republic should find herself in the melancholy situation of seeing her sovereignty and her legal authority disputed,—the Polish nation, jealous of the esteem of Europe, jealous of the esteem of a sovereign who knows well that noble sentiments will not hesitate in their choice between a degrading surrender and the honourable perils of a necessary defence.

Warsaw, June 1, 1792.

The original is signed

STANISLAUS NALECZ MALACHOWSKI, Referendary of the Crown, Marshal of the Diet and of the Confederation of the Crown.

CASIMIR NESTOR, Prince Sapieha, General of the Artillery and Marshal of the Confederation of Lithuania.

Letter from the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

Warsaw, May 31st, 1792.

Sir, my Brother,

THIS letter will be delivered to your Majesty by the Comte de Potocki, Grand Marshal of Lithuania.

I write it at an epoch when every consideration imposes on me the duty to defend the independence and territory of Poland. Both the one
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and the other are evidently attacked by the pretensions of her Majesty the Empress of Russia, pronounced in her declaration of the 18th of May, and by the hostilities that have followed that declaration. If the alliance which exists between your Majesty and me is a title to claim your succour, it essentially imports me to know the mode that you will prescribe for the fulfilment of these engagements. The positive knowledge of the sentiments of your Majesty is also necessary to me for my conduct, as your forces are necessary to my success. It is apparent that the territory of the republic, guaranteed by your Majesty, is violated; that its independence is invaded and attacked in a manner so general and extensive, that descending even into the most subtle interpretations, it is impossible to ascribe it merely to the articles of the new constitution.

On an occasion when, as an ally, the dignity of your Majesty is so inclusively united with the independence and honour of my nation, I have reason to expect that you will make known to me your sentiments. My confidence in your Majesty will have no other limits than those which you shall yourself establish; and the more that the succours which you may be pleased to give to Poland shall be clearly and promptly announced, the more they will be advantageous and dear to her.

In the midst of my inquietudes and fatigues, that which consoles me is, that never was there a better cause, nor a cause which had for its support an ally more respectable and more faithful in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity.

All that your Majesty shall please to deign to confide to Marshal Potocki, the bearer of the present let-

ter, will be entrusted with safety and use, as he enjoys my utmost confidence, as well as that of all the nation, who are united with me on this great subject.

It is with sentiments of the highest consideration, and of the truest friendship, that I am

your Majesty's good brother,

STANISLAUS.

Answer of the King of Prussia to the King of Poland.

Berlin, June 8th, 1792.

Sir, my Brother,

THE Grand Marshal of Lithuania, the Comte de Potocki, has delivered to me your Majesty's letter, dated the 31st of May. I there see, with regret, the embarrassment in which Poland finds itself now involved. But I will acknowledge, with equal frankness, that after all that has passed for the last twelve months, these embarrassments were to be foreseen. Your Majesty will recollect that, on more than one occasion, the Marquis de Lucchesini was charged to manifest not only to you, but the preponderating members of the government, my just apprehensions on this subject. From the moment that the general re-establishment of tranquillity in Europe permitted me to explain myself, and the Empress of Russia had shewn a decided opposition to the order of things established on the 3d of May 1791, my way of thinking and the language of my ministers have never varied; and in observing with a tranquil eye the new constitution, which the republic has given to itself without my privity or concurrence, I have never had the idea either of supporting or protecting it. I have predicted, on the contrary, that the threatening measures

measures and the warlike preparations which the diet unceasingly deliberated upon, one after another, would infallibly provoke the resentment of the Empress of Russia, and draw upon Poland the evils which they were undertaken to avoid. The event has justified these appearances; and they cannot dissemble in the present moment, that without the new form of government for the republic, and without the efforts which they have announced for supporting it, the court of Russia would not have determined on the vigorous proceeding she has now embraced.

Whatever be the friendship that I have sworn to your Majesty, and the interest that I take in every thing that concerns you, you will yourself believe that the state of things being entirely changed since the alliance that I contracted with the republic, and the present conjuncture, brought on by the constitution of the 3d of May 1791, posterior to my treaty, not being applicable to the engagements therein stipulated, it does not belong to me to resist the attack made on your Majesty, if the intentions of the patriotic party are still the same, and if they persist in the desire of maintaining their own work; but if, retracing their steps, they shall consider the difficulties that are rising up on all sides, I shall be ready to concert measures with her Majesty the Empress of Russia, and to explain myself at the same time, with the court of Vienna, to strive to reconcile the different interests, and to agree on measures capable of restoring to Poland its tranquillity.

I flatter myself that your Majesty will find in these dispositions, and in these assurances, the sentiments of sincere friendship, and of

the consideration with which I am
your Majesty's good brother,
FREDERICK-WILLIAM.

Official Note delivered by M. Chreptowicz, the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Marquis de Lucchesini, the Prussian Ambassador at the Court of Warsaw.

THE undersigned has, by special command of the King and republic, the honour to communicate to the ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Prussia, the Marquis de Lucchesini, the annexed declaration which M. Bulgakow, the Russian ambassador, delivered here on the 18th instant.

The entering of the Russian army into the dominions of the republic, which is expressly announced in it, and which (with the intention of preventing the transactions of the legislative power of the republic) has already taken place, obliges the King and the republic to demand the assistance of his Majesty the King of Prussia, their ally, in the most pressing manner.

The known sincerity, the mode of thinking, the principles of his Majesty, and the confidence in the engagements of this prince with Poland, as well as the amicable disposition of which he has ever given them so many instances, do not leave any room to the King and the republic to doubt but that, as they find themselves exactly in the case mentioned in the sixth article of the treaty of alliance, they may depend on the good offices and effectual assistance of their illustrious ally, pursuant to the entire tenor of the said article.

The condition of the Polish frontiers towards Russia, represents the danger

danger as sufficiently imminent, to shew his Prussian Majesty the importance of a speedy assistance.

And whereas the King and the Polish nation gratefully recollect what they owe to the kind concerns of this monarch, in their first endeavours for laying the foundation of their welfare, they hope, with a well-grounded certainty, that they will be indebted to him for the confirmation of the same in this decisive moment.

(Signed) CHREPTOWITZ.

Warsaw, May 25th, 1792.

Answer of the Prussian Ambassador to the above Note.

THE underwritten ambassador and minister plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of Prussia, has sent to his court, by this day's post, the note which his Excellency Count Chreptowitz, the Chancellor of Lithuania, and minister of foreign affairs, delivered to him this morning, together with the declaration which the Russian ambassador, M. Bulgakow, delivered on the 18th of May.

The Marquis of Lucchesini, in expectation of orders from his court, does not hesitate, on account of the tenor of this note, to put Count Chreptowitz in mind of the contents of that which the underwritten delivered on the 4th instant, and of the verbal declaration he made on the same and following days to the Marshal of the diet, and members of the then diet.

These two steps are perfectly conformable to the ministerial language which the underwritten has adopted since his return to Warsaw, after the change of government of the 3d of May 1791; and are recent instances of the acknowledged

sincere mode of thinking of his Prussian Majesty, who would not suffer the illustrious Polish nation to be left in the dark concerning the present critical situation of affairs.

MARQUIS OF LUCCHESINI.

Warsaw, May 26th, 1792.

Act of Adherence of his Majesty to the Most Serene Confederation General of Targowitz, as read at the first Sitting of the two General Confederations at Brzesc, and conformable to the Original, deposited among the Archives of their Chancellery.

UNITED in heart and mind with a free and republican nation, which from the rank of citizen, has elevated me to the throne; wishing to co-operate in concert with that nation in the salutary work which must lay a new and more durable basis, on which the republic may stand free, independent, and entire, and which tends to organize its political and civil administration with more wisdom,—I give way to the impulse of that sentiment by which I am animated. Yes, it is the wish, it is the passion for the public good, which I ought to place before every other interest; it is the desire to secure your happiness, generous and free nation! which dictate the fresh testimonies of paternal love I offer you this day.

Sincerely attached to my country, knowing no other pains, no other pleasure than those I partake with you all, my efforts have continually had for its object their safety, honour, and glory. But the private views of my co-assistants, a taste for reform and novelty, have not always permitted me to follow the movements of a heart which was ever yours.

Of this the operations of the last diet are a proof. Seduced by new and bold maxims, which tend only to trouble the tranquillity of nations, our legislators have dared to break the respectable empire of laws which, from the first ages of the republic, have served as its foundation; they have endeavoured to subjugate Poland to the yoke of a government monarchic and democratic at the same time. Our diet alone has seen the birth of so many different laws, that when it became necessary to digest and apply them, the difficulty of the enterprise caused it to be renounced. Besides, the basis which was given to this new constitutional government, too weak to support it, was directly contrary to that legislative system which can alone secure the existence of Poland. But now, when every true Polander acknowledges the errors of those who misled him, after being themselves misled by ambition, I declare, both as a King who ought to be the chief of this generous republic, and as a Polander who cherishes his countrymen, that the republican government, as established by our ancestors, can alone eternize the duration and glory of Poland. In fact, whenever a nation, instead of correcting the defects of its former government, endeavours totally to overthrow it, it draws upon itself those terrible disasters which must end in a sudden and forcible shock of the whole state.

After having acknowledged in the face of a republican nation, the wisdom and truth of these maxims, I abandon the confederation formed in 1793, and the diet convened in consequence at Warsaw, under the presidency of M. Stanislaus Malachowski, Grand Referendary of

the crown: a diet which, to form and establish the more firmly a dangerous and impolitic revolution, was prolonged to the term of four years, contrary to the constant custom of the republic, and in contempt of its most express laws.

I accede freely, and join myself, heart and mind, to the new confederation, formed, according to the wish of the whole country, at Targowitz, the 14th of May, in the present year, by the care, and under the auspices of M. Stanislaus Felix Potocki, Grand Master of the Artillery to the crown: a confederation to which that of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania has united itself by a solemn and public act. I regard the operations they avow as those only which are legal; I promise to conform to all the laws they may proclaim, and swear to second them in all their views which have only the public welfare for their object, in concert with a republican nation, which has been free forages.

I agree the more willingly to this step, as the plan of reform projected by this confederation, offers to the impartial eye of good citizens nothing but what is just and salutary, and particularly because the generous and disinterested protection of her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias restores tranquillity to the bosom of the republic, becomes a new source of prosperity, and most efficaciously guarantees its rights, and preserves it entire.

In consequence, I require that the present act of adherence be registered in the chancellery of the general confederation of the two nations, and in those of the territorial jurisdictions of the states of the republic.

Done at Warsaw, Aug. 2, 1792.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

*Character of Mr. Howard, from a View
of the Character and Public Service of
John Howard, Esq. LL. D. F. R. S.
&c. by John Aikin, M. D.*

MR. HOWARD possessed the rare quality of being able, for any length of time, to bend all the powers and faculties of his mind to one point, unseduced by every allurements which curiosity or any other affection might throw in his way, and unsusceptible of that satiety and disgust which are so apt to steal upon a protracted pursuit. Though by his early travels he had shewn himself not indifferent to those objects of taste and information which strike the cultivated mind in a foreign country, yet in the tours expressly for the purpose of examining prisons and hospitals, he appears to have had eyes and ears for nothing else; at least he suffered no other object to detain him or draw him aside*. Impressed with the idea of the importance of his designs and the uncertainty of human life, he was impatient to get as much done as possible within the allotted limits:—and in this disposition consisted that enthusiasm by which the public supposed him actuated; for otherwise, his cool and steady temper gave no idea of the

character usually distinguished by that appellation. He followed his plans, indeed, with wonderful vigour and constancy, but by no means with that heat and eagerness, that inflamed and exalted imagination, which denoté the enthusiast. Hence, he was not liable to catch at partial representations, to view facts through fallacious mediums, and to fall into those mistakes which are so frequent in the researches of the man of fancy and warm feeling. Some persons, who only knew him by his extraordinary actions, were ready enough to bestow upon him that sneer of contempt, which men of cold hearts and selfish dispositions are so apt to apply to whatever has the shew of high sensibility; while others, who had a slight acquaintance with him, and saw occasional features of phlegm, and perhaps harshness, were disposed to question his feeling altogether, and to attribute his exertions either merely to a sense of duty, or to habit and humour. But both these were erroneous conclusions. He felt as a man should feel; but not so as to mislead him, either in the estimate he formed of objects of utility, or in his reasonings concerning the means by which they were to be brought into effect. The reformation of abuses,

* He mentioned being once prevailed upon in Italy, to go and hear some extraordinary fine music; but, finding his thoughts too much occupied by it, he would never repeat the indulgence.

abuses, and the relief of misery, were the two great purposes which he kept in view in all his undertakings; and I have equally seen the tear of sensibility start into his eyes on recalling some of the distressful scenes to which he had been witness, and the spirit of indignation flash from them on relating instances of baseness and oppression. Still, however, his constancy of mind and self-collection never deserted him. He was never agitated, never off his guard; and the unspeakable advantages of such a temper in the scenes in which he was engaged, need not be dwelt upon.

His whole course of action was such a trial of intrepidity and fortitude, that it may seem altogether superfluous to speak of his possession of these qualities:—he had them, indeed, both from nature and principle. His nerves were firm; and his conviction of marching in the path of duty made him fearless of consequences. Nor was it only on great occasions that this strength of mind was shown:—it raised him above false shame, and that awe which makes a coward of many a brave man in the presence of a superior. No one ever less “feared the face of man” than he; nor no one hesitated less in speaking bold truths, or avowing obnoxious opinions. His courage was equally passive and active. He was prepared to make every sacrifice that a regard to strict veracity or rigorous duty could enjoin; and it cannot be doubted that, had he lived in an age when asserting his civil and religious rights would have subjected him to martyrdom, not a more willing martyr would ever have ascended the scaffold, or embraced the stake.

To propose as a model a character marked with such singularities, and, no doubt, with some foibles, would be equally vain and injudicious: but his firm attachment to principle, high sense of honour, pure benevolence, unshaken constancy, and indefatigable perseverance, may properly be held up to the view of all persons occupying important stations, or engaged in useful enterprizes, as qualities not less to be imitated than admired.

*Anecdotes of John Beruh. Bassedow.
From the German.*

JOHN Beruh. Bassedow is deservedly placed on a level with the most respectable characters. To his dissatisfaction with the common mode of educating youth, and to his unwearied endeavours to introduce a better, Germany is indebted for the very considerable changes that are now making in most of its seminaries. To his dissatisfaction with the religious tenets in which he was educated, and which constitute the orthodoxy of the German meridian, his countrymen are in a great measure obliged for that free spirit of inquiry which is now pervading the Lutheran church:—where also the human mind, feeling its vigour, and claiming its rights, is powerfully struggling against the shackles of established creeds.

The peculiarity of his method of education consisted in a direct opposition to those that have been commonly observed. He not only entertained the idea that the compulsive methods, so generally adapted, were calculated to retard the progress of improvement, while the

The pupil was under the care of his tutor, and to give him a disgust for learning after he has escaped from the rod, but also that early education is, in some cases, of too abstracted a nature; and, in others, that it is confined merely to words as preparatory to the knowledge of things; while in reality, the useful knowledge of things ought to be made preparatory to the knowledge of words. Conformably to this idea, he attempted to adapt every branch of science to the capacity of his scholars, by making judgment keep pace with memory, and by introducing him to an engaging familiarity with the objects of pursuit. This he effected, by the invention, due arrangement, and familiar explanations of figures and prints, of which young minds are naturally fond; and, by means of which, they have a more perfect impression of an object than the most elaborate description could possibly give. For those who were farther advanced, he called in the aid of different species of mechanism, and different models, by means of which the pupil might form precise ideas, obtain accurate knowledge, and, in some instances, acquire address in a manner correspondent with that love of active amusements which characterizes youth.

This ingenious person was born at Hamburgh, in the year 1723. His father was of the lower class of illiterate burgers, and of an hasty and morose disposition. Instead of cherishing the early sparks of genius, and directing the distinguished talents of his son in a proper manner, he endeavoured, by every species of severity, to suppress and extinguish them: but his en-

deavours had no other influence than to alienate the affections of his son, at a very early period.—The melancholy temper of his mother farther contributed to render his parental residence so comfortable, that his chagrin had frequently tempted him to destroy himself. On leaving his father's house, he became servant to a land-surveyor at Holstein. The mild and engaging disposition of his master rendered his situation under this roof extremely happy, and inspired him with that philanthropy to which he had been a stranger at home. After he had passed a year at Holstein, which, in his most advanced age, he pronounced to have been the happiest in his life, his father recalled him, and placed him in the public school at Hamburgh. Here he suffered all those hardships and marks of tyranny to which indigent youth is so frequently exposed both from masters and scholars, while he remained in the lower classes: but, as he advanced, his industry and superiority of genius gave him the ascendancy over his school-mates. He made himself necessary to the ignorant and indolent, by assisting them in their exercises. By making verses, and by other methods, he was able to subsist at the age of sixteen, independently of his parents. When he was advanced to the higher class, he attended the lectures of Professors Richey and Reimarus, with whose friendship he was honoured; and from whose instructions he derived great improvement, particularly from those of Reimarus:—but, as he afterward complained and confessed, he did not apply to the sciences in any regular series, nor in a manner sufficiently systematic; and,

and, by his becoming the favourite companion of the richer scholars, he began to lead an indolent and an irregular course of life. He remained some time undetermined concerning the choice of an occupation. When a youth, he had no disposition for study. It was only the ambition of his father to make his son a clergyman, that impelled him to the profession; and when the resolution was finally taken, the want of proper means of support detained him some time longer from entering on an academic course. This difficulty being at length surmounted, in some degree, he went to Leipzig in 1744, to prosecute his studies, particularly in theology. Here he continued for two years, and attended the lectures of Professor Crusius, who had distinguished himself at this period, by rejecting the visionary systems that had been so much in vogue, and by uniting philosophy with religion. The instructions which he received from the school of Crusius had an important and permanent influence on his mind:—but his vigorous genius was wearied by the slow process of public lectures; he applied himself, therefore, with unremitting diligence, to study his master's system, by reading the most distinguished authors that had written in opposition to it, or in support of it. The writings of Wolf, to which he also applied, rendered his mind unsettled respecting many doctrines that he had imbibed for Christianity; and a sceptical disposition being once excited, he began to entertain some anxious doubts respecting the truth of the Christian revelation itself:—till, at length, by reading the best authors on this interesting controversy, he became a firm believer of the truth of Christ's

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mission, though he denied most of those doctrines which many Christians think an essential part of their faith.—During his abode at Leipzig; his finances were so scanty, that it was only three times in a week that he could afford himself a comfortable meal.

In the year 1749, he was appointed private tutor to the son of a gentleman in Holstein. This situation gave him an opportunity of bringing to the test of experience, the plan of an improved method of education, which he had for some time had in contemplation. The attempt succeeded to his wishes. His young pupil was only seven years of age at the time when he was appointed his preceptor, and could merely read the German language. We are informed that, in the space of three years, he was able not only to read Latin authors, but to translate from the German into that language, and also to speak and write it with a degree of fluency. The young gentleman had moreover made considerable progress in the principles of religion and morals, in history, geography, and arithmetic. This success procured the preceptor much renown, and encouraged him to prosecute his plan with redoubled assiduity.

M. Bassegow was chosen professor of moral philosophy and *belles lettres* at the university of Sorde, in the year 1753; where he enjoyed farther opportunities of pursuing his favourite object. While in this station, he published several works which were well received; particularly a treatise on practical philosophy for all classes, in which the particulars of his plan are fully explained; and also a grammar of the German language. He applied himself, with great assiduity,

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dur.

during his residence in this place; to the study of theology; from an eager and conscientious desire of forming just and consistent ideas of religion, and to avoid the absurdities which attend the established system, on the one hand, and the doctrines of infidelity, on the other. From Sorde, he was nominated to a professorship at Altona. He now employed his leisure hours in communicating to the world the result of his theological inquiries. It was in vain that his friends advised him to tread in the path of discretion: in vain did they preach to him the necessity of imitating their example, in believing one set of doctrines and professing another. His mental optics were so peculiarly constructed, that he could not see the honesty of this conduct; and he was, notwithstanding his general acumen, so dull of apprehension, that he was not able to conceive how any one could be a faithful minister of Jesus while he preached doctrines opposite to the genuine spirit of Christianity. He had the imprudence, therefore, to become the strenuous advocate for what he deemed to be truth, in opposition to systems and creeds established by law.

The writings of M. Basse-dow excited the most violent opposition on every side, particularly among the clergy; and more especially among his townsmen, the clergy of Hamburg; among whom the Rev. Messrs. Gosse, Winkler, and Zimmermann distinguished themselves: they not only preached but published against him, seconding their arguments with all the force of invective. They represented his doctrines as inimical to religion and morals. They calumniated him

as a visionary and dangerous sceptic, a mad projector of reforms, a detestable heretic, and an apostate from Christianity unworthy of station or stipend, and deserving exemplary punishment.

The populace of Hamburg were excited to tumults; and it becoming the universal opinion among them, that to stone the apostate to death would be a meritorious act, he was obliged to absent himself from the city. At length, the magistrates, partly from the importunity of the clergy, and partly to appease the clamours of the people, prohibited the publishing and reading of his works; warned citizens not to put any of his institutes into the hands of their children; and forbade schoolmasters from using them in their schools, under the pain of banishment: while, on the other hand, they encouraged every publication against him.

M. Basse-dow, however, stood firm against the violence of opposition, continued to justify his sentiments from misrepresentations, and supported them with additional arguments, by every method which those parts of Germany, more distant from the seat of contest, left open to him till the time of his death, which happened at Magdeburg in 1790.

To a quick, comprehensive, and penetrating genius, and a sound judgment, were united unusual vivacity of disposition, strength of feeling, and warmth of imagination. He thought and philosophized on every subject that presented itself: but the discovery of truths, which promised utility, was his chief delight. He had little taste for notions merely speculative; his most earnest attention was fixed on principles

ciples that could be made operative. His mind was an inexhaustible source of plans and projects, but it applied itself too much to generals. He pressed forward with impetuosity in every undertaking, and had neither the patience nor the perseverance necessary to survey every part of it, to reflect on the obstacles and difficulties that might arise, nor provide the means of removing them. Being accustomed to follow the dictates of his own mind, without seeking foreign aid, he frequently preferred the more difficult modes of bringing his plans to maturity, rather than tread in the steps of any other person. Observing, in his youthful days, that he was quicker of comprehension than most of those with whom he was connected, he became impatient of contradiction; and, in the first impulse of his mind, it was difficult to convince him of an error: but when the impetuosity subsided, he cheerfully yielded to truth as soon as he perceived it. His temper was open and ingenuous; he was more susceptible of great and strong impressions than of the softer emotions; more disposed to melancholy than cheerfulness. This disposition is not to be ascribed wholly to nature, but to the many unfavourable circumstances of his early life, which rather suppressed than fostered the kinder feelings. Yet, in his riper years, when he became convinced of the worth and excellency of a benevolent disposition, and that the most acceptable part of religion was to do good to man, he applied himself to the task with unremitted eagerness; and, to his last breath, he made this the principal object of his study, exertions, and liberal

sacrifices. This character has the greater merit, as he acquired it by struggling against a disposition and education naturally inimical to it. In fine, his first object and principal ambition were to render mankind better informed on subjects of the greatest moment; to facilitate the improvement of youth in all useful knowledge; to inspire them with an ardent love of virtue; and to diffuse just and attractive ideas of religion, by reconciling Christianity with good sense and sound philosophy.

*Character of his late Majesty King
George the Second.*

*From Anecdotes of William Pitt, Earl
of Chatham, 2 vol. 4to.*

THIS Prince, though not born in this country, was educated in those principles by which the nation rose to power and happiness, and gloried in being the King of a free people. He carried the power and commerce of the nation to a degree to which they had never till then attained. Abroad, he established the importance, the honour, and dignity of his crown, upon a footing not known before his time to a king of this country, and made the name of Englishman respectable in every corner of the world. No foreign power trifled with his resentment, or despoiled his people with impunity. It hath been said that he had prejudices; and the assertion, from the mouths of Tories and Jacobites, should not surprise us. The nation was benefited by the prejudices of this prince. Abroad, they operated against the natural enemies of the kingdom; at home, against the enemies of the national freedom, and of the protestant

testant establishment made at the Revolution : against those who preferred the odious tyrannical government of the accursed race of Stuart, to the mild and legal government of the House of Hanover ; against those who held to the divine, indefeasible, hereditary right of princes, and to the slavish doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance ; those men who, when in possession of power, in every instance, have driven hard to the destruction of England, and from whose pernicious projects this country hath been more than once saved by almost miraculous interposition. If he headed a party, it was the most glorious of all parties, —the national freedom ; if he encouraged and supported a particular set of men, it was those who distinguished themselves most in their attachment to that cause : if he were averse to another set, he was only averse to them as public men ; averse to their being in the first departments of the state, because their maxims of government were incompatible with the happiness of his people ; and when he did employ them, which he did more frequently than they deserved to have been, he took care to put it out of their power to practise their mischievous principles, by distributing them chiefly among the subaltern officers of the state, and, by keeping a sufficient number of Whigs in the higher departments, to watch and over-rule their pernicious projects. If he loved war, he made not his own subjects the devoted objects of his vengeance. Foreign, national, natural, manly war, upon British principles, in defence of British rights, he indeed entered into, prosecuted with ardour, and reaped the

most glorious consequences from, for this country. He was honest, wise, brave, and liberal. Capable of opening his heart to new connexions, he did not contract and give it up to one man ; but when the voice of his people demanded it, he yielded up the object of his choice, and received the object of theirs to his bosom. The greatest of his favourites, if he ever had any in the criminal sense of that term, were made to yield. Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle, who by long lives of useful service, had well earned the favour of this monarch, had each their favourite measures, and at different periods were compelled to sacrifice an excise scheme and a Jew bill, and finally their places, to the demands of his people. He received Mr. Pitt from the people, as the gift of the people ; and when the public good required a sacrifice of that resentment which had been excited in his mind by the parliamentary conduct of that person, who had opposed his best and most favoured servants with unusual violence, he made it with manliness and dignity.

Character of Charles II. from the History of Political Transactions and Parties, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Death of King William, by Dr. Somerville. &c.

IT is not to be denied that Nature had furnished the mind of this prince with a more than common share of genius and taste. Affability, sprightliness, wit, and good-breeding, conveyed an amiable view of his character to those who surrendered judgment to the sudden

fudden and transient impressions of conversation and external manners.

Tried by that system which ascribes transcendent merit to the graces, few royal characters appear more deserving of applause and admiration; few will stand lower in the decision of those who hold moral accomplishments to be the most essential ornaments of character, and the only genuine basis of esteem and praise.

Without any sense of religious principle; ungrateful to his own friends and those of his father; timid and fluctuating in his counsels; destitute of all pretensions to patriotism; ever ready to sacrifice the interest and glory of his country to the gratification of his pleasures and the supply of his wants,—what remains to claim the approbation, or restrain the severest reproach of impartial posterity?

The satisfaction which Charles enjoyed in the later period of his reign, on account of his triumph over the Whig party, must have been greatly diminished, by the personal mortifications he incurred from the insolence and treachery of France. How painful must it have been to discover that Louis had been intriguing with those very persons in England whom he had considered as enemies to his own government, and to the interest of France! Nay, so little respect did Louis show, either to the honour or the domestic tranquillity of Charles, that he was accessory to a design of exposing him to the contempt of his subjects, and of all Europe, by a publication of the secret treaties by which Charles, to his disgrace, had connected himself with the court of France. The encroachments which the French king

made upon Flanders, were a mockery of the engagements into which he had entered with Charles by the last money-treaty. His invasion of the principality of Orange, was an insult to the royal family of England. A circumstance which, we may believe, made a deeper impression upon the mind of Charles, was the withholding the pension promised to him for remaining an indifferent spectator of such outrageous usurpation, at a time when he was reduced to the utmost distress, on account of his contracted and embarrassed revenue. Thus, like the unhappy female who has fallen a prey to the snares of the licentious seducer, robbed of her innocence, and cheated of the reward of her prostitution, consigned to infamy and poverty, Charles, if any spark of sensibility remained, must have been torn with all those pangs of remorse and of shame which result from the consciousness of the basest iniquity and most egregious folly. No wonder, if, as attested by cotemporary historians, he became pensive and melancholy, and entertained serious thoughts of changing the plan of his government. The arrangements he had made in the several corporations by the *quo warranto* prosecutions, and a considerable reinforcement added to his army by the garrison recalled from Tangiers, would probably encourage him to hope, that, if he called another parliament, he would find it more obsequious to his desires.

Description of a Dwarfish Race in Madagascar, called the Kimos.

From Rochon's Voyage to Madagascar. 8vo.

THOSE who are fond of the marvellous, will receive with pleasure, an account of a race of pygmies. I here speak of those dwarfs in the interior parts of the large island of Madagascar, who form a considerable nation, called, in the Madecasse language, Quimos or Kimos. The distinguishing characteristics of these small people are, that they are whiter, or at least paler in colour, than all the negroes hitherto known; that their arms are so long that they can stretch their hands below their knees without stooping; and that the women have scarcely any breasts, except when they suckle; and even then, we are assured, that the greater part of them are obliged to make use of cow's milk, in order to nourish their young. With regard to intellectual faculties, these Kimos are not inferior to the other inhabitants of Madagascar, who are known to be very lively and ingenious, though they abandon themselves to the utmost indolence; but we are told that the Kimos, as they are much more active, are also much more warlike, so that their courage being, if we may use the expression, in the double ratio of their stature, they have never yet been overcome by their neighbours, who have often made attempts for that purpose. Though attacked with superior strength and weapons (for they are not acquainted with the use of gunpowder and fire-arms, like their enemies) they have always fought with courage, and retained liberty amidst their rocks, which, as they are extremely difficult of access, certainly contribute very much to their safety. They live there upon rice, various kinds of fruits, roots, and vegeta-

bles, and rear a great number of oxen and sheep with large tails, which form also a part of their subsistence. They hold no communication with the different castes by whom they are surrounded, either for the sake of commerce or on any account whatever, as they procure all their necessaries from the lands which they possess. As the object of all the petty wars between them and the other inhabitants of the island, is to carry away on either side a few cattle or slaves, the diminutive size of the Kimos saves them from the latter injury. With regard to the former, they are so fond of peace, that they resolve to endure it to a certain degree; that is to say, till they see from the tops of their mountains a formidable body advancing, with every hostile preparation, in the plains below. They then carry the superfluity of their flocks to the entrance of the defiles, where they leave them; and, as they say themselves, make a voluntary sacrifice of them to the indigence of their elder brethren; but at the same time denouncing with the severest threats to attack them without mercy should they endeavour to penetrate farther into their territories: a proof that it is neither from weakness nor cowardice that they purchase tranquillity by presents. Their weapons are assegays and darts, which they use with the utmost dexterity. It is pretended, if they could, according to their ardent wishes, hold any intercourse with the Europeans, and procure from them fire-arms and ammunition, they would act on the offensive as well as the defensive against their neighbours; who would then perhaps think them-

themselves very happy to preserve peace.

At the distance of two or three days journey from Fort Dauphin, the inhabitants of that part of the country shew a number of small barrows, or earthen hillocks, in the form of graves, which, as is said, owe their origin to a great massacre of the Kimos, who were defeated in the field by their ancestors. However this may be, a tradition generally believed in that district, as well as in the whole island of Madagascar, of the actual existence of the Kimos, leaves us no room to doubt that a part at least of what we are told respecting these people is true. It is astonishing that every thing which we know of this nation is collected from their neighbours; that no one has yet made observations on the spot where they reside; and that neither the governor of the isles of France and Bourbon, nor the commanders at the different settlements which the French possessed on the coast of Madagascar, ever attempted to penetrate into the interior parts of the country, with a view of adding this discovery to many others which they might have made at the same time.

To return to the Kimos, I can declare, as being an eye-witness that in the voyage which I made to Fort Dauphin, about the end of the year 1770, the Count de Modave, the last governor, who had already communicated to me one part of his observations, at length afforded me the satisfaction of seeing among his slaves a Kimos woman, aged about thirty, and three feet seven inches in height. Her complexion was indeed the fairest I had seen

among the inhabitants of the island; and I remarked that she was well limbed though so low of stature, and far from being ill-proportioned, that her arms were exceedingly long, and could reach without bending the body as far as the knee; that her hair was short and woolly; that her features, which were agreeable, approached nearer to those of an European than to an inhabitant of Madagascar; and that she had naturally a pleasant look, and was good-humoured, sensible, and obliging, as far as could be judged from her behaviour. With regard to breasts, I saw no appearance of them, except the nipple: but this single observation is not at all sufficient to establish a variation from the common laws of nature.

A little before our departure from Madagascar, a desire of recovering her liberty, as much as a dread of being carried away from her native country, induced this little slave to make her escape into the woods.

Every thing considered, I am inclined firmly to believe in this new variety of the human species, who have their characteristic marks as well as their peculiar manners, and who inhabit mountains from sixteen to eighteen hundred fathoms high above the level of the sea.

Diminution of stature, in respect to that of the Laplanders, is almost graduated as from the Laplander to the Kimos. Both inhabit the coldest regions and the highest mountains in the world. Those of Madagascar, where the Kimos live, are, as I have already observed, sixteen or eighteen hundred fathoms high above the level

of the sea. The vegetable productions which grow on these elevated places appear to be stunted; such as the pine, the birch, and a great many others, which from the class of trees descend to that of humble shrubs, merely because they have become alpicoles; that is to say, inhabitants of the highest mountains.

History of the Swiss Union, and Character of the Inhabitants of the Democratic Cantons.

From Watkins's Travels, vol. 1.

IN 1315, Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, entered into a perpetual league for their mutual defence, being fearful of encroachments by the house of Austria*. In 1332, Lucerne joined this alliance, in opposition to a design which had been formed by the Austrian party to prevent it, and get possession of the town. In 1351, Zurich, from similar motives (a conspiracy of its banished citizens) made the fifth confederate canton; and, from its superior power and wealth, was considered as the first of the association. The following year Glaris and Zug acceded; and in 1353, Berne, though a previous alliance subsisted between it and the three first Waldstætt. Before this period, the cantons allied themselves for their mutual protection; but we find, from experience, that the love of freedom is so closely connected with ambition, that no sooner have we acquired our liberty, than we are desirous of increasing our dominion at the expence of

our neighbours. Thus it was in the present instance, though with more appearance of justice, as the enemies of the Swiss were the aggressors; but it too often happens that, among nations, justice and interest are synonymous. Two circumstances now arose, which induced them to take a more active part, and bear arms on the offensive: the first was the restless ambition of the Dukes of Austria; who, by secret intrigue, as well as open force, would have reduced them to a state of vassalage: and the second, the encouragement of the emperors, who, jealous of the growing power of Austria, persuaded them, by assurances of support, to violate all treaties. For the purpose of terminating these dangerous factions, the allied cantons, in 1370, entered into a convention, which regulated every thing with the Germans; and for the general welfare of the league.

But Lucerne, probably conscious that the new allies would make its private quarrel a common cause, broke with the house of Austria, for the purpose of exonerating itself from a duty imposed upon its inhabitants at Rothenburg. This brought on a general war, which, after two famous victories gained by the Swiss in 1386 and 1388, at Sempach in Lucerne, and Nafels in Glaris, was concluded by an advantageous peace; but aware of the dangerous consequence that might result from too great presumption on their valour and alliance, they entered into a convention at Sempach in 1393, for the purpose of

* There was an alliance which had subsisted between these three cantons ever since the year 1291; but it was not made perpetual till 1315, after their victory over the Austrians at Morgarten.

preventing

preventing individuals, or even any one people of the new confederacy, from engaging in a war without the consent and approbation of the whole. In 1460, the conquest of Turgovy, or the country that lies between the canton of Zurich and the Lake of Constance, occasioned their celebrated war with Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, which ended with his defeat and death at Granfon, Morat, and Nancy. This quarrel was fomented by that perfidious monarch Louis the Eleventh of France, who only consulted in it his own interest, by the destruction of his rival Charles; however, the event of the war may be considered as the epoch of two important circumstances in Swiss history, —their perpetual union with Austria, and an alliance with the crown of France. But this tide of success was not unaccompanied by evils, as it introduced among the conquerors the spirit of pride and licentiousness, which probably would have ended in their disunion, had not Nicholas de Flue, an anchorite, left his retreat, and at a meeting of the deputies in Stanz, formerly the chief place of Unterwalden, persuaded them so fully of their real interests, in a strain of the most animated eloquence inspired by patriotism, and the danger to which his country was exposed, that they entered into an immediate convention, by which they determined on the following resolution: That mutual protection should be granted, as well from interior as exterior violence; that justice should be impartially administered among them; and that the profits of successful war should be divided in proportion to their respective quotas of troops and money. After this they confirmed

their ancient treaties of union, and agreed to swear to them every five years. About this period, Freyburg and Soleure were associated to the common league; and in 1501, Basil and Schaffhausen; the last was Appenzel, which, in 1513, made up the whole number.

Whilst the four Waldstott, and the other cantons on that side of Switzerland, which afterwards acceded to the combination, were dismembering the territories of Austria, Berne and Freyburg took possession of the Pays de Vaud, Gex, and Chablais, part of the Dukes of Savoy's dominions, who, though incapable of recovering by force what had been stripped from them, would not renounce their superior right to these countries, until thro' the mediation of Spain, France, and the neutral cantons, the then reigning Duke, obtaining restitution of Gex and Chablais, renounced all pretension to the Pays de Vaud, and ceded it to Berne and Freyburg for ever. Since this period, the limits of Switzerland have neither been extended nor diminished. What principally disturbed the internal harmony of the cantons, was a difference in religious opinions. On this dangerous subject wars arose between Berne and Zurich for the reformers; and Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, and Zug, for the church of Rome. However, after various success, they were happily ended, and are not likely to be renewed.

The only constitution that can be said to have any reference to the national body of the Swiss, is the establishment of a confederate army, determined on in 1688, between the cantons and their allies. This, however, was adopted only

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as a plan of defence, similar to our militia *, each state sending its quota of troops according to its extent and population ; the whole forms a body of 13,400 men ; but in cases of necessity this number would be considerably augmented in the same proportion.

The commerce of Switzerland is very inconsiderable. Its exports consist of linens, muslin, hides, and the produce of their dairies, which are small huts called chalets, built on the mountains, where, during

the summer months, their cattle are sent to feed. The Swiss cheese is excellent, and consequently much esteemed in the neighbouring countries, particularly in France, where a great consumption is made of it. Their imports are considerable, though a frugal people, they being in want of corn, iron, and salt ; the latter article they draw from France ; and, according to the treaties of alliance subsisting between the two countries, receive annually a certain quantity at a much more rea-

* In the contribution of these troops the following proportion is observed, according to the original agreement between the cantons and their allies :—

	No. of Men.	Religion.	Government.
1 Zurich	- 1400	Protestant	Aristocracy
2 Berne	- 2000	Protestant	Aristocracy
3 Lucerne	- 1200	Catholic	Aristocracy
4 Uri	- 400	Catholic	Democracy
5 Schwitz	- 600	Catholic	Democracy
6 Unterwalden	400	Catholic	Democracy
7 Zug	- 400	Catholic	Democracy
8 Glaris	- 400	Mixed	Democracy
9 Basil	- 400	Protestant	Aristocracy
10 Freyburg	- 800	Catholic	Aristocracy
11 Soleure	- 600	Catholic	Aristocracy
12 Schaff hausen	400	Protestant	Aristocracy
13 Appenzel	- 600	Mixed	Democracy

Allies of the Cantons.

1 Abbey of St. Gall	1000	Mixed
2 Town of St. Gall	200	Protestant
3 Bienne	- 100	Protestant

Provinces subject to the Cantons.

1 Lugano	- 400	Catholic
2 Locarno	- 200	Catholic
3 Mendrisio	- 100	Catholic
4 Val Maggia	100	Catholic
5 The free bailiwicks	300	Catholic
6 Sargans	- 300	Catholic
7 Turgovy	- 600	Mixed
8 Baden	- 200	Catholic
9 The Rheintal	100	Mixed

13,400 men

sonable

sonable price than it is sold by the French government to their own subjects. Nevertheless, even in Switzerland it is a dear article, being retailed by the officers of state, who monopolize, and draw a principal part of the public revenues from its sale. The total receipt of Berne amounts to about 75,000*l.* and of Zurich to a little more than one half. Exclusive of this tax on salt, the revenue is made up by customs and duties on merchandize, the profits of demesne lands, and the tithes of the general produce of the country (the clergy being paid by government); to which might be added the money that the different cantons receive from foreign powers for the hire of their troops. This is a custom that has given rise to a difference of opinion among the Swiss, relative to its advantage or ill consequence. They who oppose it, maintain that the officers and soldiers of those regiments acquire the vices of the different countries in which they serve, and on their return to Switzerland, by spreading them, corrupt the purer morals of its inhabitants. In answer to this it is asserted that, as the revenues of the cantons are inadequate to the expences of government and the support of a sufficient army for the national defence, it is necessary to pursue this system, laid down by their ancestors, as it gives them all the advantages of a regular army, without the expence of its maintenance, it being stipulated in their treaties, that in case of attack from a foreign enemy, these troops, which amount to 30,000, should be at liberty to return home, and act in concert with their countrymen. Both of these arguments are plausible; but the question is,

if they be admitted as fact, whether the morality of a nation should be sacrificed to its policy? but it may be asserted again, that true policy is inseparable from good morals; and still further, the Swiss cannot be apprehensive of the encroachments of any foreign state, as long as they perceive that the general aim of Europe is to preserve an equilibrium of power: this balance is their best, and indeed their only safeguard: for, though no soldier, I think I might assert that Switzerland, with all its force, could never maintain a defensive war against either France or the Emperor: The Swiss and their allies are supposed to amount to more than two millions of souls. Their manner of living is much more simple than that of their neighbours, as they are more restricted by their respective governments; sumptuary laws being in full force among them; and no amusement, such as games of hazard, plays, operas, or even dancing, except at appointed times, being permitted. As every citizen is a soldier (the clergy excepted) they on Sundays, after divine service, go through the military exercise. They are careful of the education of their youth, as is evident from their public seminaries or universities; the principal of which are at Basil and Berne.—In giving you a sketch of the national character, I shall confine myself to the popular governments, as I think the people there retain the temper and manner of the ancient Swiss more than the other cantons. Of them I think very favourably, provided I except those of the lower class who have seen other countries, or have any communication with travellers; as such are, not only in this, but I believe

lieve in every country in the world, mercenary and deceitful. With regard to the general inhabitants of these cantons, they seem to be frugal without meanness, brave without vanity, and hospitable without ostentation: to strangers they are courteous and polite, without being either designing or troublesome. They value but little those distinctions of rank, birth, and fortune, which, in the other countries of Europe, and indeed in the other cantons of Switzerland, are so obsequiously cultivated, as they measure the dignity of the situation by the merit of the individual. Every man here knows the advantages of his own free government; and as he also knows himself to be a competent part of it, is, from interest as well as principle, a real patriot. Such is their attachment to their country, that of the Swiss regiments in foreign service, many of the soldiers, after a long absence, pine and sicken for their return. Should that liberty be refused them (which never is from experience of the ill consequence) their death is inevitable, as neither promotion nor emolument can dissipate the melancholy that preys upon them. Home is the only cure of this singular malady, which is called the Swiss sickness*, and that infallible. In domestic life their private virtues flow from their public character; to their parents they are grateful and obedient, to their families affectionate and attentive, inflexible in friendship, mild as superiors, and benevolent as men.

Character of the Genoese.

From the same.

THE Genoese are said to inherit the character of their Ligurian ancestors; but I rather think, if they retain any part of it, it is the worst, as they certainly are the most turbulent, most superstitious, most vindictive, and most mercenary race in all Italy. Of the first charge, the history of their country affords a variety of instances; of the second and third, the frequency of religious processions and assassinations. To prove the last, I need only relate a circumstance that would be incredible, if it were not sufficiently vouched by the testimony of all travellers who have visited Genoa; and that is, their voluntary servitude on board the galleys after the term of their sentence is elapsed. Examples of this are very frequent, the contract is generally for twelve months, and the price of their liberty eighteen shillings in Genoese money. I am really at a loss to account for such depravity; but my surprise yields to my indignation, not so much against the wretched slaves, as against the more wretched government that permits and encourages so infamous a compact. Though the condition of the galley-slaves be better here than in France, nevertheless it is so bad, that were I not assured of the fact, I never had given it credit; chained one to another, exposed to all weathers on board the galleys, subject to arbitrary and severe correction; ill clothed,

* They call it in German *das heim wehe*. There is no motive that induces us to recollect the places which we love, more than the music we have heard in them; and from this it is that all songs and tunes that were popular in their country, are strictly forbidden among the Swiss regiments in foreign service.

worse fed, and finally eat up by disease and vermin,—who would have imagined it possible? but so it is; and such is the imbecility, the infatuation, the misery of human nature at Genoa!

The character of the nobles too, has a leading feature in it that is seldom found in other countries. They affect a superiority to those prejudices which so frequently and so foolishly exist against commerce; yet this mask of wisdom is only the result of avarice, as no race of men are prouder and more ignorant. But the commerce carried on by the noble Genoese is that of money, or, in other words, usury, as they supply the needy of France and Italy with sums at the most exorbitant interest. They are in possession of this money from the exercise of the most rigid parsimony in domestic life; for instead of using the noble palaces which they owe to the ostentation of their ancestors, they inhabit only the attic stories: fathers, uncles, brothers, with all their female relatives and servants, are stowed in different apartments; and their tables, instead of being served in a style adequate to their opulence, are (as I am well informed) most pitifully supplied. In the article of dress, as they always wear black, they incur but little expence; and for hospitality, it is a virtue unknown to them, even among each other. Their general amusement is *conversazioni*, where they entertain themselves at cards, and are refreshed with coffee, lemonade, and biscuits. The women are pretty; but their sable dress, and manner of wrapping up their heads in a veil called *il Messera*, are, in my opinion, very unbecoming. Their

whole time is taken up in play, intrigue, and the observance of church-ceremony. They never appear from home either with their husbands, or without their *cecibbi*, the latter of whom are always the objects of their choice, and often the fathers of their children. From the general imputation which the Genoese lie under from ignorance, I am not at all surprised to find no university here; but from that partiality to music which they entertain in common with all the Italians, I did not expect to see so vile a theatre. The singers were what I should have been out of humour with, even at Novi, and the band was still more despicable: this is the consequence of their parsimony, as the managers, from the little encouragement they receive, are not able to employ the best voices and music.

Commerce at Genoa is reduced to its lowest ebb, having declined in proportion to its rise at Leghorn. Few of these noble usurers would risk a cargo in a vessel of their own state, as they know how entirely their flag is unprotected, and therefore make use of British bottoms as their best security. In these they export their velvets, silk, oil, dried mushrooms (which are famous) wines, Parmesan cheese, and Carrara marbles. Their imports are various; English cloth is a considerable article: their chief trade, however, is with Spain. But that on which the existence of this republic as an independent state, as well as the properties of many of its citizens have long rested, is the celebrated Bank of St. George, established since the commencement of the fifteenth century. It is less dependent on government than government is on it, being managed exclusively

exclusively by its own laws, and separate directors; its capital is immense, its credit universal, and the security as firm as the defenceless condition of Genoa will admit. In 1746, it supported the republic in its distress, by advancing 750,000*l.* the whole of which (as I am informed) has been liquidated. The interest it gives for money is two and a half per cent.

I shall conclude this letter with an anecdote related to me by a French gentleman who resides here, and which will give you a much better representation of the national character than any thing which I could otherwise write upon the subject.

Some months ago two Venetians (whose countrymen and the Genoese still keep up that inveterate hatred to each other which distinguished their ancestors) were present at an *osteria*, or wine-house, where the conversation of the company arose, not, as it would in England, on politics or pleasure, but upon the merits of St. John, the protector of Genoa, who, it was asserted, had worked innumerable miracles, and was the greatest of all saints. If Nature be so much the parent of patriotism as to create in us an affection for those minuter objects in our native land which the citizen of the world would regard with an eye of indifference, how much more powerfully must she operate on our passions, when we remember that on which the prosperity of our country is supposed to depend! The two Venetians were precisely in this predicament. They probably knew as

little of St. John as they did of St. Denis; but St. Mark was the guardian of Venice, and consequently their all in all. Resolved therefore to maintain his honour in opposition to this provoking eulogium of the Genoese on their patron, one of them observed, that the bones of his saint had worked more miracles, particularly in healing diseases, than all the apostles and saints; that in heaven he was next in rank to the Virgin and popes, and as much superior to their St. John as the Patriarch of Venice was to the Archbishop of Genoa. To prevent any reply to this, he and his friend left the room, but were soon followed by one of the company, who had the honour of bearing the great cross of a religious order in their church-processions. This desperate enthusiast, on overtaking the Venetian who had spoken, stabbed him to the heart, crying out with the blow, *Ti manda questo San Giovanni, che ti guariano le offe di San Marco* *. His friend, astonished at a deed so bloody, applied to a magistrate for justice; who, having heard the particulars, told him, that had a Venetian murdered a Genoese in Venice, no notice would have been taken of it, but that his complaint would probably be considered in a few days; — and so indeed it was, even sooner than he had promised; for early the next morning he too was found assassinated at the door of his lodgings; and the bearer of the great cross still maintains his post of honour! — Now determine on the character of a people among whom such crimes are committed with impunity.

* St. John sends thee this, that the bones of St. Mark may heal thee.

Interesting

Interesting Account of an Indented Servant. From Eddis's Letters from America.

A GENTLEMAN of considerable influence and fortune, purchased a servant as an assistant to his gardener; having been previously informed that he had originally acted in that capacity, and was qualified for the undertaking. The man, soon after he was brought on shore, received instructions to enter on his business; when it was immediately discovered that he was wholly unacquainted with the nature of his employment. On being interrogated relative to this deception, he acquainted his master, that "extreme indigence induced him to abandon his native country;—that in the course of the voyage, having intimated that he had not been brought up to any mechanical profession, he was informed by the captain, it was absolutely necessary he should avow some particular calling, in order to secure a more comfortable situation; that in America, a competent skill in gardening was easily attainable, and seldom required the exertion of greater talents than what were immediately essential for domestic purposes; and that by engaging in such employment, he might avoid a more laborious servitude, under the discipline of some rigid and inflexible planter."

This declaration was delivered in terms so apparently consistent with truth, as obtained entire credit with his master, who, from his deportment and exterior, was likewise induced to form sentiments much to his advantage; he, therefore, determined to receive him into his family, in the capacity of a domest-

tic, and to give him that encouragement to which he might be entitled by the propriety of his future conduct.

Every sentiment of gratitude appeared to operate on the mind of the servant, when he found himself destined to a station more comfortable than his original allotment; and, for some time, the whole tenor of his actions was such as might shew that he highly merited the indulgence which he had so unexpectedly obtained.

For a few months, his diligence and attention secured him the entire approbation of his master; and he was continually gaining ground on his confidence and esteem. It was, therefore, with the utmost concern that his benefactor began to observe an appearance of discontent, a disregard to the duties of his station, and an evident alteration in every particular. Remonstrances and threats were equally ineffectual: his disposition became sullen and reserved; while he obstinately refused to assign any cause for such an obvious change in his conduct. At length, he quitted the house of his benevolent employer, and by travelling in the night, and lying concealed in the day, he took the proper precautions to elude the vigilance of pursuit.

His plan, though well concerted, was, nevertheless, ineffectual. In a few days he was discovered, almost famished. Necessity compelled him to supplicate the aid of charity: his story was equivocal, and excited suspicion; he obtained relief, but with the detention of his person. A magistrate, before whom he was conveyed, threatened him with confinement and rigorous treatment, unless he gave a proper and satisfactory

factory account from whence he came, and the circumstances which had reduced him to his present situation. Finding every fallacious pretext fruitless, he made a candid and explicit discovery, and was, in consequence, with all possible expedition, conducted to the presence of a master, whose tenderness he had basely returned with such unpardonable ingratitude.

The most compassionate nature is seldom proof against repeated instances of an incorrigible disposition. It was, therefore, thought necessary that he should experience the consequences of his behaviour; but he was previously reminded of the repeated acts of kindness that had been shewn him, and the ungrateful return he had made. From such considerations it was observed, that it was a debt strictly due to justice to compel him to serve the residue of his time in the most laborious employment allotted to worthless servants. He was accordingly sentenced to the iron mines; there to reap the bitter effects of his conduct.

Overwhelmed with the consciousness of guilt, and terrified at the prospect of the punishment that awaited him, the unfortunate culprit, in the most ingenuous terms, confessed the equity of the sentence passed upon him, but not without an intimation, that there were circumstances in his case which, were they known, he was persuaded, would plead powerfully in his behalf. An irresistible inclination to return to his native country, and the obstacles which appeared to bar his delusive hopes, had possessed his mind with that gloom and discontent, which had almost obliterated

the impressions of gratitude, and occasioned that conduct which had brought him into his present situation. He concluded by declaring, that he had not the most distant claim to compassion; yet relying on that goodness and lenity which he had so frequently abused, he was encouraged to admit a ray of hope, and to supplicate forgiveness, however undeserved.

His humane master heard him with the most candid attention. He pitied a deviation from rectitude, which originated in motives natural to the human mind; and determined not only to exempt him from the situation to which he had been justly doomed, but to send him, by an early opportunity, to his much loved native country, there to pursue such eligible methods as Providence might suggest for his future comfortable provision.—I shall not attempt to delineate the transports which on this intimation took possession of his mind.

About this time, the captain of a ship preparing to sail for England, signified his want of a steward to attend on those passengers who had engaged his cabin for the voyage. The emancipated servant was recommended for this employment; his services were accepted; and with solemn assurances of the most lasting and grateful attachment, he bade farewell to a master, by whose generous, disinterested conduct, he was so providentially restored to happiness and liberty.

Two years elapsed without the least intelligence respecting his situation, when, at length, a letter arrived, filled with every sentiment of gratitude.—His sense of repeated obligations was acknowledged

ledge in terms which delineated a heart conscious of the important benefits he had experienced; and he concluded by entreating his late master's acceptance of a bill, as a trifling consideration for the residue of that time which he had been so generously and humanely exempted from serving.

The sum remitted, very greatly exceeded the original cost of the most valuable servant. In this epistle, not the least intimation was given relative to the circumstance which had enabled a man, so lately at the lowest ebb of misery, to spare from his immediate occasions so considerable a sum as thirty pounds; but an answer was requested, to be addressed to a merchant in London, that the party concerned might be properly apprized his bill was received and acknowledged.

Mr. J— was inexpressibly happy in the pleasing reflection, that, by an indulgence of lenity, natural to his disposition, he had been rendered by Heaven the instrument of such unexpected prosperity. He could not, for a moment, admit the idea of appropriating any part of such money to himself, as the payment of a debt which he considered as a free donation to the claims of humanity; but he was naturally anxious to become acquainted with the particular events by which his late servant was so happily situated as to obtain the power of transmitting such a proof of his honesty and gratitude. He, therefore, immediately addressed a letter to the merchant, expressive of the satisfaction he experienced in receiving intelligence of such an agreeable nature, and desiring him to return the note, which he had enclosed for

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that purpose, into the hands of the party who had conceived it his duty to transmit it, with earnest wishes that his future successes might amply compensate for every former calamity. He had only to request that, by an early opportunity, he would afford him the satisfaction of knowing by what unexpected circumstance he had been so rapidly, and so providentially favoured with the smiles of fortune.

By the return of the first ship, an answer from the agent arrived. The bill was sent back, with an earnest entreaty, that, if Mr. J—— refused to apply it to his particular occasions, he would appropriate it to some charitable purpose: that with respect to the situation of the man, formerly his servant, there were powerful reasons which precluded him from giving the information he requested. All that he was at liberty to disclose was, that the person who had visited America, under circumstances so desperate and forlorn; who had been necessitated to become a common indentured servant, subject to all the hardships and miseries incident to so abject a condition, was, by an astonishing transposition of fortune, elevated to a very affluent and respectable situation in his native country.

The above particulars were delivered to me by the benevolent master himself, who during a course of years, has assiduously endeavoured, by every eligible mode of enquiry, to develop a secret so industriously concealed from his knowledge; but every method has hitherto proved ineffectual; and he has now relinquished the idea of having so natural a curiosity even confidentially gratified.

A a

Of

Of the Inhabitants of Cairo, and its Neighbourhood.

From Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, &c.

ARABS and Turks from all the provinces in the Ottoman empire, form the most numerous part of the inhabitants of Cairo. There are also Magrebbins, or Arabs from Barbary, other Africans, Persians, and Tartars : all these are Mahometans, and most of them attached to the sect of Schafei.

After the Mahometans, the Copts are the next in numbers : — they occupy whole quarters of the city, and very large streets. They have a great many churches, both in the capital, and at Mafr-el-atik in its vicinity. Their patriarch also resides at Cairo.

The Jews are the most numerous class, next after the Mahometans and the Copts. Some Pharisees, or Talmudists, reside here, as well as Karaites, who, though not numerous, have a synagogue of their own. The Talmudists are numerous and very powerful : they have long formed all the customs : an undertaking which brings them both wealth and credit. In the republican government of Egypt, they find it easier to gain steady protectors than in the other provinces of Turkey, where all depends upon the caprice of a pacha, who knows not how soon he may lose his own place ; or of the superintendant of the customs, who resides in Constantinople. One proof of the consequence which the Jews enjoy under the aristocracy of Cairo, is, that the offices of the customs are shut upon their Sabbath, and no goods can pass on that day, altho' belonging to Christians or Mussulmans.

The Greeks have only two churches in Cairo, in one of which the service is performed by the Patriarch of Alexandria, and in the other by the Bishop of Mount Sinai. The Armenians, who are not numerous, have only one church ; but that a handsome one. From Europe here are several French and Italian merchants, but no Dutchmen ; yet the Dutch have a consul here, as well as France, Venice, and other European nations.

If Cairo come ever to want European merchants, yet it is not probable that it will be without ecclesiastics of the Roman communion. Here are Jesuits, capuchins, cordeliers, and fathers of the society for the propagation of the Christian faith. These monks are all eager to make profelytes, and sometimes succeed so far as to convert some schismatic Christian of the east. The government readily tolerates these modern apostles, on account of the profits which they derive from the quarrels which the conversions produce between the apostate and the members of the communion which he forsakes. The pacha is often not content with fining the contending parties, but examines the affair to the bottom, and exacts considerable sums from the monks besides.

The neighbourhood of Cairo is partly inhabited by Copts, but chiefly by Arabs, wandering or settled. These deserve to be more particularly considered.

Of the Copts. — From the same.

IF an ancient origin and illustrious ancestors could confer merit, the Copts would be an highly estimable

estimable people. They are descended from the ancient Egyptians; and the Turks, upon this account, call them, in derision, the posterity of Pharaoh. But their uncouth figure, their stupidity, ignorance, and wretchedness, do little credit to the sovereigns of ancient Egypt.

They have lived for 2000 years under the dominion of different foreign conquerors, and have experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. They have lost their manners, their language, their religion, and almost their existence. They are reduced to a small number, in comparison of the Arabs, who have poured like a flood over this country. Of the diminution of the numbers of the Copts, some idea may be formed from the reduction of the number of their bishops: they were seventy in number at the period of the Arabian conquest; but they are now only twelve, and most of these settled in Upper Egypt, to which the ancient inhabitants seem to have retired from the centre of the conquest.

The Egyptians have been always distinguished as a melancholy, conceited, and superstitious race. Their posterity maintain, with the same obstinacy, the opinions which they were compelled by the Greeks to adopt. The Copts have an insurmountable aversion to the Romish church. Their patriarch is at the same time head of the Abyssinian church, whither he sends a bishop to govern the clergy.

It would be a matter of singular importance to recover the knowledge of the ancient Coptic, the *Risan Pharaon*, or language of Pharaoh. In Egypt we see, even on the mummies, alphabetical inscrip-

tions, which are very different from the hieroglyphics, and, if decyphered, might throw light upon the ancient history of Egypt, and help to an explanation of the hieroglyphics. But this language of the ancient Egyptians seems to be entirely lost. The Ptolemies were at pains to substitute the Greek, instead of the ancient language of their new subjects. The Greek Emperors of Constantinople forbade the use of the Coptic in conversation, under pain of death; and obliged the Egyptians to adopt the Greek, instead of the Pharaonic alphabet. Hence the modern Coptic, in which these people have their version of the holy scriptures, is a mixture of Greek and old Egyptian. The sultans of Egypt effaced the remains of this language, thus corrupted, by forbidding it to be spoken, under the same penalty, and introducing, in its room the Arabic, which is the present language of the Copts. The liturgy is still read in the modern Coptic; but the people understand it not, till explained from an old Arabic translation, which is written beside the text. Even the priests understand not the language of their scriptures, and can scarce read the characters.

Mr. Forskal became acquainted with a Copt, named Ibrahim Ennasch, a man of learning and polished manners, whose employment was in copying the books of the liturgy; by which he earned at the rate of half-a-crown in three days. My friend saw, in the hands of this Egyptian, a dictionary of a great many genuine old Coptic words, with their explanations in Arabic. He was also informed by Ibrahim Ennasch, that there still are, in several convents in Upper Egypt, a

good number of Coptic books; but his informer knew nothing of their nature or contents. The clergy conceal these books with great care, lest the Catholics, as they say, should carry them off, and, after falsifying their contents, print them in Europe. Thus they have hitherto remained unknown. If those ecclesiastics could be persuaded that we are not all of the same party as the Pope, and were at the same time gratified with something to alleviate their extreme poverty, copies of the books in this hidden literary treasure might surely be obtained.

*Of the Arabians in Egypt.
From the same.*

THE Arabians appear to have conquered and settled in Egypt at several different periods, very distant from one another. Vestiges may still be traced which prove their ancient residence in this country. The shepherd-kings, whose memory was in abhorrence among the Egyptians, must have been leaders of troops of wandering Arabs.

But, whatever may have passed in those remote ages since Egypt was conquered by the Saracens, the greater part of its inhabitants have been Arabs. Of these, some are settled in the cities; others live in the villages, and cultivate the ground; and the rest wander thro' the country with their cattle, and encamp in tents.

When I come to speak of the Arabian nation in general, I shall then have occasion to speak of its different branches, their manners, and customs:—here I shall only mention some particulars relative to the Egyptian branch.

The Arabian inhabitants of the cities of this province have nothing peculiar to distinguish them from those in the other cities of the east, or in Arabia, in particular;—and the Arabian peasant of Egypt equally resembles the other peasants of the east: yet, the posterity of strangers settling in Egypt, are thought to degenerate. Arabian horses, too, lose their strength and mettle here. Egyptian peasant is a denomination of contempt through Arabia.

The Bedouins, or wandering Arabs, being free, almost independent, and rather the tributary allies than subjects of the Egyptian government, are the most remarkable branch of the nation. They are divided into tribes, governed by hereditary chiefs, called Schiechs; and these subordinate to a great Schiech, who has authority over several tribes. Upon paying a certain tribute to government, the Bedouins are permitted to feed their flocks through the rich pasturage-grounds of Egypt:—but they frequently abuse this permission, and pillage, without distinction, as well the husbandmen in the districts in which they encamp, as those travellers who have the misfortune to fall into their hands. They are ready, too, to take part in the dissensions which frequently arise in this military republic. When government attempts to punish them, or to constrain them to their duty, they either defend themselves by force, or retire into the deserts till their misdemeanors be forgotten.

They are almost always on horseback, and armed with a lance,—at least the more considerable among them,—and ranging from place to place. The care of their cattle, and excursions for either robbery or amusement,

amusement, are all their employment.

Independence renders them haughty and insolent; and their idle, unsettled way of life, with the poverty which naturally attends it, probably inspire that spirit of theft and robbery by which they are so much distinguished. I have already had occasion to mention some instances of their propensity to infest the country, and insult passengers. Mr. Forskal and I had a new proof of it in an excursion which we made to the Pyramids. Setting out from Geesh, we met two Bedouins on horseback, whom we hired to guide and escort us. Just as we reached the foot of the Pyramids, we observed an Arab riding up to us at full gallop. He was a young Schiech, and behaved at first to us with great civility; but he soon changed his tone, threatened us with his lance, and ordered us to give him money before we quitted the spot. Upon Mr. Forskal's refusing to comply with so insolent a demand, the Schiech seized his turban, and held his pistol to my breast when I offered to defend my friend. The two Bedouins, our guides, made no attempt to interpose; either out of respect to the Schiech, or from natural perfidy. We were at last obliged to gratify the robber. We returned another time better attended; but this did not hinder the Arabs from gathering about us, and stealing whatever they could lay their hands on unobserved.

The Arabic language has, from the circumstances here enumerated, become the language of Egypt; but, in the mouths of the Egyptians and those vagabond Bedouins, it displays little of its genuine purity.

Mr. Forskal made a long list of words used at Cairo, which differed entirely from the words expressive of the same ideas in the dialect of Yemen: — the last, being the dialect of a province shut up in a manner from strangers, and therefore not liable to be debased by an infusion of foreign idioms, is to be regarded as the test of the other dialects. That of Egypt is contaminated with forms of expression from all the diversity of languages which the vicissitudes of its fortune and the diversity of its inhabitants have occasionally introduced into that country.

Account of an ancient and extinct religious Sect in Spain, called Mozarabs. From Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches.

IT may not be amiss in this place, just to glance at the class of men in Spain, who were called Mozarabs. When the Moors conquered Spain, many, as I observed before, fled to the mountains: but Oppas, bishop of the Catholic church at Seville, and brother or son of King Witiza, made terms with the conquerors, and continued in his station. He was suspected of having invited the Moors into Spain. His family and himself had more liberal sentiments than the monkish clergy, and they had abrogated penal laws against the Jews, and had encouraged them to settle in Spain. Oppas went into the mountains after his fugitive brethren, and endeavoured to convince them of the folly of resisting the Moors, and of the prudence of settling quietly under their government. He had no success with them: but greater numbers of Catholics, influenced either by his

reasons, or his example, or by similar sentiments of their own, continued in their habitations, and quietly conformed to the civil government of their new masters. These are the people who are called Mozarabs. Several opinions prevail concerning the derivation of the name; but the most usual is, that it signifies mixt Arabs, or Catholics living among the Arabians.

The Mozarabs enjoyed as many of their rights and privileges under the Moorish government as it was possible for a people to enjoy under an absolute monarch, and such as no absolute Christian monarch ever allowed to dissenters. At Cordova, where the king resided, they had at least six public places of worship within the city, and more than ten monasteries and churches in places adjacent. They had a regular succession of bishops, and they held several councils. Priests, and monks, and nuns walked about in public, in the habits of their orders: they kept public schools: they abounded in wealth; and many held public offices of honour and profit under government. They were under the civil government of a Conde or Count of their own religion, who himself, or his vice-counts or deputies, held courts, and settled disputes among themselves. In return, they paid tribute to the king, under whose protection they enjoyed all these rights.

A detail of the affairs of the Mozarabs would be tedious, and foreign from the general design of this history. There are three articles, however, which deserve a slight attention: these are their martyrs, their liturgy, and their morals.

It is not conceivable that in such

circumstances as has been just now mentioned, there should be any martyrs, properly so called. There were some Mozarabs, as well as some Jews, and some Mohammedans, who were courtiers; and if any of them fell a sacrifice to the lawless passions of the reigning despot, they only shared the fate of others, whose imprudent ambition impelled them to tread such dangerous ground. Religion was out of question; they were not martyrs. There were others, who pretended that the clergy ought not to be taxed. They argued, that estates given to the church were oblations to God and the saints, in their representatives the monks, who were appointed general receivers by Heaven; that it was sacrilege to profane such oblations to secular purposes; and that it was the most infernal of all kinds of sacrilege to apply the property of the saints to the support of infidels; and they added, all the saints in heaven would revenge the crime. The Mohammedan financiers did not understand this logic; and they levied the taxes equally. The Mozarabic commissioners thought the pretended saints revilers, who should not enter into the kingdom of God; they therefore took the side of the Moors, justified their conduct by scripture, and made impartial assessments. The monks excommunicated the commissioners, called their mild maxims, though expressed in the literal words of scripture, heresy, and fomented riots; in suppressing which some suffered, and the survivors put them in a list of martyrs, and published their merits to the world, as if they had suffered for conscience sake. King Abdoulraham was so justly offended at this cruel slander on his mild

mild government, that he ordered the Mozarabic bishops to summon a council at Cordova, and to wipe off the scandal which their seditious brethren had brought on all Christians, by censuring the conduct of the late insurgents, and by issuing an order that they should not be worshipped as martyrs. Historians call this a satanical council, and condemn the bishops who obeyed the monarch, as apostates and false apostles. There was a vagabond monk, now called Saint Eulogius, a disciple of an abbot, one Father Hope-in-God, who published a memorial in a barbarous style, in defence of these martyrs, and filled with invectives against government, and the commissioners, and all other Christians, who deny that rioters were martyrs. This took so well with the bulk of the Mozarabs, that they elected him Archbishop of Toledo: an honour which he never enjoyed, for he was imprisoned, and executed for sedition. There were many enthusiasts, who ran up and down to make proselytes, rushing into the presence of judges in their courts, interrupting business, execrating the Mohammedan doctrine of one God, and proving the Trinity by cursing Mohammed, and chanting about martyrs and miracles. The Mussulmen thought them drunk or mad; and they were obliged to confine some and punish others: but all were deemed saints, and most were dubbed martyrs.—Of such materials are martyrologies made!

The Mozarabs made use of a liturgy in divine service, concerning which learned men have thought it worth while to write many volumes. Some think the Goths had a liturgy before their pretended

conversion, and that the original was an Arian composition. Others suppose that Leander began, and Isidore finished the present liturgy, for the purpose of obtaining an uniformity of worship, as the councils held in the time of Reccared had ordered. Dr. Geddes says, "In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Mozarabic liturgy was printed by Cardinal Ximenes. But we are certain of that cardinal's having made some alterations in it. The copy, which he had of the Mozarabic liturgy was destroyed, and with it all the rest, if there were any more at that time: there not being, that I can hear of, after much enquiry, a manuscript copy of the Mozarabic liturgy anywhere to be met with." The present is a very contemptible compilation, and not worth the investigation of critics. There was, certainly, a Mozarabic liturgy; and successive Popes took great pains to get it laid aside in favour of the Roman office; but the kings could not gratify them, for it had been confirmed by many councils in Spain. It was in the eleventh century, in the pontificate of Gregory VII. and in the reign of Alphonfus VI. who had lately conquered Toledo, that the Roman ritual was generally received. The clergy were obstinate; and it was determined to try the merits of the two missals by a combat, and then by casting both into a fire. The Mozarabic triumphed in both. The natives clamoured, and the old priests triumphed: but Queen Constance, who had been used to the Roman ritual, prevailed, and, in spite of the miracle, obliged the clergy to use it. She was a princess of France; and the ladies of that

house were remarkable for conquests of this kind:—probably they were very handsome. The Mozarabic liturgy, however, subsisted in six parishes in Toledo as late as the fifteenth century, but is now restrained to the single chapel of St. Eustatia, in the cathedral, where Cardinal Ximenes, unwilling that his church should lose all remembrance of its ancient forms, made a foundation of thirteen priests and three clerks, who officiate every morning according to the Mozarabic manner. One proof of many of the nullity of that uniformity which the church of Rome hath committed so many crimes to procure, but which no mortal power can effect.

Very little can be said in favour of the morals of the Mozarabs. The government was not in their hands, and the natural consequences followed. Bigots and enthusiasts raved against heresy in harmless books, which nobody took the trouble to read. The Moors wisely allowed this liberty, or licentiousness of the pen, well knowing that much venom discharged itself this way without any damage to men of sense, and with some advantage to the revenue. The case of Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, in the latter end of the eighth century, proves that the Mozarabs, having no lord over conscience, thought and wrote freely on religious subjects. The jesuit Mariana, in his History of Spain, laments this: but others rejoice that a bishop might write against opinions received in his own community; that an abbot named Beatus, and a youth named Etherius might write against him; and that no damage was done to society by the dispute. The reflections of the learned James Bas-

nage are very judicious. "This affair, says he, may serve to inform princes and prelates, that it is not an easy matter to eradicate error; indeed, divines yield to the authority of princes, and are affected with the fear of punishment: but they continue to think as before, and do not readily renounce favourite opinions. This history is an example; several learned men wrote against Felix and Elipand; the Emperor took the side against them; two popes anathematized them; the councils, which were held against them, often compelled Felix, who lived under the dominion of the Emperor, to abjure his opinion; his abjurations were feigned, for he abjured them at his death. On the contrary, Elipand, although he lived among Saracens, implacable enemies of the whole Christian faith, continued to his death in despising the authority of the Emperor, the Pope, and the councils, and a delegation of bishops sent to him out of France, as well as the influence of Alcuin, who at that time enjoyed mines of wealth, had a retinue of twenty thousand slaves, and a sort of omnipotence in the empire. *Vanae sine viribus iræ.*"

There were among the Mozarabs many men of liberal sentiments. Eulogius, who pretended to disprove what was objected against the conduct of his saints and martyrs, hath put down the arguments of his opponents, who were both gentry and clergy, and the texts urged by them in support of what they affirmed. His answers are futile, and their arguments prove that his opponents understood religion much better than he. The monks and their gentry, however, had a great number of tenants, tradesmen, and dependants; and as the latter

latter attended public offices of devotion, they stood forth under the direction of their masters, and passed for the bulk of the Mozarabs. The religion of these people lay in applauding and clapping their masters the actors, who played their parts so as to excite the pity of other Christians, the contempt of Jews, and the hearty abhorrence of the Moors, who for their sakes rejected Christianity itself. In contemplating the little Spanish kingdoms, the eye of an historian, fatigued with beholding a succession of crimes, turns away from monasteries, and miracles, and martyrs,

and a thousand other fine things, which are exhibited instead of virtue: but in observing the Mozarabs, who were the same sort of people, of the same religion, and in the same country, the eye is refreshed with a mixture of liberality and virtue, just as it is in a landscape of rocks and deserts intersected with rills and vallies. No probable reason can be assigned for this, except that in the Moorish governments the frantic inventions of the monks were never in the least supported by the reigning princes: but in the Christian states they very often were.

NATURAL HISTORY.

A Narrative of the Earthquake felt in Lincolnshire, and the neighbouring Counties, on the 25th of February, 1792. In a Letter from Edmund Turnor, Esq. F. R. S. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S.

From the Philosophical Transactions for 1792.

Dear Sir,

WHEN I heard of the earthquake of the 25th of February last, which was felt in Lincolnshire, and some of the neighbouring counties, about a quarter before nine in the evening, I immediately wrote to my friend Captain Pennyman, at Little Paunton, near Grantham, desiring him to inform me of the duration and extent of the shock, the direction it came in, and the state of the weather before and after it was perceived. His remarks, together with the subsequent information I have obtained, great part of which I derive from your obliging communication, may serve to record this recent instance of a phenomenon, to the terrors of which this country is but little exposed.

Lord Rawdon's Information to Sir Joseph Banks.

At Donnington Castle, Leicestershire, Lord Rawdon's steward was

fitting with his back against an old massy stack of chimnies, which gave him a sensible shove; he at the same time saw the chairs of other persons in the rooms move very visibly.

Thomas Barker, Esq. in a Letter to Mr. Turnor.

An earthquake was felt all over Rutlandshire. What I felt, and it was the general description given of it, was, that it came with a rattling noise, something like wheels running over a pavement, and a trembling shake, which those who were leaning against a wall felt more than those who were standing, or sitting upright. It lasted a considerable time; different people estimated it from a quarter of a minute to a minute. Several thought the noise and shake came from the north or the north-east; and indeed, I think I heard more of it from the northward than the southward of us. Some thought they heard a thump, as of a heavy thing falling down; but the rattling and shaking were much more taken notice of. Several persons at first suspected it might be a ball of fire, but no such thing was seen; and many were immediately sensible it must be an earthquake, especially those who had felt one before. No material

terial hurt was done by it; some who were standing were seen to reel, and one who was walking was thrown against a wall by it, but not hurt; a stack of wood was thrown down, and some said a chimney. I heard of it as far as Newark, in Nottinghamshire; and it was said to be felt at Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire. The season was at the conclusion of a frost; there had been a little rain, and a thaw was beginning. The barometer gradually fell from the 23d to the 26th—the thermometer was as under:

21st, morn.	16.5;	22d, 27.3;	23d, 22.3
aftern.	28.0;	32.6;	33.2
24th, morn.	24.0;	25th, 34.9;	26th, 39.8
aftern.	39.0;	38.0;	45.5
27th, morn.	40.2.		
aftern.	52.2.		

I felt the earthquake of September 30th, 1750, as I did this, and heard the same rattling noise, and my seat shook under me. Many others heard and felt the same; but some described it as the falling down of a weight. September 1750, was almost all a calm, dry, and hot season, scarce a breath of wind, or a glimpse of sun. The end was cooler; but dry and calm, as before. The 30th was cloudy and calm, but there was a gentle wind for some time after the earthquake.

The Rev. Edw. Gregory's Information to Mr. Turner.

The earthquake at Nottingham, as felt by Dr. White, was undulatory in both shocks; but, in the second, he perceived the direction of the shock to be a little inclined to the horizon, towards the south-east. At Langar, its noise was like that of a heavy carriage driving rapidly along. Here the shock was felt by one or more persons, but not by all

in the same room. Its direction was from west to east. It was felt at Derby very slightly; and was of no great extent from north to south in these parts, as it was not felt at Harborough to the south, nor at Chesterfield to the north. It was sharply felt at Stamford and Wandesford, but not at Alconbury.

Mr. King's Information to Mr. Turner.

At Belvoir Castle the shock seemed to be perpendicular, up and down, as if part of the castle had given way; no noise was perceived, but wind.

Captain Pennyman, in a Letter to Mr. Turner.

At Little Paunton, Lincolnshire, the morning presented a thick fog, which continued all the day; the air extremely heavy and close. About half past eight in the evening, a noise came on resembling thunder, which lasted nearly half a minute, when two undulatory motions, in the quickest succession, were felt; a gust of wind, for some seconds, instantaneously succeeded, and in about five minutes it rained heavy and large drops, which continued some time. The windows, window-bells, pewter upon shelves, &c. gave ample evidence of the agitation. Its direction was from north-west to south-east. It was slightly felt at Branston, though not at Lincoln.

Chr. Driffeld, in a Letter to Lord Brownlow.

We were all much alarmed by a violent and sudden shock of an earthquake; it made the house at Belton shake, and was followed by a violent gust of wind, and a noise like

like thunder, which lasted about six or seven seconds. I really thought my chair was sinking into the ground, and, after I had recovered myself, I was not convinced that one of the fronts of the house, or a chimney, had not given way, till I had been in all the rooms, where I found every thing in its place. All the other servants felt it as I did; and the neighbours in the village thought their houses were going to fall upon them. It was felt at Grantham, Manthorpe, and other towns in the neighbourhood.

*The Rev. Archdeacon Brown,
in a Letter to Mr. Turner.*

An uncommon rumbling noise was heard round my premises at Peterborough, 110 yards, resembling that occasioned by drawing a large garden-roller slowly over the pavement. The sound did not appear like thunder over the head, but upon or near the ground. The like, in every respect, happened October 27th, 1776, about a quarter before ten at night.

*Mr. Fydel's Information
to Sir Joseph Banks.*

The earthquake was felt and heard by a lady at Boston, who declared so at the time it happened, and said, she was sure it was something extraordinary, though no one else in the town observed it, or paid any attention to her, till the news of its having been felt at other places arrived.

The Transactions of the Royal Society give an account of the earthquakes in the northern parts of England, in the years 1703 and

1750. That of the latter year is described as "beginning in Derbyshire, and passing off the island, through Lincolnshire and part of Cambridgeshire, its direction being from west to east *." From the preceding narrative it appears, that nearly the same tract of country was affected by the late concussion, and that it came in the same direction from west to east; circumstances which correspond with the observations of Mr. Mechel: 1st, "That the same places are subject to returns of earthquakes at different intervals of time;"—2dly, "That earthquakes generally come to the same place from one and the same point of the compass." These, and other facts, that ingenious philosopher adduces in support of his hypothesis, that earthquakes are caused by the steam raised by waters contained in the cavities of the earth, suddenly rushing in upon subterraneous fires; which steam, the moment it is generated, insinuates itself between the strata of the earth, and produces the undulatory motion before mentioned. It may, however, be remarked that the state of the air, before the shock, was calm, close, and gloomy, such as is described by Dr. Stukely as necessary to prepare the earth to receive an electrical stroke; and the circumstance of its having been partially felt in the same room, may be supposed to favour that hypothesis; but yet the concussion seems not to have been so strong on the eminence at Belvoir Castle as it was in the neighbouring vale.

I have the honour to be, &c.

EDMUND TURNOR.

March 10th, 1792.

The Great Importance and Proper Method of cultivating and curing Rhubarb, &c. by Sir William Fordyce, M.D. F. R. S.

From the Annals of Agriculture, Vol. 18.

IT will not be denied, that the taste for luxury is become more than ever general and prevalent in this country; that partly the indolence which is its common attendant, and partly the extreme mutability of the climate, prevent multitudes from taking proportioned exercise in open air; and that many of the most painful and dangerous diseases proceed from weakness and disorders in the stomach and bowels, always increased by intemperance. It will, therefore, be allowed, that if a simple or plant, possessing powers to correct those disorders and strengthen that weakness, could be propagated amongst ourselves at an easy rate, so as to be purchased at a small expence, it would be a circumstance highly grateful to every friend of humanity.

Such a plant, we have the happiness to know, has been provided by the beneficence of nature; I mean rhubarb, or *rheum palmatum* of the London Dispensatory 1768, so justly celebrated by the best physicians, both at home and abroad. We cannot however but regret, that hitherto it has not been cultivated in Britain with the care or skill requisite for producing any quantity worth a name, far less such a supply as could either save the country altogether its present expensive importation, or render the article so cheap as to be attainable by the great numbers who have not now the benefit of sharing in its salutary effects.

The late Sir Alexander Dick, Baronet, President of the College of

Physicians at Edinburgh, being acquainted with these particulars, and prompted by a zeal for the public good that strongly marked his character, was solicitous to try whether the culture of this salutary root might not be introduced into Britain so effectually, as to answer the purposes of general utility before suggested. Full of the benevolent idea, he applied to a medical friend of his own, the late Dr. Mounsey, at the court of Peterburg, with whom he corresponded, and who was fortunately in such high favour with the late Czar Peter, as to procure, by the intervention of his Imperial Majesty, an order for some of the best rhubarb-seeds to be sent to the imperial gardens at Petersburg. There it prospered exceedingly, often producing seed within two or three years, and growing so fast as to gain not seldom, in the space of less than three weeks, the height of twelve or fourteen feet. It is in truth a very hardy plant; and, where it is thriving, shoots up in stems of great size and beauty.

After the Czar's death, Dr. Mounsey brought home with him, to Britain, some of its seeds, and gave a part of them to Sir Alexander Dick, who took the most sedulous pains to raise the plant in his own gardens at Prestonfield, and to dry its roots. Nor did he fail to distribute the seeds among such of his noble and learned friends as he thought would be best disposed and qualified to cherish his favourite object. Among the rest, he imported them to the late Duke of Athol, the Earl of Bute, and the late Dr. Hope of Edinburgh, my old fellow-student there; of whom I cannot forbear saying, that whether regarded as a botanist, a physician, or a man, he

he was an ornament to his country.

About seven years after the period to which I refer, I found plenty of the true palmated rhubarb in the botanical garden at Edinburgh, as well as in that of the amiable Baronet above named. From him I brought some, both of the roots and of the seeds, into England.

Whence it happens, that cultivation of this root, as an article of public utility, is still generally neglected, I know not; unless it be the supposed difficulty attending the drying of it. I have been told, that not less than 200,000*l.* is paid annually for rhubarb imported into this country: and it is likely to cost yet more, if not propagated by ourselves, as modern luxury daily increases.

It is certain that the enormous quantity of butter, in all its different forms and uses, constantly devoured by vast numbers of both sexes; with every species of fat foods and heavy ales, besides porter; want of due exercise, and the pernicious custom of late hours, and jading attendance on gay assemblies and card-tables, infinitely hurtful to health; it is certain, I say, that all these, with other causes that might be named, concur in rendering extraordinary aids to digestion necessary. But what aids so natural, safe, or efficacious, as vegetable bitters, as well as vegetable acids?

Convinced that the former are peculiarly calculated, when properly combined with other ingredients, to supply the deficiency of bile, and of the pancreatic juice, I was led to bestow particular attention upon the culture of rhubarb, after the lights I had received concerning it: and a sample of its roots, which grew in my own garden on Putney-

heath, I took the liberty of exhibiting to the Society, encouraged by a certificate from the druggists in the city, that they had found it of superior goodness, as well as the first English specimen which they had seen of true marketable rhubarb, or the *rheum palmatum* of the Dispensatory. For this the Society honoured me with a letter of thanks, and afterwards with a gold medal.

To this attempt, I am emboldened, by having last summer raised more than three hundred plants, and afterwards transplanted them in a thriving condition, according to the rules and orders of the Society, with the proper certificates.

As soon as I had seed enough for the purpose of making experiments, I sowed it in a hot-bed, and when it had shot up with three or four seed-leaves, I planted it out in an east and south-east exposure, where ground unmanured, or not too rich, is least apt to breed the fly; to which indeed this plant is more subject than even the turnip. On the whole, it has answered best when sown in the situation now mentioned, during the last half of the month of March, or in April, or even as far as the end of May; or yet later, if the spring has proved cold and dry. It may be also transplanted during the whole course of the summer. Sets likewise, from the more abundant stems, will often succeed very well; and even the tap-root, in the deepest mould, and where the upper part is already fit to be cut into slices of two inches in depth and three in breadth, before the plant has pushed out its rapid stems.

With regard to the time of taking up the roots, that may be done with safety when it shews its first growth, or as soon as it has seeded, or when the

the seed is ripened, or any period in the last quarter of the year, or in the first of the ensuing. Though it may be taken up, dried, and used at the end of four years, it will not, how properly soever managed, possess that solidity which is necessary for its excellence. It will be found in its most perfect state at the end of seven years, and after that age, if it has been carefully cultivated, and skilfully cured.

This last operation must be conducted in the following manner:—As soon as a root, weighing from three or four to seventy pounds, is dug up, let it be washed till it is thoroughly clean: let the fibrous roots be taken away, and not the smallest particle of bark left on the large ones: let these be cut into square pieces, as nearly as they will admit, of four inches in breadth, and one and a half in depth: let a hole be made in the middle of each, about half an inch square:—then let them be strung upon a packthread, with a knot on each, and at such a distance from one another as to keep them from rubbing or entangling. Thus secured, let them be hung up in the form of a festoon, without delay, in the warm air of a kitchen or laundry, till the superfluous moisture is exhaled, in order to prevent their becoming mouldy, or any way musty. They may be afterwards sufficiently dried at more leisure, then wrapt separately in cotton, and put into a bottle with a wide mouth.

Let it be observed here, by the way, that the tap-roots, next to the roots themselves, make excellent tinctures: of them too, as well as the parings dried and powdered, I have frequently given half an ounce, with double the quantity of cream

of tartar, to my horses each day, on finding the crust of their blood deeply tinged with bile, and that for three or four days running. Of such blood, every race-horse would be the better for losing a part the day after running, unless he is to run again very soon.

1st. Of this cream of tartar let half an ounce be dissolved in a quart of boiling water; of which let the patient drink but one half every twenty-four hours, giving, in a cup full of it, ten grains of powder of the same rhubarb, twice or thrice within that space of time.

2d. Burn two or three ounces of this same cream of tartar in a crucible till it is red hot, and you have a salt which, powdered in a marble mortar, and whilst hot and dry, poured into a bottle well corked, is as good as the salt of wormwood. Give twenty grains of this, dissolved in three table-spoonfuls of water and one table-spoonful of lemon-juice, and you have one of the most useful febrifuges known in all hot fevers, if taken four or five times within the twenty-four hours.

3d. Mix as much of the salt with some of the above solution of the cream of tartar, till the effervescence is over, and you have tartarized tartar, of such wonderful use in the cure of remitting fevers, jaundice, anasarca, obstructions of the liver, hypochondres, delirium, melancholy, and even what is called madness, if that be not hereditary.

4th. Add a proper quantity of distilled vinegar to a due proportion of the above salt of tartar, and you have the regenerated tartar or diuretic salt, known even to Pliny the natural historian, and whose powers are extolled so highly by our best chymists,

chymists, Hoffman, Boerhaave; and our most eminent physicians, Huxham, Fothergill, and innumerable other practitioners, not to name the wonderful combination of rhubarb, with the different preparations from tartar, which is more than sufficient to justify my saying that, until an universal febrifuge be discovered, it is as a second alkahest for the cure of the most afflicting and stubborn diseases, whether acute or chronic.

5th. Mix a quarter of an ounce of rhubarb in powder, with three quarters of an ounce of the cream of tartar, into the form of a linctus, with oxymel of squills. A teaspoonful of this, taken twice or thrice a day, is one of the best medicines for a dropsy hitherto known.

6th. Add sixty grains of our rhubarb to as much of the salt of tartar, boil them for a quarter of an hour in six ounces of water in a tin saucepan, strain it through blotting paper, and you have what one of the best writers on the * *Materia Medica* calls *anima rhubarbari*. One teaspoonful of this, given once a day to a child of a year old, twice a day to one of twenty-four months old, and three times a day to one a year older, is one of the best compositions as yet known for strengthening the stomach and bowels of little children, and preventing the big bellies, rickety joints and limbs, incident to their age.

7th. Put half an ounce of the fibrous roots of our rhubarb, mentioned above, with two drachms of this same salt of tartar, into a bottle of brandy, or as much aniseed-water, and you have an excellent tincture and domestic medicine for the windcholic.

An Account of the Uses and Value of the Chestnut Tree.

From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce:

Sir,

SINCE I have had the honour of becoming a member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, I have read, with great satisfaction, Mr. Majendie's judicious remarks upon the Spanish Chestnut, in the ninth volume of their Transactions, page 17; and observation and experience have long convinced me that it is the most profitable tree that can be planted. Although the character which he gives of it has in a great measure anticipated what I had to say in its favour, still I am persuaded, a few more particulars relative to it will not be considered as impertinent or ill-timed, though it may in some instances carry the appearance of repetition.

I entirely agree with Mr. Majendie that, for hop-poles and stakes, it has no equal, in point of durability, and consequently no underwood can be applied to those purposes with equal profit. He seems to think, indeed, that it is not so quick in its growth as ash, upon a moist soil: I think it is not; but upon a sand or loam, I apprehend it will keep full pace with the ash, and attain a sufficient size for hop-poles in fourteen years, and be worth, at that age, two guineas a hundred, and last, with proper care, twenty years; whilst ash, which seldom comes to sufficient size in less than twenty years, will only bear two

* Wolfgangii Wedelii *Amenitates Materiae Medicæ.*

thirds of the price, and decay in half the time.

For gates and hurdles it is equally good; and being less heavy than oak, is another great recommendation to it, as it is removed from one place to another with greater ease. To these and many other purposes, chefnut, trained and cut as underwood, is peculiarly adapted; and, in point of beauty, no wood surpasses it, as it admits of close planting, runs straight in its branches, and always appears florid and healthy.

I shall next consider the value of the Spanish chefnut for timber, in which (except for the unrivalled purposes of ship-building) it will be found for most uses equal to the oak; and in buildings and out-door work much superior.

In 1676, an ancestor of the present Mr. Windham, of Felbrigg, in Norfolk, had the merit of being a considerable planter of chefnut. In the space of fifty years, it is presumed these plantations required thinning, as his successor, about that time, began to apply this timber to useful purposes upon his estate.

The first account is, of the branch or limb of a chefnut, about thirteen inches square; which, in the year 1726, was put down as a hanging-post for a gate, and carried the gate, without any alteration, fifty-two years, when, upon altering the inclosures of the farm where it stood, it was taken up under my direction, and, appearing to be perfectly sound, was put down for a clapping-post in another place.

In 1743, a large barn was built with some of this timber, and is now as sound in every part, beams, principals, and spars, as when first

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the barn was built. About the same time several chefnut-posts and rails were put down, which I have since seen removed; and, after standing thirty or forty years, generally appeared so sound, as to admit of being set up in some other place.

The last instance I shall mention, though not of so long a date, will shew the great superiority of this timber over that of oak in fences. In the year 1772, the present Mr. Windham made a large plantation in his park, which was fenced with posts and rails, converted from young oaks and chefnuts of the same age and scantlings, such as were picked out of a place where they stood too thick. Last year, upon Mr. Windham's enlarging this plantation, it was necessary to remove this fence; when the chefnut-posts were found as sound as when they were first put down; but the oak were so much wasted just below the surface of the ground, that they could not be used for the same purposes again, without the assistance of a spur to support them.

To these modern proofs of its utility and durability, we may join the authority of Evelyn, an author of established reputation, who asserts, it is good for "mill-timber and water-work; and that great part of our ancient houses in the city of London were built with it; and that it does well for table and other furniture."

As a candid quoter of Evelyn, however, I admit that he says, in another place, that he "cannot celebrate this tree for its sincerity; it being found (contrary to oak) that it will make a fair show outwardly, when it is all decayed and rotten within; but that this is in some sort recompensed, for the beams have the pro-

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perty of being somewhat brittle, of crackling, and giving warning of danger."

To account for this drawback in Mr. Evelyn's opinion, it will be proper to observe, that this certainly is the case with old chefnut that has been suffered to stand beyond the time of its attaining its full growth: it is then the worst of all timber, being more brittle and more apt to crack and fly into splinters than any other: but I have never known this to be the case with young chefnut; and therefore, in point of œconomy, it should never be suffered to stand longer than the points of the branches and the complexion of the bark indicate it to be in a growing or healthy state; which is not very difficult to ascertain, by a person accustomed to make observations upon timber: and it is this very circumstance, when properly attended to, that makes this timber more profitable than most others; for it is so early useful, that if it be cut when it squares only six inches, it will be as durable as an oak of six times its size and age. This is in a great measure accounted for, by its having so little sap in proportion to other trees, as it will seldom exceed in thickness the breadth of the bark; whereas the sap of an oak will often be from an inch to two inches thick, which is not only useless, but, if suffered to remain, tends very much to the destruction of the timber: in other respects, the duration of the chefnut may be accounted for, from its being less affected by worms or insects than other timber; otherwise it would be impossible that such roofs as King's College, Cambridge, built in the reign of Henry VI. with chefnut, and many other equally

ancient buildings, should have lasted so long, and be still in such a perfect state as many of them are.

Therefore, like Mr. Majendie, I earnestly wish to see the culture of this most valuable plant extended over every part of the kingdom, as it must prove highly beneficial to the public.

But let no one be afraid of cutting it too young; for, let this tree be ever so small, if it is large enough for the purpose for which it is wanted, it will be the less liable to decay, from its youth; and, if underwood be the object, the proverb, in beech countries will be fully verified, "Cut wood, and have wood."

I am, Sir,

your most obed. humb. servant,
NATHANIEL KENT.

Ripon-Hall,
January 16th, 1792.

An Account of two Cases of Polydipsia, or excessive Thirst.

From Medical Facts, vol. 1.

ALMOST all the modern nosologists have introduced into their systems a disease to which, on account of the excessive thirst that forms its characteristic symptom, they give the name of Polydipsia; but in none of the examples of it they have been able to collect, does it appear to have been idiopathic; and Dr. Cullen expressly says that it is almost always symptomatic. A very curious instance, however, of such an affection, apparently depending on a peculiarity of temperament, or what is called idiosyncrasy, occurs in a woman now living at Paris, of whose case the first account was given by M. Bessiejon de la Chassagne, in a letter which

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we shall here translate from the Paris Journal of May 1, 1789.

"To the Authors of the Journal.

"Paris, April 18, 1789.

"Gentlemen,

"You will interest equally the humanity and curiosity of the public, by inserting in your journal the following anecdote, which, without doubt, will be considered as a phenomenon. I have assured myself, with the most scrupulous accuracy, of the facts which I announce; but I leave to the reader to explain their nature and cause.

"Catherine Bonsergent has been remarked from her tenderest years. A burning thirst, a drought without example, with which she has been continually afflicted from the time of her birth, has always fixed on her the attention of persons of observation. Her parents, after having entrusted the first care of her to a nurse, took her home when she was three years old. It was not long before they observed that an extraordinary quantity of water was consumed in the house; and at length they discovered that their daughter drank, every day, to the amount of nearly two pailfuls. At first they attributed to improper education what in reality was the effect of a surprising, though natural, appetite. It was to no purpose that they attempted to correct this defect by caresses or threats, by denying her water, or lessening the quantity of what she drank; and they were still more surprised to see her secretly availing herself of every means to satisfy her thirst. In summer she drank the first water she could meet with; in winter she had recourse to snow and ice; and she was always careful to reserve as

much as would enable her to drink abundantly during the night.

"The ill treatment this disposition occasioned her to experience from her parents, at length, obliged her to quit them; and she came to Paris and lived as a servant with different families, who were more indulgent to her; for although the infirmity in question was not to be concealed, her good conduct in other respects secured her from reproach.

"At the age of twenty-two years she married one Fery, a cobbler, from whom she contrived to conceal her complaint till after their marriage. She has had by him eight children, three of whom are still alive, and she is now pregnant with a ninth. What appears particularly extraordinary is, that, during her lyings-in, instead of having recourse to such food and liquors as would seem to be most likely to strengthen her, she chuses rather, for the sake of satisfying her thirst, which at those times is more intense, to drink, almost without interruption, three or four quarts of the coldest water. During the severe cold of last winter, this woman, who was then pregnant, drank to the amount of four pailfuls of water in twenty-four hours; and her husband, being unable to afford the expence of such a consumption, was under the necessity of supplying her with melted snow and ice. The price of a load (two pailfuls) of water, at that time, was six *sols*; and the quantity she required would have cost him more than he earned by his work.

"This woman has never made use of any sort of strong liquors; and if she drinks only a single glass of wine, she feels an uneasy sensa-

tion in all her limbs, and seems to be in danger of fainting. She is not dropical; she even enjoys a pretty good state of health; she voids naturally all the water she drinks; but her urine is extraordinarily foetid. She lives at the Hotel des Arts, Fauxbourg Saint Martin.

(Signed)

"BESSEJON DE LA CHASSAGNE,
"Prêtre de Saint Laurent."

The facts related by M. de la Chassagne seemed, if they might be relied on, to afford an instance of an affection, at any rate extremely rare, if not altogether without example; but their value, like that of every other fact, depended on their authenticity. There was a possibility that the writer of the account, without any intention of stating more than was true, might have been deceived by the patient or her friends; and that the story in question might, on farther inquiry, like too many other extraordinary assertions, be found to be greatly exaggerated, or even to have its origin in ignorance or imposture. A narrative so remarkable seemed, however, to be deserving of investigation; and accordingly the Editor of this work ventured to direct the attention of some of his medical friends at Paris to the case, and to solicit their assistance in ascertaining the degree of confidence it might merit.

The first communication he was favoured with on this subject was from M. Tenon, Professor of Anatomy, and Member of the Royal Academies of Sciences and Surgery at Paris; who, in a letter, dated Paris, September 7th, 1790, says, "This woman, Fery, at the Hotel

des Arts, Fauxbourg St. Martin, is now thirty-nine years old, and pregnant of her tenth child. According to her own account, from the age of four or five years, to that of sixteen or eighteen, she drank one of our pailfuls of water, that is to say, ten quarts (or Paris pints) each weighing two pounds of sixteen ounces, daily. Since that period she has constantly drank twenty quarts, and sometimes thirty, in the space of twenty-four hours. Every time she drinks she swallows rather more than a quart. Her health does not appear to be affected, only she experiences a little heat in her under lip, which at the same time hardens it. When she is in the least indisposed, her thirst diminishes.

"She has reared only two children: the eldest is not more than eight or ten years old. Neither of them partake of their mother's complaint.

"This woman is of a middle stature, lean, and of a fair complexion, inclining to red.

"I have employed a person, on whom I can depend, to procure for me these particulars, and he has them from the patient herself; but I cannot be sure that she has not imposed on him."

The next account the Editor received of this case was from Mr. William Maiden, of Stroud, in Kent, an ingenious student of physic, who went lately from London to Paris, and who, at his request, visited this woman in August, 1791. Mr. Maiden found her rather thin in the face, but seemingly in good general health, without any swelling of the legs or preternatural enlargement of the belly; and she related to him nearly the same circumstances

circumstances of her case that the reader has seen mentioned in the preceding accounts. But Mr. Maiden, who delayed this inquiry till the day before he intended to leave Paris, having been able to remain with her only a few minutes, the truth of the facts still rested chiefly on the assertion of the woman herself, and nothing less than the ocular testimony of some intelligent person, whose accuracy might be fully relied on, seemed sufficient to establish their authenticity. Such a testimony has, at length, been obtained through the obliging exertions of M. Souville, Physician at Calais, and M. Parmentier, Apothecary Major of the Royal Hospital of Invalids at Paris, at whose request M. Brougniart, who is well known to the Editor of this work as a very accurate and ingenious student of physic, readily undertook the investigation of the case. The following papers, relative to this subject, with which we shall close our account of the case, will show the satisfactory manner in which the facts in question have been ascertained :

Extract of a Letter from M. Parmentier, Apothecary Major of the Royal Hospital of Invalids, &c. to M. Souville, Physician at Calais, and Member of the Royal Medical Society at Paris, &c. dated Paris, Oct. 27, 1791.

"I have delayed, Sir, doing myself the honour of answering your letter till I should be furnished with the particulars of the case Dr. Simmons has requested of us; and I thought I could not do better than to request M. Brougniart to procure them for him. You will judge from the inclosed papers how well he has

acquitted himself of a commission which I myself should have readily undertaken, had I not had reason to hope that it would be still more completely executed by physicians who, though young, are good observers."

Extract of a Letter from M. Brougniart, Student of Physic at the Royal Hospital of Invalids at Paris, to Dr. Simmons, dated Paris, Oct. 25, 1791.

"You wrote lately, Sir, to M. Souville, for the purpose of procuring some authentic information relative to a woman at Paris who drinks a great quantity of water. You expressed to him a wish that some person, whose accuracy could be relied on, might be engaged to visit this woman, and see with his own eyes the truth of this fact. M. Souville wrote to M. Parmentier, and sent him your letter. M. Parmentier, with whom I have the good fortune to be intimately connected, knowing how much I wished for an opportunity of making you some return for your kindness to me during my stay in England, did me the favour to put into my hands your letter, and at the same time engaged me to make the inquiries you desired.

"Being persuaded that whenever the object is to ascertain a fact, two persons observe better than one, and must necessarily inspire more confidence,—I communicated your letter to a society who meet for scientific purposes, and of which I am a member. The society joined with me a young physician for the purpose of assisting me in the inquiry; and we saw together, in my apartments, the woman in question. Several other members of the same

society were present during the investigation, as you will see by the annexed report, which I have the honour to send to you."

Report made to the Philomathical Society, relative to a Woman who drinks a great Quantity of Water; by M. M. Bellot and Brougniart. Read at a Meeting of the Society on Saturday the 22d of Oct. 1791.

"The Philomathical Society, being desirous of complying with the request made by M. Parmentier, in the name of Dr. Simmons, appointed us to examine the temperament and habits of a woman who drinks a great quantity of water.

"We accordingly went, on Saturday, the 15th of October, to the woman in question, at the Hotel des Arts, Fauxbourg St. Martin. Not having met with her at home, we went from thence to the place where her husband was at work, having previously collected, from the porter of the Hotel, several points of information which agreed with what had already been told to us. We found the woman with a pitcher of water by her side; and a day being appointed for the purpose, it was settled that she should come and pass the whole of it with us.

"We met accordingly on Monday the 17th of October, 1791, and received from this woman the following particulars:—

"Catherine Bonsergent, wife of James Fery, a cobbler, now living in the Hotel des Arts, Fauxbourg St. Martin, parish of St. Laurence, at Paris, is forty years old, and was born at Senlis.

"She is very fair; her skin is fine, but freckled. She is rather

lean than fat, and seems to be of a bilious temperament. Her arms are leaner than any other part of her body.

"At the time she was weaned she was placed with her grandmother, who, drinking a good deal of wine, made her also drink it. When she returned home to her mother she vomited up every thing she took. What she vomited was of a black colour.

"From her earliest infancy she had a very considerable thirst, and sought every means of satisfying it. While she was single she drank three pailfuls of water a day; after she was married, two pailfuls were sufficient for her till she was delivered of her first child; she then returned to her former quantity of three pailfuls, and continued it till after the birth of her fourth child. Since that period she has drank only two pailfuls in the four-and-twenty hours. When she is sick she has no longer the same thirst; and when she does not drink as much as she desires, she is ill.

"When she lays-in she has much more thirst than usual.

"She has not more thirst in summer than in winter.

"Salted meats she is not fond of eating; but they do not render her more thirsty than other aliments.

"Her thirst occasions a sensation at the stomach similar to that which is excited by hunger. Her mouth is clammy, and she is unable, she says, to swallow a bit of bread.

"When she has drank, she feels about the region of the stomach a pretty considerable coldness, which occasions her to shiver for some time, and obliges her to be constantly near the fire whenever the weather

weather happens to be in the least cold.

"This woman has the lower lip rather thick, and covered with scabs. This lip smarts, and at times is very painful to her, especially in summer. She is subject to the blind piles; and when these take place, the complaint in her lip ceases.

"She has had eleven children in ten lyings-in. It is since the birth of her first child that she has been subject to the piles.

"Of all her children there remain only two. Almost all of those she has suckled have been subject to different diseases. Her eldest, who is still living, has a disease of the skin similar to the itch, but which is not infectious. Her youngest child, which she has suckled only a month, is in very good health.

"This woman is the only one of her family who has so great a thirst.

She perspires sufficiently; and her urine is in proportion to what she drinks.

"She does not spit.

"She drinks neither wine, nor coffee, nor spirituous liquors.

"She told us that she ate a great deal; but we did not observe this while she was with us.

"This woman drank, in our presence, during the space of ten hours which she remained with us, fourteen quarts (or Paris pints) of water, which must be equal to about twenty-eight pounds. She assured us that in the night-time she rises every hour and a half to drink; and this will be found to make pretty exactly the load, or two pailfuls of water, which this woman asserts that she drinks in four-and-twenty hours.

"She voided ten quarts of urine that was nearly colourless.

"M. M. Bonnard, Lair, and Robilliard, members of the Philomathematical Society, observed, with us, this woman during a considerable part of the day."

While the preceding account was preparing for the press, the following paragraph appeared in the Lincoln Mercury of Friday, December 9, 1791:—

"However extraordinary the following circumstance may appear, it may be depended on as fact.—A man who lives with Mr. John Julian, of Woodstone, near Peterborough, is afflicted with such an immoderate degree of thirst, as obliges him to drink the astonishing quantity of three gallons of water a night, and one gallon a day; and what makes this appear still more extraordinary, he has continued this practice twenty-three years."

The facts described in this paragraph bore too striking a resemblance to those he had just before received from Paris, not to excite in the Editor a wish to see the case more fully and satisfactorily investigated. This has since been done through the kind offices of Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. who being acquainted with a gentleman in the neighbourhood of the patient, on whose accuracy he knew he could depend, had the goodness to transmit to him some queries from the Editor relative to this subject, with a request that he would engage in the inquiry.

In consequence of this request, Mr. Maxwell, the gentleman alluded to, sent for the man to his house, where he remained a whole night, and was carefully attended to. The result of this investigation,

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which sufficiently establishes the truth of the facts, we shall here give in Mr. Maxwell's own words.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Geo. Maxwell to Dr. Simmons, dated Fletton Lodge, near Peterborough, December 18, 1791.

"With respect to the water-drinker, who is the subject of your enquiry, and who lives at Stan-ground, near Woodstone; though he works at the latter place, it happens that Mr. Beal, the person who now looks after my farm, employed him as a thrasher more than twenty years ago. His account of this man is, that he always drank the quantity he is now said to do, or at least was at that time reputed to drink it.

"As he resided three or four miles from Mr. Beal's habitation, the latter used to make up a bed for him in his house; and Mr. Beal observed that at night he always took a bucketful of water up stairs with him.

"I have a labourer likewise who has worked with him, and who says that, in mowing-time, this man always takes four quarts of water out with him from a pump in the village, besides two quarts of beer.

"These accounts being sufficiently satisfactory as to his not being an impostor, I have sent for him, and put to him your queries; which I shall here set down, together with his answers to each:—

Q. 1st. "His name, age, occupation, habit of body, and general state of health?

A. "William Read; in the fifty-first year of his age; a labourer; never costive; generally in good health.

Q. 2d. "Whether his thirst is

natural, or a consequence of disease; and if so, at what period of life it first shewed itself?

A. "Not natural, but came on after an ague and fever, which confined him a whole winter, twenty-four years ago.

Q. 3d. "Whether his thirst is constant and uniform, the same in summer as in winter, or only occasional, and varying in degree?

A. "Always the same, when he is well.

Q. 4th. "Whether he drinks any other liquor besides water?

A. "Has no objection to other liquors, but can seldom get any.

Q. 5th. "How much does he usually take at a draught, and how often does he repeat it?

A. "A quart at a time, and repeats it sixteen or eighteen times in the course of a day and night.

Q. 6th. "Whether his thirst is diminished or increased when his general health happens to be affected?

A. "When his health happens to be affected he drinks but little; nothing like so much as the usual quantity.

Q. 7th. "What is the state of his tongue and fauces with respect to dryness, moisture? &c.

A. "No appearance of dryness.

Q. 8th. "What quantity of urine does he void? and what is the state of it?

A. "He makes water almost every time he drinks, and as much upon the whole as he drinks. He knows nothing of the state of it.

Q. 9th. "Does he perspire much or little?

A. "Very much when he works, but not at all in the night.

Q. 10th. "What is the general state of his bowels?

"No

A. "No purging, nor any pain in his bowels.

Q. 11th. "Is he the only one of his family who has been remarkable for this excessive thirst?

A. "Yes.

"The man adds, that he has consulted several medical gentlemen about his complaint, but has not been able to get any thing that could, in the least, relieve him.

"On Sunday, the 18th instant, at two o'clock, he ate a hearty dinner of roast beef with my servants, and drank a quart or more of beer. Contrary to his promise, he went home as soon as dinner was over, but returned about five, when I ordered him into the room where I was sitting, and he drank a quart of water at a draught, and very greedily. He said he had drank three times whilst absent.

"At eight o'clock he supped, and drank a quart of small beer.

"At nine o'clock he went to bed.

"Mr. Beal promised to watch him all night.

"At half past nine I went over to Mr. Beal's to settle the plan of management, his house being at a little distance from mine. It was agreed that no water should be left in Read's bed-room, but that it should be set ready in a room below, to be carried to him at a quart at a time in the night.

"The next morning (Monday) at eight o'clock, I found him at breakfast. Mr. Beal informed me that he had carried him the water himself, and that at ten o'clock (the night before) he had drank a quart; at eleven o'clock, another quart; at twelve o'clock, another quart; at near three (Monday

morning) another quart (all which he drank most greedily, and each at a single draught); between four and five o'clock, another quart, except a little left in the mug; at near six another quart was carried to him, but of this he left about half.

"A servant-boy who slept with him, says he drank the remainder of the last quart after Mr. Beal left him.

"The patient himself says he drank a seventh quart as soon as he got up, whilst Mr. Beal was employed in the yard.

"I found him, as I just now mentioned, at breakfast, in the kitchen, eating heartily of milk with bread crumbed in it. He observed to me that he prefers milk to cold meat or any thing else; that he was not more thirsty last night than usual, and thinks he usually drinks as much every night; but that never having had his liquor measured to him before, he could not speak with certainty in the account he gave.

"I examined the water made by him in the night. There appeared to be between five and six quarts of it, and it shewed no appearance of sediment.

"At nine o'clock the man had finished his breakfast, having ate a quart of milk and bread, and some cold meat after it, and drank two quarts of small beer, except about a gill which we found left in the bottom of the last jug.

"The facts being thus ascertained without a possibility of doubt, I did not think it necessary to detain him any longer; and, for my own part, I believe all he says on the subject."

*Account of the Island of Senegal.**From Saugnier's and Briffon's Voyages to the Coast of Africa.*

THIS island, properly speaking, is only a bank of sand in the middle of the river. It is a thousand geometrical paces long, and about sixty in its greatest width; is almost on a level with the river, and with the sea, being defended from the latter by Barbary Point, which is of greater elevation than the colony. The eastern branch of the river is the more considerable of the two, being about four hundred toises across; the western branch is only from fifty to two hundred toises wide. The isle consists entirely of burning sands, on the barren surface of which you sometimes meet with scattered flints, thrown out among their ballast by vessels coming from Goree; or with the ruins of buildings formerly erected by Europeans. There is scarcely such a thing as a garden upon the island, European seeds in general not thriving here. It is not surprising that the soil is so unproductive; for the air is strongly impregnated with sea-salt, which pervades every thing, and consumes even iron in a very short space of time. The heats are excessive, and rendered still more insupportable by the reflection of the sand; so that from ten in the morning until four in the afternoon, it is almost impossible to do any work. During the months of January, February, March, and April, the heats are moderated; but in August, and in the following ones, they become so oppressive as to affect even the natives themselves. What effect then must they have upon the Europeans, suddenly transported unto this burn-

ing climate! The nights are little less sultry; not always, however, but only when the sea-breeze sets in. It is then that the inhabitants of the colony breathe a fresher air, for which they have been longing the whole of the day; but this air, in our climate, would seem a burning vapour. The nights are nevertheless troublesome, notwithstanding the comforts of the sea-breeze. The instant the sun is set; we are assailed by an infinity of gnats, which are called musquitos; their stings are very painful, and their multitudes incredible. The inhabitants find but a poor defence in their gauze curtains. For my own part, accustomed as I had been to live among the Moors, I was but little annoyed by these insects:—being half a savage, I felt no desire to recommend myself to the favourable regard of the fair sex, and I was therefore under no necessity of taking care of my person. In imitation of my former masters, I smeared myself with butter; and this expedient preserved me, at all times, from these impertinent stingers, these spiteful enemies to the repose of the human kind.

If the prospect of Senegal is not agreeable to the eye, much less are its environs, which are covered over only with sand, and over-run with mangles. It may be said, without exaggeration, that there is not a more forlorn situation to be found on the face of the inhabited globe, or a place in which the common necessities of life are procured with greater difficulties. Water, that indispensable aliment of man, is here not potable. Wells are dug in the sand to the depth of five or six feet, and water is obtained by this means; but whatever pains are taken

taken to freshen it, it ever retains a brackish taste. I have distilled this water myself, and observed that it always kept a disagreeable flavour, which cannot fail to be hurtful to the health: it is true that when the river is high, its streams are fresh, but the water is only the more dangerous. It proves the cause of most of those maladies which carry off the Europeans so rapidly, that at the end of every three years the colony has a fresh set of inhabitants. The blacks themselves, although accustomed to the climate, are not in this season free from disease.

There is not any good water to be got in the country, but that which is brought forty leagues down the river, and through the most infectious swamps. A spring of good water rises, however, four leagues above Gandiole, upon the way from Senegal to Goree; but it is not sufficiently copious to become of general utility. As to the other aliments of life, they are equally unwholesome, notwithstanding the lying report of travellers, and their book-makers; who, in their accounts of this sad country, seem as if they were striving to outdo each other in falsehood. The meat is in general detestably bad, and the fish of an ill taste. It must be dressed the day it is caught; for the next morning it is good for nothing. The oxen furnish the best meat; but they are not half so tall or so big as those of France, even of Brittany. Messrs. Adanson and Dumanet have taken a pleasure in embellishing the narratives they have written relative to these countries, where they have found something marvellous at every step. As for me, who have gone over the

greater part of these districts, I have found the country only more or less detestable. No man can speak in its favour, except to answer some particular purpose. The Senegal Company derive great benefit from their commerce, and consequently have an interest in representing the country as a terrestrial paradise; for if it were known to be such as it is in fact, they would find nobody to go there, the chance being five to one that the adventurer will never return (independent of the hazards of the voyage) — and that in the space of three years. It must, however, be confessed that this charming country has one advantage, which is, that if a man becomes tired of life, he may easily terminate his existence without committing the crime of suicide. He need only remain at Senegal a little while; or if he would wish to make it shorter still, let him undertake a voyage to Galam. Those, on the contrary, who wish to prolong their life a little, must be satisfied with negro food — and heavens! what food! The females pound millet in wooden mortars upon the sand; but it is so ill prepared, that it grates between the teeth. Walking or riding out is no amusement here, as it is ever attended with danger, and as there are no situations tolerably agreeable nearer than ten leagues from the colony. Besides, a man is always exposed either to the danger of being made captive by the inhabitants of the country, or to be devoured by wild beasts, such as the tiger and the lion. Neither can such excursions be made without danger, even when the colony is at peace with the natives of the country. This, however, does not involve a contradiction,

tradition, for there are in Senegal, as in every other part of Africa, troops of robbers, who carry away whatever they meet with, and who wage war with all the world. A person may, therefore, be in danger even in time of peace, more especially as one or other of these gangs are always scouring the country. These robbers never attack the inhabitants of the colony on their own ground; but whenever they find them upon the territories of their enemies, they fail not to lay hold of the occasion, to the ruin of those whom curiosity leads abroad. In fine, in order to give a just idea of this wretched colony, let it suffice to observe, without exaggeration, that it is the most detestable spot on the face of the earth; and that nothing but utter ignorance, or a total want of any other means of subsistence, can induce a man to settle there.

Of the Mikkias, or Nilometer, and of the rising of the Nile.

From Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, &c.

BETWEEN Mafr-el-atik and Geesh, in the middle of the Nile, is the isle of Rhodda, which formerly communicated with those two cities by two bridges of boats, that no longer subsist. In the flourishing days of Fostat, the island was covered with gardens and villas. But since Cairo has become the capital of Egypt, Mafr-el-atik, Bulak, and even Birket-el-Hadgi, are preferred as situations for gardens and villas.

This island shews, at present, nothing remarkable, except, that on its southern extremity stands a wall, which has been built to break the

force of the current. Upon this extremity stands also a mosque, in which is the famous Mikkias or Nilometer. This is well known to be a basin having a communication with the Nile, on the middle of which stands a column that serves to indicate the height of the waters of the river. Norden has given a draught of it, finer than the original, which is mouldering fast away; for the Turks will not lay out the smallest expence, even upon the most necessary repairs.

I know not whether any person has yet measured the breadth of the Nile. By a geometrical operation, I found it to be 2946 feet. Without knowing this measure, one can form no idea of the astonishing mass of water which this river carries down, when in its full height.

The Nile, it is well known, begins every year to rise about the middle of June, and continues rising 40 or 50 days; it then falls, by degrees, till, in the end of May next year, it is at the lowest. The causes of its rise are now well known. During the hot months of the year, rain falls every day in Habbesch or Abyssinia; and all that rain-water is collected into the Nile, which, from its entrance into Egypt, till it reaches the sea, runs through a wide vale. It does not rise alike high through all Egypt. I durst not measure it near the Mikkias; but, from observations made at Geesh, I saw that, at Cairo, the full height is at least twenty-four feet above its ordinary level. At Rosetta and Damietta it is only four feet. But this vast difference is not surprising; for, at Cairo, the Nile being confined to one channel, between high banks, must necessarily rise to a much greater height than nearer the sea, where
it

It is divided into two streams, after running over so much barren ground, and forming so many lakes. The branch upon which Rosetta stands, is only 650 feet broad; and that by Damietta, not more than 100.

As soon as the Nile begins to rise, all the canals intended to convey the waters through the country, are shut and cleansed. They are kept shut, however, till the river rise to a certain height, which is indicated by the Nilometer in the isle of Rhodda. A Schech attends for this purpose, by the Mikkias, and gives notice, from time to time, of the rising of the river, to a number of poor persons who wait at Fostat for the information, and run instantly to publish it in the streets of Cairo. They return every day to Fostat, at a certain hour, to learn from the Schech how many inches the river has risen: and its rise is every day proclaimed in public, till it reaches the fixed height, at which the canals are permitted to be unlocked; the usual tax is then paid for the waters to the Sultan, and a good year expected.

The canal at Cairo is first opened, and then, successively, all the other great canals down to the sea. The inhabitants of no particular district dare draw off any part of the water of the Nile, although it have risen to the height that best suits the inlands; for this would injure the higher grounds; and therefore every body must wait till the public order be given out. There are laws in Egypt which are strictly observed, and which determine the distribution of the waters, and the time when the large and small canals are to be opened.

Between the dyke of the canal

of Cairo and the Nile, a pillar of earth is raised, nearly of the height to which the waters of the rivers are expected to rise. This pillar is called Anes, or the bride, and serves as a sort of Nilometer, for the use of the common people. When the waters enter the canal, this bride is carried away by the current. A like custom, which prevailed among the ancient Egyptians, has subjected them to the imputation of sacrificing every year a virgin to the Nile.

The canal is usually opened with great festivity, and a concourse of people: — but when we were in Cairo, it was opened without any parade, for it had been imperfectly cleansed, and the water did not enter it readily. As this ceremony has been described by so many authors, I shall not trouble the reader with any account of it.

A piece of superstition now prevails in Egypt, of which history makes no mention before the conquest of the country by the Arabs. Certain women, both Christian and Mahometan, pretend to foretell what height the Nile will rise to, by means of certain rites which they practise. These depend upon the popular notion, that, on the night of the 17th or 18th of June, there falls, in Habbesch, a drop (in Arabic *nokta*) into the Nile, which causes its waters to ferment and swell. To discover the quantity of this drop, and the force with which it falls, and, of consequence, the height of the river and the fertility of the lands for the year, those women put a bit of paste on the roof of the house on the night on which the drop is imagined to fall; and they draw their prediction from the greater or smaller increase of weight which it receives. — It is easy

easy to explain this experiment: for, in the season in which it is performed, there fall regularly heavy dews throughout Egypt. A sensible and learned Mahometan, who looked upon the predictions as fooleries, told me, this vulgar error arose, like many others, from an ambiguous expression; *Nokta* signifying, in Arabic, both a drop and the time of the sun's entering the sign of Cancer; at which season the great rains fall in Abyssinia, which occasion the swelling of the Nile.

I have remarked that the canal of Cairo is cleansed every year; and it then serves as a street: but it can never be long used as such; for it is never cleansed till the dyke be ready to be cut down. While the water is running in this canal, the houses about it are very agreeable; but through the rest of the year it is a very uncomfortable neighbourhood; for it is always exceedingly filthy. The insufferable smell and noxious putridity which it diffuses all around, infect the air, and produce epidemic distempers.

No water fit for drinking is to be had at Cairo, unless out of the Nile; from which it is brought every day into the city, in skins, upon asses and camels. Under several mosques are large reservoirs, in which water is preserved for the use of the public during the swell of the Nile; for the river is then muddy, and its water thought unwholesome. Indeed the water of the Nile is always somewhat muddy; but, by rubbing with bitter almonds, prepared in a particular manner, the earthen jars in which it is kept, this water is

rendered clear, light, and salutary. The use of it is generally thought to be the occasion of a cutaneous eruption to which the inhabitants of Cairo are subject, at a certain season in the year. It is troublesome, but does not injure the health.

Of the Egyptian Agriculture.

From the same.

HAVING had few opportunities of observing the industry of this people, I shall have little to say concerning the state of the arts in Egypt, which is not yet very flourishing. But there are some which afford articles of trade, and there it would be improper to overlook entirely.

Agriculture, the first and most important of all arts, is not in a very thriving condition here; at least, if we compare the present produce of the lands with what a country of such natural fertility might be brought by cultivation to produce. I have hinted, above, at the natural causes of this decline. But the local circumstances of this singularly situated country are such, that even an unhappy mode of government, and the misery of the husbandman, cannot extinguish the natural fertility of the soil. However ill-cultivated, it still continues to compensate richly the slight labour that is bestowed upon it, and to repay, with usury, the trifling expence laid out thereon.

The soil of the Lower Egypt seems to be a sandy earth that has been gradually deposited by the river*. In a dry and torrid climate,

* The formation of the Delta has been a subject of speculation with every writer concerning Egypt, from Herodotus to Bruce. The reader who is curious on this head, will do well to consult Herodotus, Maillet, Bruce, and Savary.

and

and under an unclouded sky, such long seasons of drought as Egypt experiences would render it an arid and barren desert, were it not for the fertilizing waters of the Nile.

Some descriptions of Egypt would lead us to think that the Nile, when it swells, lays the whole province under water. The lands adjoining immediately to the banks of the river are indeed laid under water; but the natural inequality of the ground hinders it from overflowing the interior country. A great part of the lands would therefore remain barren, were not canals and reservoirs formed to receive water from the river when at its greatest height, which is thus conveyed everywhere through the fields, and reserved for watering them when occasion requires.

The best part, therefore, of Egyptian agriculture, is the watering of their grounds. The water which the husbandman needs is often in a canal, much beneath the level of the land which he means to moisten. The water he must therefore raise to an equality with the surface of the grounds, and distribute over them as it is wanted. The great art of Egyptian husbandry is thus reduced to the having proper machines for raising the water, and enough of small canals judiciously disposed to distribute it.

Those machines are commonly very simple; a wheel with buckets forms their whole mechanism. The largest are moved by oxen; the smaller by the strength of the arm. It is not easy to see how the Egyptians have come to be so much celebrated for the ingenuity of their machines. These are not of the invention of the modern Egyptians, but have been used for time imme-

morial, without receiving the slightest improvement.

Their instruments of husbandry are very bad. Their plough, which they call *Marha*, is no better than that of the Arabians, of which I shall hereafter have occasion to speak. To smooth the ground, they use a tree or a thick plank, drawn by oxen yoked with cords. The driver sits upon this machine; for the Egyptian peasants are not fond of walking.

They use oxen, as the ancients did, to beat out their corn, by trampling upon the sheaves, and dragging after them a clumsy implement. This machine is not (as in Arabia) a stone-cylinder, nor a plank with sharp stones (as in Syria) but a sort of sledge, consisting of three rollers fitted with irons, which turn upon axles. A farmer chooses out a level spot in his fields, and has his corn carried thither in sheaves, upon asses or dromedaries. Two oxen are then yoked in a sledge, a driver gets upon it, and drives them backwards and forwards upon the sheaves; and fresh oxen succeed in the yoke, from time to time. By this operation the chaff is very much cut down. The whole is then winnowed, and the pure grain thus separated. This mode of threshing out the corn is tedious and inconvenient; it destroys the chaff, and injures the quality of the grain.

I saw no wheeled carriages in Egypt; every thing is conveyed backwards and forwards on camels or asses. When the canal of Cairo was to be cleansed, a peasant brought two oxen drawing a sort of open tray on the dry ground; and when it was filled, led them with it to the bank. Within the city, where the bottom of the canal was not dry,
the

the persons employed in cleansing it, threw dust from the street upon the mire in the canal, and then, with their hands, into panniers upon asses, and thus removed it to a proper distance.—Such is the boasted industry of the Egyptians.

I have seen neither wind nor water-mill here. A few large mills there are, which are moved, by oxen turning a post that forms the axle-tree of a large wheel. The poorer people have only hand-mills to grind their corn; and these they use also in breaking the beans with which the asses are fed.

Recourse is had to the impression of the elements in the management of no other machine. Oxen are employed in working the oil-mills, saffron-presses, &c. Among the different manufactures of Egypt, that of saffron merits particular notice; the process by which the Egyptians prepare this article gives it a livelier colour than what is made elsewhere.

Account of some New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of Africa.

THE association for promoting the discovery of the interior parts of Africa, having received some intelligence since they printed their proceedings, have given an additional chapter to them, from which we extract the following information:—

An Arab of the name of Shabeni excited the attention of the Committee of this society, by the account he gave of an empire on the banks of the Niger: for he said, “That the population of Houssa, its capital, where he resided two years, was equalled only (so far as

his knowledge extended) by that of London and Cairo: and, in his rude unlettered way, he described the government as monarchical, yet not unlimited; its justice as severe, but directed by written laws; and the rights of landed property as guarded by the institution of certain hereditary officers, whose functions appear to be similar to the Canon-goes of Hindostan, and whose important and complicated duties imply an unusual degree of civilization and refinement.

“For the probity of their merchants he expressed the highest respect; but remarked with indignation that the women were admitted to society, and that the honour of the husband was often insecure.

“Of their written alphabet he knew no more than that it was perfectly different from the Arabic and Hebrew characters; but he described the art of writing as very common in Houssa. When he acted the manner in which their pottery is made, he gave, unknowingly to himself, a representation of the ancient Grecian wheel.

“In passing to Houssa from Tombuctoo, in which last city he resided seven years, he found the banks of the Niger more numerous than those of the Nile from Alexandria to Cairo; and his mind was obviously impressed with higher ideas of the wealth and grandeur of the empire of Houssa, than of those of any kingdom he had seen, England alone excepted.”

The existence of this city and empire was confirmed by letters from the English consuls at Tunis and Morocco; who added, that the eunuchs of the seraglio at those places, were brought from the city of Houssa.

In order to investigate the truth of these accounts, and to explore the origin and course of the Niger, Major Houghton, who, in 1779, had acted under General Rooke as Fort Major in the island of Goree, undertook to penetrate to that river by the way of the Gambia. He was instructed to ascertain the course, and if possible the rise and termination, of the Niger, and to visit the cities of Tombuctoo and Houssa.

The Major left England on the 16th of October, 1790, arrived at the entrance of the Gambia on the 10th of November, and was well received by the king of Barra, whom he had formerly visited. He proceeded thence up the river to Junkiconda, where the English have a small factory. Here he purchased a horse and five asses, and prepared to pass with his merchandize to Medina, the capital of the small kingdom of Woolli. From some words accidentally dropped by a negro-woman in the Munding language, he learnt that a conspiracy had been formed against his life by some traders, who feared that his expedition portended the ruin of their commerce; he therefore swam with his horse and asses across the Gambia, and proceeded, though with much difficulty, on the side opposite to that which is usually the route, to the district of Cantor, where he repassed the river, and was hospitably entertained by the king of Woolli, at his capital Medina.

This town is situated about 900 miles by water from the entrance of the Gambia. The country abounds with corn, cattle, and all things requisite for the support, or essential to the comforts, of life.

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The people are distinguished, not divided, into two sects with regard to religion, Mahomedans and Deists. The former are called Bushreens, and the latter, from their drinking with freedom wine and liquor, which Mohammed prohibited, are called Sonikees, or drinking men.

The Major's dispatches to the Society from this place were lost; but in a letter to his wife, which a seaman preserved from the wreck of the vessel, he describes his situation as extremely agreeable,—the country healthy, the people hospitable, game abundant; and he could make his excursions on horseback in security. Above all, he indulges in the idea of the advantages that would attend the English by erecting a fort on the salubrious and beautiful hill of Fatetenda, where they once had a factory; and expresses a hope that his wife will hereafter accompany him to a place in which an income of ten pounds a-year will support them in affluence; and where, from commerce, he imagines vast wealth may be obtained.

While he was here waiting for a native merchant, whose company he had engaged for the further prosecution of his journey, the greater part of Medina was destroyed by fire, and with it several articles of merchandize, to which he trusted for defraying his expences. At the same time his interpreter disappeared with his horse and three of his asses; and to add to his misfortunes, a trade-gun, that he purchased on the river, burst and wounded him in the face and arm. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Barraconda on this occasion cheerfully opened their



houses to more than a thousand families, whose tenements had been consumed, and anxiously exerted themselves for Major Houghton's relief.

On the 8th of May the Major proceeded on foot, in company with a slave-merchant, whose servants drove his two remaining asses, which carried the wreck of his fortune; and journeying by a north-east course, he arrived in five days at the uninhabited frontier which separates the kingdoms of Woolli and Bondou.

A journey of 150 miles through a country before unvisited by Europeans, of which the population is numerous and extensive, and where his companion traded in every town, conducted him to the south-western boundary of the kingdom of Bambouk. This kingdom is inhabited by a nation whose woolly hair and sable complexions denote them to be of the negro race: but their character seems to be varied in proportion as the country rises from the plains of its western division to the highlands on the east. The people are here, as in the kingdoms of Woolli and Bondou, distinguished by the tenets of Mohammedans and Deists; but they are equally at peace with each other, and mutually tolerate the respective opinions they condemn.

Agriculture and pasturage are the chief occupations of this people; but they have made sufficient progress in the arts to smelt their iron-ore, and fabricate from it the several instruments of husbandry and war. Cloth of cotton, which seems to be universally worn, they appear to weave by a difficult and laborious process; and hence probably it is, that the measure of value is not,

as on the Atlantic coast, a bar of iron, but a piece of cloth. The vegetable food of the inhabitants is rice; their animal, beef and mutton. A drink prepared from fermented honey supplies the place of wine, and furnishes the means of festive entertainments, which constitute the principal luxury of the court of Bambouk.

Major Houghton arrived at the river Falemé, which separates the kingdoms of Bondou and Bambouk, just at the termination of a war between those kingdoms; by which the former had obtained the cession of some part of the low lands belonging to the latter; and in these conquests the King of Bondou resided. The Major hastened to pay his respects to the victorious prince, and offer him a present; but he met with an ungracious reception. He was permitted to leave the present; but ordered to repair to the frontier town from whence he came; and the next day the King's son, with an armed attendance, entered the house where he had taken up his abode, and took from him such articles as he chose; particularly a blue coat, in which the Major hoped to have been introduced to the Sultan of Tombuctoo.

Major Houghton next set out on a visit to the King of Bambouk; but unfortunately lost his way in one of the vast woods of that country; and the wet season having commenced on the 4th of July, he was obliged to pass the night on ground deluged by rain, while the sky exhibited that continued blaze of lightning which in those latitudes often accompanies the tornado. This brought on a fever; and it was with great difficulty that he reached

reached the capital of Bambouk, after wading through the river Serra Coles, or River of Gold, on the eastern side of which it is situated. On his arrival at this town, which is called Ferbanna, his fever rose to a height that rendered him delirious; but by the strength of his constitution, and the kindness of the negro family to which he was conducted, he soon recovered.

From the King of Bambouk the Major met with a friendly reception; and he informed him, that the losses which he had sustained in the war with Bondou, arose from his having exhausted his ammunition; the French having abandoned the Fort of St. Joseph, and, from some cause or other, deserted the navigation of the upper part of the Senegal, he had no means of replenishing his stores; whereas his enemy received from the English, through the channel of his agents on the Gambia, a constant and adequate supply.

The Major took this opportunity of representing to the King the advantage of encouraging the English to open a trade, by the way of his dominions, to the populous cities

on the banks of the Niger. This negotiation was put a stop to by the commencement of an annual festival, at which the people send presents of mead to the King, which are followed by intemperate festivity for several days. During this the Major agreed with an old and respectable merchant of Bambouk, who offered to carry him to Tombuctoo, and bring him back to the Gambia, for 125*l.* to be paid at their return by the British factory at Junkiconda. This plan was much approved of by the King, to whom the merchant was personally known; and, as a mark of his esteem, and pledge of future friendship, he presented Major Houghton at parting with a purse of gold.

With an account of his preparations for this journey the Major closes his dispatch of the 24th of July; and as no further advices had been received from him by his correspondent on the Gambia (Dr. Laidley) on the 22d of December last, the writer of this narrative concludes that he had descended the eastern hills of Bambouk, and proceeded on his journey to Tombuctoo.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Experiments on the Causes of the Warmth of warm Clothing, by Major General Sir Benjamin Thompson, Knt. F. R. S.
Extracted from the Philosophical Transactions, Part I, Page 60.

HAVING found that the fineness and equal distribution of a body or substance made use of to form a covering to confine heat, contributes so much to the warmth of the covering, I was desirous to see the effect of condensing the covering, its quantity of matter remaining the same, but its thickness being diminished in proportion to the increase of its density. The experiment I made for this purpose was as follows:—I took sixteen grains of common sewing-filk, neither very fine nor very coarse, and winding it about the bulb of the thermometer in such a manner that it entirely covered it, and was as nearly as possible of the same thickness in every part, I replaced the thermometer in its cylinder and globe, and heating it in boiling water, cooled it in ice and water. The results of the experiment were as may be seen in the following table; and in order that it may be compared with those made with the same quantity of silk differently disposed of, I have placed those experiments by the side of it.

Heat lost.	Raw silk, 16 grs.	Fine ravellings of taffety, 16 grs.	Sewing silk cut into lengths, 16 grains.	Sewing silk, 16 grains wound round the bulb of the thermometer.
	Exp. No. 4.	Exp. No. 14.	Exp. No. 15.	Exp. No. 19.
70°	—	—	—	—
60°	94'	90"	67"	46'
50°	110	106	79	62
40°	133	128	99	85
30°	185	172	135	121
20°	273	246	195	191
10°	489	427	342	399
Total times.	1284	1169	917	994

It is not a little remarkable, that, though the covering formed of sewing silk wound round the bulb of the thermometer in the 19th experiment, appeared to have so little power of confining the heat when the instrument was very hot, or when it was first plunged into the ice and water, yet afterwards, when the heat of the thermometer approached much nearer to that of the surrounding medium, its power of confining the heat which remained in the bulb of the thermometer, appeared to be even greater than that of the silk in the experiment No. 15, the time of cooling from 20° to 10° being in the one 399", and in the other 342". The same appearance was observed in the following experiment, in which the bulb of the thermometer was surrounded by

threads of wool, of cotton, and of linen, or flax, wound round it in the like manner as the sewing-silk was wound round it in the last experiment.

The following table shows the results of these experiments, with the threads of various kinds; and, that they may the more easily be compared with those made with the same quantity of the same substances in a different form, I have placed the accounts of these experiments by the side of each other. I have also added the account of an experiment, in which sixteen grains of fine linen cloth were wrapped round the bulb of the thermometer, going round it nine times, and being bound together at the top and bottom of it, so as completely to cover it.

Heat left.	Sheep's wool, 16 grains, furrounding the bulb of the thermometer.	Woollen thread, 16 grs. wound round the bulb of the thermometer.	Cotton wool, 16 grains, furrounding the bulb of the thermometer.	Cotton thread, 16 grs. wound round the bulb of the thermometer.	Lint, 16 grains, furrounding the bulb of the thermometer.	Linen thread, 16 grains, wound round the bulb of the thermometer.	Linen cloth, 16 grs. wrapped round the bulb of the thermometer.
	Exp. 5.	Exp. 20.	Exp. 6.	Exp. 21.	Exp. 7.	Exp. 22.	Exp. 23.
70°	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60°	79"	46"	83"	45	80"	46'	42"
50°	95	63	95	60	93	62	56
40°	118	89	117	83	115	83	74
30°	162	126	152	115	150	117	108
20°	238	200	221	179	218	180	168
10°	426	410	378	370	376	385	338
Total times.	1118	934	1046	852	1032	873	783

That thread wound light round the bulb of the thermometer should form a covering less warm than the same quantity of wool, or other raw materials of which the thread is made, surrounding the bulb of the thermometer in a more loose manner, and consequently occupying a greater space, is no more than what I expected, from the idea I had formed of the causes of the warmth of covering; but I confess I was much surprised to find that there is so great a difference in the relative warmth of these two coverings, when they are employed to confine great degrees of heat, and when the heat they confine is much less in proportion to the temperature of the surrounding medium. This difference was very remarkable. In the experiments with sheep's wool, and with woollen thread, the warmth of the covering formed of sixteen grains of the former, was to that formed of sixteen grains of the latter, when the bulb of the thermometer was heated to 70° and cooled to 60° , as 79 to 46 (the surrounding medium being at 0°); but afterwards, when the thermometer had only fallen from 20° to 10° of heat, the warmth of the wool was to that of the woollen thread only as 426 to 410; and in the experiments with lint, and with linen thread, when the heat was much abated, the covering of the thread appeared to be even warmer than that of the lint, though in the beginning of the experiments, when the heat was much greater, the lint was warmer than the thread, in the proportion of 80 to 46.

From hence it should seem that a covering may, under certain circumstances, be very good for

confining small degrees of warmth, which would be but very indifferent when made use of for confining a more intense heat, and *vice versa*. This, I believe, is a new fact; and, I think the knowledge of it may lead to further discoveries relative to the causes of the warmth of coverings, or the manner in which heat makes its passage through them. But I forbear to enlarge upon this subject, till I shall have given an account of several other experiments, which I think throw more light upon it, and which will consequently render the investigation easier and more satisfactory.

With a view to determine how far the power which certain bodies appear to possess of confining heat, when made use of as covering, depends upon the natures of those bodies, considered as chymical substances, or upon the chymical principles of which they are composed, I have made the following experiments.

As charcoal is supposed to be composed almost entirely of phlogiston, I thought that, if that principle was the cause either of the conducting power, or the non-conducting power of the bodies which contain it, I should discover it by making the experiment with charcoal, as I had done with various other bodies. Accordingly, having filled the globe of the passage-thermometer with one hundred and seventy-six grains of that substance in very fine powder (it having been pounded in a mortar, and sifted through a fine sieve) the bulb of the thermometer being surrounded by this powder, the instrument was heated in boiling water; and being afterwards plunged into a mixture

mixture of pounded ice and water, the times of cooling were observed as mentioned in the following table. I afterwards repeated the

experiment with lampblack, and with very pure and very dry wood-ashes; the results of which experiments were as under mentioned :

<i>The Bulb of the Thermometer surrounded by</i>				
Heat lost.	176 grains of fine powder of charcoal.	176 grains of fine powder of charcoal.	195 grains of lampblack.	307 grains of pure dry wood-ashes.
	Exp. No. 24.	Exp. No. 25.	Exp. No. 26.	Exp. No. 27.
70°	—	—	—	—
60°	79"	91"	124"	96"
50°	95	91	118	92
40°	100	109	134	107
30°	139	133	164	136
20°	196	192	237	185
10°	331	321	394	311
Total times.	940	937	1171	927

The experiment, No. 25, was simply a repetition of that numbered 24, and was made immediately after it; but, in moving the thermometer about in the former experiment, the powder of charcoal which filled the globe was shaken a little together; and to this circumstance I attribute the difference in the results of the two experiments.

In the experiments with lampblack and with wood-ashes, the times taken up in cooling from 70° to 60° were greater than those employed in cooling from 60° to 50°. This most probably arose from the considerable quantity of heat contained by these substances, which was first to be disposed of before they could receive and communicate to the surrounding medium

that which was contained by the bulb of the thermometer.

The next experiment I made was with *femen lycophedii*, commonly called witch-meal: a substance which possesses very extraordinary properties. It is almost impossible to wet it; a quantity of it strewed upon the surface of a basin of water, not only swims upon the water without being wet, but it prevents other bodies from being wet which are plunged into the water through it; so that a piece of money, or other solid body, may be taken from the bottom of the basin by the naked hand, without wetting the hand; which is one of the tricks commonly shown by the jugglers in the country. This meal covers the hand, and, descending along with it to the bottom of the basin, defends

defends it from the water. This substance has the appearance of an exceeding fine, light, and very moveable yellow powder, and it is very inflammable; so much so, that being blown out of a quill into the flame of a candle, it flashes like gunpowder; and it is made use of in this manner in our theatres for imitating lightning.

Conceiving that there must have been a strong attraction between this substance and air, and suspecting, from some circumstances attending some of the foregoing ex-

periments, that the warmth of a covering depends not merely upon the fineness of the substance of which the covering is formed, and the disposition of its parts, but that it arises in some measure from a certain attraction between the substance and the air which fills its interstices, I thought that an experiment with *semen lycopodii* might possibly throw some light upon this matter; and in this opinion I was not altogether mistaken, as will appear by the results of the three following experiments.

<i>The Bulb of the Thermometer surrounded by 256 grains of Semen Lycopodii.</i>				
Heat lost.	Cooled.	Cooled.	Heat acquired.	Heated.
	Exp. No. 28.	Exp. No. 29.		Exp. No. 30.
70°	—	—	0°	—
60°	146"	157"	10°	230"
50°	162	160	23°	68
40°	175	170	30°	63
30°	209	203	40°	76
20°	284	288	50°	121
10°	502	513	60°	316
—	—	—	70°	1585
Total times	1478	1491	—	2459

In the last experiment (No. 30) the result of which was so very extraordinary, the instrument was cooled to 0° in thawing ice, after which it was plunged suddenly into boiling water, where it remained till the inclosed thermometer had acquired the heat of 70°, which took up no less than 2456 seconds, or above 40 minutes; and it had remained in the boiling water full a minute and an half before the mercury in the thermometer shewed the least sign of rising. Having at

length been put into motion, it rose very rapidly 40 or 50 degrees, after which its motion, gradually abating, became so slow, that it took up 1585 seconds, or something more than 26 minutes, in rising from 60° to 70°, though the temperature of the medium in which it was placed during the whole of this time, was very nearly 80°; the mercury in the barometer standing but little short of 27 Paris inches.

All the different substances which I had yet made use of in these experiments

periments for surrounding or covering the bulb of the thermometer, fluids excepted, had, in a greater, or in a less degree, confined the heat, or prevented its passing into or out of the thermometer so rapidly as it would have done, had there been nothing but air in the glass globe, in the centre of which the bulb of the thermometer was suspended. But the great question is, how, or in what manner, they produced this effect?

And, first, it was not in consequence of their own non-conducting powers, simply considered; for if, instead of being only bad conductors of heat, we suppose them to have been totally impervious to heat, their volumes or solid contents were so exceedingly small in proportion to the capacity of the globe in which they were placed, that, had they had no effect whatever upon the air filling their interstices, that air would have been sufficient to have conducted all the heat communicated, in less time than was actually taken up in the experiment.

The diameter of the globe being 1,6 inches, its contents amounted to 2,14466 cubic inches; and the contents of the bulb of the thermometer being only 0,08711 of a cubic inch (its diameter being 0,55 of an inch) the space between the bulb of the thermometer and the internal surface of the globe amounted to $2,1446 - 0,08711 = 2,05755$ cubic inches; the whole of which space was occupied by the substances by which the bulb of the thermometer was surrounded in the experiments in question.

But though these substances occupied this space, they were far from filling it; by much the greater

part of it being filled by the air, which occupied the interstices of the substances in question. In the experiment No. 4, this space was occupied by 16 grains of raw silk; and as the specific gravity of raw silk is to that of water as 1734 to 1000, the volume of this silk was equal to the volume of $9,4422$ grains of water; and as one cubic inch of water weighs 253,185 grains, its volume was equal to $\frac{9,4422}{253,185} = 0,037294$ of a cubic inch; and, as the space it occupied amounted to 2,05755 cubic inches, it appears that the silk filled no more than about $\frac{1}{55}$ part of the space in which it was confined, the rest of that space being filled with air.

In the experiment No. 1, when the space between the bulb of the thermometer and the glass globe, in the centre of which it was confined, was filled with nothing but air, the time taken up by the thermometer in cooling from 70° to 10° was 576 seconds; but in the experiment No. 4, when this same space was filled with 54 parts air and one part raw silk, the time of cooling was 1284 seconds.

Now, supposing that the silk had been totally incapable of conducting any heat at all, if we suppose, at the same time, that it had no power to prevent the air remaining in the globe from conducting it, in that case its presence in the globe could only have prolonged the time of cooling in proportion to the quantity of air it had displaced to the quantity remaining; that is to say, as 1 is to 54, or a little more than 10 seconds. But the time of cooling was actually prolonged 708 seconds (for in the experiment No. 1, it was 576 seconds, and in the experiment No. 4, it was 1284 seconds,

conds, as has just been observed); and this shews that the silk not only did not conduct the heat itself, but that it prevented the air by which its interstices were filled from conducting it; or, at least, it greatly weakened its power of conducting it.

The next question which arises is, How air can be prevented from conducting heat? and this necessarily involves another, which is, How does air conduct heat?

If air conducted heat, as it is probable that the metals and water, and all other solid bodies and unelastic fluids conduct it; that is to say, if its particles remaining in their places, the heat passed from one particle to another, through the whole mass, as there is no reason to suppose that the propagation of heat is necessarily in right lines, I cannot conceive how the interposition of so small a quantity of any solid body as $\frac{1}{100}$ part of the volume of the air, could have effected so remarkable a diminution of the conducting power of the air, as appeared in the experiment (No. 4) with raw silk, above mentioned.

If air and water conducted heat in the same manner, it is more than probable that their conducting powers might be impaired by the same means; but when I made the experiment with water, by filling the glass globe, in the centre of which the bulb of the thermometer was suspended, with that fluid, and afterwards varied the experiment, by adding 16 grains of raw silk to the water, I did not find that the conducting power of the water was sensibly impaired by the presence of the silk.

But we have just seen that the same silk, mixed with an equal vo-

lume of air, diminished its conducting power in a very remarkable degree; consequently, there is great reason to conclude that water and air conduct heat in a different manner.

But the following experiment, I think, puts the matter beyond all doubt.

It is well known that the power which air possesses of holding water in solution, is augmented by heat, and diminished by cold; and that, if hot air is saturated with water, and if this air is afterwards cooled, a part of its water is necessarily deposited. I took a cylindrical bottle of very clear transparent glass, about 8 inches in diameter, and 12 inches high, with a short and narrow neck, and suspending a small piece of linen rag, moderately wet, in the middle of it, I plunged it into a large vessel of water, warmed to about 100° of Fahrenheit's thermometer, where I suffered it to remain till the contained air was not only warm, but thoroughly saturated with the moisture which it attracted from the linen rag, the mouth of the bulb being well stopped up during this time with a good cork; this being done, I removed the cork for a moment, to take away the linen rag, and stopping up the bottle again immediately, I took it out of the warm water, and plunged it into a large cylindrical jar, about 12 inches in diameter, and 16 inches high, containing just so much ice-cold water, that, when the bottle was plunged into it, and quite covered by it, the jar was quite full.

As the jar was of very fine transparent glass, as well as the bottle, and as the cold water contained in the jar was perfectly clear, I could see what passed in the bottle most distinctly;

distinctly; and having taken care to place the jar upon a table near the window, in a very favourable light, I set myself to observe the appearances which should take place, with all that anxious expectation which a conviction that the result of the experiment must be decisive, naturally inspired.

I was certain that the air contained in the bottle could not part with its heat, without at the same time (that is to say) at the same moment, and in the same place, parting with a proportion of its water; it, therefore, the heat penetrated the mass of air from the centre to the surface, or passed through it from particle to particle, in the same manner as it is probable that it passes through water, and all unelastic fluids, by far the greatest part of air contained in the bottle would part with its heat, when not actually in contact with the glass, and a proportional part of its water being let fall at the same time, and in the same place, would necessarily descend in the form of rain: and, though this rain might be too fine to be visible in its descent, yet I was sure I should find it at the bottom of the bottle, if not in visible drops of water, yet in that kind of cloudy covering which cold glass acquires from a contact with hot steam or watery vapour.

But if the particles of air, instead of communicating their heat from one to another, from the centre to the surface of the bottle, each in its turn, and for itself, came to the surface of the bottle, and there deposited its heat and its water, I concluded that the cloudiness occasioned by this deposit of water would appear all over the bottle, or, at least, not more of it at the bot-

tom than at the sides, but rather less; and this I found to be the case in fact.

The cloudiness first made its appearance upon the sides of the bottle, near the top of it; and from thence it gradually spread itself downwards, till, growing fainter as it descended lower, it was hardly visible at the distance of half an inch from the bottom of the bottle; and upon the bottom itself, which was nearly flat, there was scarcely the smallest appearance of cloudiness.

These appearances, I think, are easy to be accounted for. The air immediately in contact with the glass being cooled, and having deposited a part of its water upon the surface of the glass, at the same time that it communicates to it its heat, slides downwards by the sides of the bottle, in consequence of its increased specific gravity; and, taking its place at the bottom of the bottle, forces the whole mass of hot air upwards: which, in its turn, coming to the sides of the bottle, there deposits its heat and its water; and afterwards bending its course downwards, this circulation is continued till all the air in the bottle has acquired the exact temperature of the water in the jar.

From hence it is clear why the first appearance of condensed vapour is near the top of the bottle, as also why the greatest collection of vapour is in that part, and that so very small a quantity of it is found nearer the bottom of the bottle.

This experiment confirmed me in an opinion which I had for some time entertained, that, though the particles of air individually, or each for itself, are capable of receiving
and

and transporting heat, yet, in a quiescent state, or as a fluid whose parts are at rest with respect to each other, is not capable of conducting it, or giving it a passage; in short, that heat is incapable of passing through a mass of air, penetrating from one particle of it to another; and that it is to this circumstance that its non-conducting power is principally owing.

It is also to this circumstance, in a great measure, that it is owing that its non-conducting power, or its apparent warmth when employed as a covering for confining heat, is so remarkably increased upon being mixed with a small quantity of any very fine, light, solid substance, such as the raw silk, fur, eider-down, &c. in the foregoing experiments: for, as I have already observed, though these substances, in the very small quantities in which they were made use of, could hardly have prevented, in any considerable degree, the air from conducting, or giving a passage to the heat, had it been capable of passing through it, yet they might very much impede it in the operation of transporting it.

But there is another circumstance which it is necessary to take into the account, and that is, the attraction which subsists between air and the bodies above mentioned, and other like substances, constituting natural and artificial clothing. For, though the incapacity of air to give a passage to heat in the manner solid bodies and non-elastic fluids permit it to pass through them, may enable us to account for its warmth under certain circumstances, yet the bare admission of this principle does not seem to be sufficient to account for the very extraordinary

degrees of warmth which we find in furs and feathers, and in various other kinds of natural and artificial clothing; nor even that which we find in snow; for if we suppose the particles of air to be at liberty to carry off the heat which these bodies are meant to confine without any other obstruction or hinderance than that arising from their *vis inertiae*, or the force necessary to put them in motion, it seems probable that the succession of fresh particles of cold air, and the consequent loss of heat, would be much more rapid than we find it to be in fact.

That an attraction, and a very strong one, actually subsists between the particles of air and the fine hair or furs of beasts, the feathers of birds, wool, &c. appears by the obstinacy with which these substances retain the air which adheres to them, even when immersed in water, and put under the receiver of an air-pump; and that this attraction is essential to the warmth of these bodies, I think is very easy to be demonstrated.

In furs, for instance, the attraction between the particles of air and the fine hairs in which it is concealed, being greater than the increased elasticity, or repulsion of those particles with regard to each other, arising from the heat communicated to them by the animal body, the air in the fur, though heated, is not easily displaced; and this coat of confined air is the real barrier which defends the animal body from the external cold. This air cannot in the least carry off the heat of the animal, because it is itself confined, by its attraction to the hair or fur; and it transmits it with great difficulty, if it transmits it at all.

all, as has been abundantly shown by the foregoing experiments.

Hence it appears why those furs which are the finest, longest, and thickest, are likewise the warmest; and how the furs of the beaver, of the otter, and of other like quadrupeds which live much in water, and the feathers of water-fowls, are able to confine the heat of those animals in winter, notwithstanding the extreme coldness and great conducting power of the water in which they swim. The attraction between these substances and the air which occupies their interstices, is so great, that this air is not dislodged even by the contact of water, but, remaining in its place, it defends the body of the animal at the same time from being wet, and from being robbed of its heat by the surrounding cold fluid; and it is possible that the pressure of this fluid upon the covering of air confined in the interstices of the fur, or feathers, may at the same time increase its warmth, or non-conducting power, in such a manner that the animal may not, in fact, lose more heat when in water than when in air: for we have seen by the foregoing experiments, that, under certain circumstances, the warmth of a covering is increased, by bringing its component parts nearer together, or by increasing its density even at the expence of its thickness. But this point will be further investigated hereafter.

Bears, wolves, foxes, hares, and other like quadrupeds, inhabitants of cold countries, which do not often take the water, have their fur much thicker upon their backs than upon their bellies. The heated air occupying the interstices of the hairs of the animal tending natural-

ly to rise upwards, in consequence of its increased elasticity, would escape with much greater ease from the backs of quadrupeds than from their bellies, had not Providence wisely guarded against this evil by increasing the obstructions in those parts, which entangle it and confine it to the body of the animal. And this, I think amounts almost to a proof of the principles assumed relative to the manner in which heat is carried off by air, and the causes of the non-conducting power of air, or its apparent warmth, when, being combined with other bodies, it acts as a covering for confining heat.

The snows which cover the surface of the earth in winter, in high latitudes, are doubtless designed by an all-provident Creator, as a garment to defend it against the piercing winds from the polar regions, which prevail during the cold season.

These winds, notwithstanding the vast tracks of continent over which they blow, retain their sharpness as long as the ground they pass over is covered with snow; and if is not till, meeting with the ocean, they acquire, from a contact with its waters, the heat which the snows prevent their acquiring from the earth, that the edge of their coldness is taken off, and they gradually die and are lost.

The winds are always found to be much colder when the ground is covered with snow than when it is bare; and this extraordinary coldness is vulgarly supposed to be communicated to the air by the snow; but this is an erroneous opinion; for these winds are in general much colder than the snow itself.

They retain their coldness, because

cause the snow prevents them from being warmed at the expence of the earth; and this is a striking proof of the use of the snow in preserving the heat of the earth during the winter, in cold latitudes.

It is remarkable that these winds seldom blow from the poles directly towards the equator, but from the land towards the sea. Upon the eastern coast of North America the cold winds come from the north-west; but upon the western coast of Europe, they blow from the north-east.

That they should blow towards those parts where they can most easily acquire the heat they are in search of, is not extraordinary; and that they should gradually cease and die away, upon being warmed by a contact with the waters of the ocean, is likewise agreeable to the nature and causes of their motion: and if I might be allowed a conjecture respecting the principal use of the seas, or the reason why the proportion of water on the surface of our globe is so great, compared to that of the land, it is to maintain a more equal temperature in the different climates, by heating or cooling the winds which at certain periods blow from the great continents.

That cold winds actually grow much milder upon passing over the sea, and that hot winds are refreshed by a contact with its waters, is very certain; and it is equally certain that the winds from the ocean are, in all climates, much more temperate than those which blow from the land.

In the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, there is not the least doubt but the great mildness of the climate is entirely owing to their

separation from the neighbouring continent by so large a track of sea; and in all similar situations, in every part of the globe, similar causes are found to produce similar effects.

The cold north-west winds, which prevail upon the coast of North America during the winter, seldom extend above 100 leagues from the shore; and they are always found to be less violent, and less piercing, as they are further from the land.

These periodical winds from the continents of Europe and North America, prevail most towards the end of the month of February and in the month of March; and I conceive that they contribute very essentially towards bringing on an early spring and a fruitful summer, particularly when they are very violent in the month of March, and if at that time the ground is well covered with snow. The whole atmosphere of the polar regions being, as it were, transported into the ocean by these winds, is there warmed and saturated with water: and, a great accumulation of air upon the sea being the necessary consequence of the long continuance of these cold winds from the shore, upon their ceasing, the warm breezes from the sea necessarily commence, and, spreading themselves upon the land far and wide, assist the returning sun in dismantling the earth of the remains of her winter-garment, and in bringing forward into life all the manifold beauties of the new-born year.

This warmed air which comes in from the sea, having acquired its heat from a contact with the ocean, is, of course, saturated with water; and hence the warm showers of April and May, so necessary to a fruitful season.

The

The ocean may be considered as the great reservoir and equalizer of heat; and its benign influences in preserving a proper temperature in the atmosphere, operate in all seasons and in all climates.

The parching winds from the land under the torrid zone, are cooled by a contact with its waters; and, in return, the breezes from the sea, which, at certain hours of the day, come in to the shores in almost all hot countries, bring with them refreshment, and, as it were, new life and vigour both to the animal and vegetable creation, fainting and melting under the excessive heats of a burning sun. What a vast track of country, now the most fertile upon the face of the globe, would be absolutely barren and uninhabitable on account of the excessive heat, were it not for these refreshing sea-breezes! And is it not more than probable, that the extremes of heat and of cold, in the different seasons, in the temperate and frigid zones, would be quite intolerable, were it not for the influence of the ocean in preserving an equability of temperature?

And to these purposes the ocean is wonderfully well adapted, not only on account of the great power of water to absorb heat, and the vast depth and extent of the different seas (which are such, that one summer or one winter could hardly be supposed to have any sensible effect in heating or cooling this enormous mass); but also on account of the continual circulation which is carried on in the ocean itself, by means of the currents which prevail in it. The waters under the torrid zone being carried by these currents towards the polar regions, are there cooled by a contact with

the cold winds, and, having thus communicated their heat to these inhospitable regions, return towards the equator, carrying with them refreshment for those parching climates.

The wisdom and goodness of Providence have often been called in question with regard to the distribution of land and water upon the surface of our globe, the vast extent of the ocean having been considered as a proof of the little regard that has been paid to man in this distribution. But, the more light we acquire relative to the real constitution of things, and the various uses of the different parts of the visible creation, the less we shall be disposed to indulge ourselves in such frivolous criticisms.

Specification of the Patent granted to Mr. Charles William Ward, of Hatton-Garden, Middlesex, for his Method of changing the Smoke, or Vapour, arising from the Combustion of many Kinds of Substances, into various useful Materials. Dated March 15, 1792.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now, know ye, that I the said Charles William Ward, in compliance with the proviso in the said letters patent contained, do hereby describe and ascertain the nature of my said invention of a method of changing the smoke, or vapour, arising from the combustion of many kinds of substances into various useful materials, according to the substances burnt, as follows:—All smoke, or vapour, from the combustion of different bodies, is capable of being decomposed or condensed; but as the vapours, according to the substance

stance they proceed from, require to pass through cold water, the steam of boiling water, or to be confined some time in cold vessels before they can be condensed, the change cannot be effected by any method hitherto known, because none of them is capable of making the vapour pass through water, or of confining it long enough for it to condense, without checking up the draught of air necessary for the burning of the fire. My invention supplies this defect, by making a constant draught from the fires, and causing the vapour to pass through, or be retained in, proper vessels, a sufficient time for it to condense. This is effected by connecting the aperture of the chimney or chimney, with the condensing vessels, or chambers, by means of tubes or pipes; then is to be placed, either between this connection, or behind the condensing vessels, any machine or machines, whose principle depends upon the known property of all fluids resting in to fill up the vacuum caused by their action; that is to say, air-pumps, water-pumps, ventilators, bellows, air-machines, &c. These, however differ in their construction, have all one common principle, and therefore the application of them, or others depending upon the same principle, to effect the purpose above mentioned, will be an infringement upon my said patent. The size, number, and construction of the condensing vessels, must depend upon the vapour to be decomposed, as some vapours are more difficult to condense than others, and therefore require a longer process. The apparatus being thus fixed, the substances to yield the smoke, or vapour, are to be set on fire under the chimney or

chimneys; and the machine, or machines, set in motion by either steam, engine, water, or horse-wheel, &c. The vapour will be drawn from the fires by the action of the machine, and made to pass through the condensing vessels, to be decomposed. There must be apertures at the end of the condensing-vessel, if the pumping-machine is placed between them and the chimney, to open and shut, for the purpose of giving vent to the incondensable airs, which will combine with the vapour in burning, and pass with them through the apparatus. If the machine is placed behind the vessels, there will be no occasion for those apertures. In witness whereof, &c.

Specification of the Patent granted to Mr. Hector Campbell, of the Parish of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, in the County of Surrey, Clergy, for his Method of destroying the colouring Elements and Particles in coloured Rags, and other Materials used in making Paper.

Dated Nov. 28, 1792.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now, know ye, that, in compliance with the said proviso, I the said Hector Campbell do hereby declare, that my said invention of an improved method of destroying and taking away all the carbonic, oleaginous, and colouring elements and particles in linen, cotton, hemp, and in all coloured rags and other materials used in making paper, in a manner hitherto unattempted in this kingdom, and at a much less expence than any method now in use, is described in manner following:—

Ing:—I the said Hector Campbell having practised, and still practising, under circumstances, the method invented by the French (which I believe I first adopted for absolute business in England) of saturating a tub of water, or any other fit receiver, with oxygenated muriatic acid, and applying this liquor to a variety of bleachable articles; in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, I took it up as a manufactory, and applied it to whitening coloured brown Hamburgh and other cheap rags, both whole and in a reduced state, for the purposes of felling rags, pulp, and other materials for making paper. But notwithstanding the previous use of an alkaline ley, and, when the liquor was put to the article, the revolution of the vessels, and the variety of plans to excite internal motion, such as sticks to catch and divide, internal revolving and up-and-down powers, and levers to agitate and divide, all of which I practised, I still found the operation in preparing the said materials for making paper, in point of time, labour, inequality of beauty, and bleaching only to a certain degree, extremely imperfect. Therefore, from numerous considerations and experiments, and at a great expence of time, labour, and money, I discovered the following improved method:—Take of rag, coloured or not, or pulp, or any cotton, flaxen, hempen, or other material fit to make paper, and let the first consideration be for what you want it, that is, how valuable you intend to make the article; wash the said material for making paper. When the material for making paper is wanted for

making an inferior sort of paper, it does not require to be passed through an alkaline ley previous to bleaching, but may be bleached in the manner hereinafter described.—Should the material be wanted for making better paper, it may be passed through an alkaline ley, cleansed from it, and then bleached in manner hereinafter described; but this process of previously passing the material for making paper through an alkaline ley, will not bleach, in one bleaching, beyond a certain degree, extremely inadequate to constitute superior excellence. Therefore, to bleach the material in the best manner, take of either of the said materials for making paper, and either pass it through an alkaline ley previously or not; then bleach it in the manner hereinafter described; then boil it in an alkaline ley (a solution of caustic pot-ash will answer the purpose): the time of boiling and the strength of the ley must be adjusted by the nature and quality of the material, and the purpose it is wanted for; then wash the alkali from the material, and present it again to be bleached. This process will be sufficient; but, to bring the material to a great perfection, it may be repeated alternately; but, after the material has been alkalized, passing it through, or having any thing to do with what are termed the sours, or vitriolic acid and water, or any other acid and water, is unnecessary. Fine materials are considerably improved by bleaching, and then boiling in alkali, and then bleaching again; but more especially coarse, white, or brown materials, such as have never been coloured, will never

so well have their carbonic, oleaginous and ligneous elements and particles (with which they abound) done away, or be brought to any state of perfection, without the above process of bleaching and boiling. The vessel or receiver for bleaching the material in, may be of any shape or dimension, and made of any substance capable of compression and condensation. I do it in receivers made of wood, in glazed earthen vessels, and other vessels, of any shape or dimension; and indeed it may well be done in any receiver, the substance of which is devoid of oil and metal, and not subject to be materially affected by the oxygen or acid. The quantity of the materials to be bleached should contain about its own weight of water, the superabundant quantity of water being pressed out. The material must then be opened by a machine, called by the cotton-manufacturers a Devil, or some machine of that nature. Then distribute the material in the receiver thinly, or one or more frames or layers, placing them so as not to come in contact with each other; or the material may be placed in the body of the receiver, and turned round in it, so as that the bleaching power may have a free communication with all parts of the material. Then close the receiver; make one or more holes, or apertures, in the side, or other part of the receiver, of a sufficient size to admit the end or mouth of a retort; then get one or more retorts, or other proper vessel; put therein a substance containing oxygen or vital air, which may be found in many substances besides manganese; but as manganese par-

ticularly abounds with oxygen, and therefore a quantity of it is ready made by nature, take of manganese (such as contains the most oxygen) a third part of any given quantity, and mix it with a proportion of two-third parts of marine, or sea-salt; but this proportion must be governed by the aerated state of the manganese; mix them well together, previous to their being put into the retort, and, with the manganese and sea-salt so mixed, put in sulphuric or vitriolic acid, of a quantity equal to, or rather more than the sea-salt. Then join the neck or mouth of the retort with the receiver, and lute it; or, if the retort is tubulated, you may join it to the receiver and lute it, before it is charged as aforesaid. The number of retorts to be applied cannot be ascertained, as they will depend on the size of the receiver, and the quantity of material put in to be bleached. The retorts should rest on sand kept continually heated for working, or heat otherwise sufficiently communicated would do. The bleaching will now commence, which should be continued until the material is sufficiently whitened for the purpose wanted, which may be known by looking at it. Then take it out, and add more material to be bleached in the same manner, and so on, again charging the retort, in manner aforesaid, strong enough to proceed; taking care that the material to be bleached should never wait for the bleaching power, or the bleaching power be played upon a material which is not bleachable. And the material thus bleached being immersed and washed in water, to take away the acid contained in it, becomes fit to be

be applied for the purpose of making paper, and may be proceeded on accordingly. In witness whereof, &c.

An Idea of making a Map of the World on a larger Scale.

From Forrest's Voyage in the Mergui Archipelago.

IN the account of my voyage to New Guinea, I forgot to mention that, at my leisure at Mindano, during the south-west monsoon, I constructed upon two thick planks, well pinned together, a map of the world: it was $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$, allowing a margin; and when finished, by cutting a strong outline to mark both continents and islands (taken from a small plain chart) it was hung up in Rajah Moodo's hall, where, unless destroyed by fire, it is likely long to remain; while paper maps, had I had such to present him, would, it is most likely, be lost, tore, or neglected.

Since then, I have often said to myself, during my solitary aquatic travels, Why does nobody turn a level verdant plain of a very few acres into a map of the world? When sometimes invention is stretched to lay out grounds with taste in the gardens of men of fortune, such a thing surely would not either be absurd or unuseful. I rather think the contrary; the project could not be attended with great expence, would be pleasant and heathful to young folks, especially in the execution, and make very young persons expert in sim-

ple geography, far beyond what they get from books and maps even at a more advanced age.

Let a spot of level ground, three hundred and sixty yards in length from east to west, and one hundred and eighty yards in breadth from north to south, be inclosed by a wall (in these directions) of a very small height, perhaps one or two feet; let thirty-six marks be made on the east and west walls, and eighteen be made on the north and south walls, to fix the degrees of longitude and latitude at ten degrees, or six hundred miles asunder; let four pieces of oak timber be made, thirty feet long, and eight inches square, with holes bored in them at the distance of three inches, or five miles, from one another: thus, thirty-six inches, or three feet, on this piece of timber (which is easily transported and put under cover, and which I call scale) are a degree; and the whole scale ten degrees, or six hundred miles in length. *

These scales being placed upon or stuck in the ground, at any of the large divisions of ten degrees made on the walls, and opposite to each other, afford an opportunity, by cross log-lines, or pack-thread, of determining the particular town, city, or head-land, that is to be marked on this map, in the same manner as upon a sheet of paper on a table, with a Gunter's scale and a pair of compasses.

The continents and islands may be made in turf, the sea in gravel; the boundary or outline may be a hard terrace made of mortar, pieces

* An equator and middle meridian of terras, made narrow and low, and graduated at each ten degrees, would facilitate the construction of the map, dividing the whole into four, and admit the log-lines to be shorter,

of slate fixed in mortar, or the marrow-bones of bullocks; which some forty years ago I have seen beyond Whitechapel, used as a kind of fence near the turnpike-road (this may be remembered by many); or a border of common box may be planted, as is usual in many gardens.

At particular places on this ocean of gravel, posts may be fixed up, indicating particular circumstances of monsoons, trade-winds, and currents, &c. prevailing in particular parts, to amuse the contemplative owner, who, taking a few turns before breakfast on the surface of this flat globe, "Where Nature's volume is attempted to be widely exposed to view" (as Thomson says) the powers of his mind will expand; and he will, I am persuaded, be often inclined to say, "This is obvious; I see this circumstance in a new light from what I formerly learned from books and maps only. I see a passage from the Downs to India is nothing: the difficulty disappears, compared with the hardships and fatigue of sailing in narrow seas. Here seems to live kind ease; while in a passage from London to Newcastle, what with anchoring and weighing every twelve hours, reefing and handing of sails, heaving the lead, &c. in a distance of less than three hundred miles, and perhaps seven or eight times in a summer, a young man must learn the duty of a seaman." Such reflections will naturally occur to the contemplative mind, and many others of the same nature. I therefore take upon me to say, that the idea of making such a map is worthy of a prince, and within the reach of a private gentleman to put in execution. I think it would

very much adorn the villa of the minister of a great commercial nation; nay, even the palace of royalty itself.

On the Scab in Sheep. By Paul Treby Treby, Esq. of Plympton, Devonshire.

From Annals of Agriculture, vol. 17.

Sir, *Plympton, Nov. 2, 1791.*

I SEND you a recipe for the scab in sheep, which I have found infallible.

3 gallons of brine,
3 gallons of urine,
1 lb. sulphur vivum,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. white copperas,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. roch allum,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. stone brimstone,
 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. leaf tobacco,
a handful of fox-glove leaves,
ditto of broom twigs.

These ingredients to be boiled until reduced to two gallons, and then corked.

The wool should be parted on the buds of scab, and a small quantity of the mixture poured on them: this should be repeated three or four times, and well rubbed in: I scarcely ever knew this application fail the first time. My sheep running on a common, where this disorder prevailed very much, when first I kept them, I found it very troublesome; but I have now the pleasure, with this recipe, not only to find my own sheep quite clear of it, but those of my neighbours.

I use as much sublimate as will lay on a shilling (I forget the weight) to a quart of warm water, in which I sometimes put a wine-glassful of spirits of turpentine for the worms in sheep. My servant
says

says this is too strong, and that he often replenishes his bottle with urine: it answers completely. I have always experienced that camphor alone expelled bugs.

Your devoted servant,

PAUL T. TREBY.

P. S. I have written in such haste, that I have forgotten to mention that the mixture ought to surround the part affected with the scab.

Method of curing Butter, practised in the Parish of Udney, and its Neighbourhood.

From the general View of the Agriculture of the County of Aberdeen. Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture, by J. Anderson, LL. D.

From the Repertory of Arts and Manufactures, vol. 1, p. 389.

THE following mode of curing butter is practised by some in the parish of Udney, and that neighbourhood, which gives to their butter a great superiority above that of others.

Take two parts of the best common salt, one part of sugar, and one part of saltpetre, beat them up together, and blend the whole completely. Take one ounce of this composition for every sixteen ounces of butter, work it well into the mass, and close it up for use.

I know of no simple improvement in æconomics greater than this is, when compared with the usual mode of curing butter by means of common salt alone. I have seen the experiment fairly made, of one part of the butter made at one time being thus cured, and the other part cured with salt alone; the difference was inconceivable: I should suppose that, in any open market, the one would

sell for thirty per cent. more than the other. The butter cured with the mixture appears of a rich marrowy consistence, and fine colour, and never acquires a brittle hardness, nor tastes salt; the other is comparatively hard and brittle, approaching more nearly to the appearance of tallow, and is much saltier to the taste. I have eaten butter cured with the above composition, that had been kept three years, and it was as sweet as at first; but it must be noted, that butter thus cured requires to stand three weeks or a month before it is begun to be used. If it be sooner opened, the salts are not sufficiently blended with it: and sometimes the coolness of the nitre will then be perceived, which totally disappears afterwards.

The pernicious practice of keeping milk in leaden vessels, and salting butter in stone jars, begins to gain ground among some of the fine ladies in this county as well as elsewhere, from an idea of cleanliness. The fact is, it is just the reverse of cleanliness; for, in the hands of a careful person, nothing can be more cleanly than wooden dishes, but, under the management of a flatterer, they discover the secret, which stone-dishes indeed do not.

In return, these latter communicate to the butter, and the milk, which has been kept in them, a poisonous quality, which inevitably proves destructive to the human constitution. To the prevalence of this practice, I have no doubt, we must attribute the frequency of palsies, which begin to prevail so much in this kingdom; for, the well known effect of the poison of lead is, bodily debility, palsy,—death!

ANTIQUITIES.

Order of Council to the Lord Mayor of London, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. From Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ.

To the Lord Mayor of London.

AFTER our right hartie commendacions, Whereas their hathe bene of late printed and published within that citie a certaine libell intituled, "A discoveringe of the gapinge gulphe," &c. whearin the author hathe not onlie verie contemptuoussie intermedled in matters of state towchinge her Majesties person, but alsoe vttered certaine things to the dishonour of the Duke of Aniou, brother to the Frenche Kinge. Forasmuch as divers of the said books have been verie seditioussie cast abroad, and secretlie disperfed into the hands of sondrie of her Majesties subiects, as well the inhabitants of that citie as in other parts of this realme; with an intencion, as much as in them laie, to alter the mind of her Highnes good and dewtifull subiects, and to drawe them into a suspicion and misliking of her Majesties actions, as though the same tended to the preiudice of the realme, and subversion of the estate of true religion (nowe a longe time, by the goodnes of Almightye God, and her Highnes autoritie, as God's mi-

nister, established and contynewed among vs) Albeit her Maiestie hathe received such an assured opinion of the loyaltie of her said subiects, and speciallie of the inhabitants of that her citie of London, that they will not soe easelie giue credit to any suche secret synister deviles tending to the impairing and defacinge of her Highnes good proceedings, especiallie in the pointe of religion, where shee hathe willed vs to assure you, that shee desireth no longer life than shee shalbe a mayntayner and vpholder of the same; yet forasmuch on the one parte yt behoveth her Maiestie in honour to have soe notorious an iniure done to so great a Prince, her neighbour, whoe is suche kinde and confident sorte (all respecte of perill and dainger layd aparte) vowchsafed to do her Maiestie that honor to come and visit her, repaired by all the waies and means that any waie can be devised: soe on the other side, hir Highnes is verie desiruous, that as hitherto shee hathe bene verie carefull (as by her doings hathe well appeared) to maintaine and contynewe this realme, bothe in matters of policie and religion, in such quiet and peaccable estate as hitherto shee hathe done, and which never any Prince did more carefullie

Carefullie before; for at this present yt sholde be knowen vnto her subiects what her meaning is; not by any treating or dealing with the said Duke of Aniou, whoe, neither by himselfe nor his ministers, dyd at anye time pretle her to doe anye thinge to the preiudice of this state, to innouate or infringe any thinge in the government which shee hathe bothe establiſhed, and hytherto, by God's goodnes and aſſiſtaunce maintayned againſt ſondry deſignes and complotts of many enimies, of whome, the Lord be thanked, there is at present no ſouche great doubt as was heretofore to be conceined:—For theſe and other good conſideracions, to the intent that her ſaid ſubiects giue not any credit to ſuche vntrewe and vaine ſuſpitions, her Highnes hathe at this present cauſed a proclamation to be made in her name, to be printed and directed thither to be publiſhed; at the publiſhing whearof within that citie and liberties in place accuſtomed, her Maieſties pleaſure is, that you the Lord Mayor, accompanied with ſome good nombre of the Aldermen your brethren, and the Shriues now, as in like caſes hathe bene accuſtomed, ſhoulde be preſente; and further, for the better confirminge of the inhabitants of the ſaid citie on her Maieſties ſincere meaning towards theme, and the whole realme, it is alſoe thought conuenient, and ſoe wee require your Lordſhip to call the maſters, governors, and wardens of the company of the citie before you, and, in hir Highnes name, to commaund theme, that, appointinge ſome daie as ſoone as conuenientlie maie be, for the aſſemblies in their ſeuerall halls of

their companies, they doe cauſe the ſaid proclamation and contents of theſe our letters to be openlie red and publiſhed, chardginge all and euerie perſon, vpon the penalte contayned in the ſaid proclamation, to bringe vnto the ſaid maſter, governor, and wardens, all ſuch the ſaid bookes, printed or written, as they or any of theme maie haue. And bothe nowe, and frome tyme to tyme hereafter, to ſignifie what perſons, to their knowledge, haue, or maie haue, had any of the ſaid bookes; which bookes ye ſhall chardge the ſaid maſter, governor, and wardens to bringe vnto you, with the names of the parties and manner how they came by theme, except in caſes where any perſon ſhall willinglie bringe the ſame themſelves to lighte, to be diſtroyd according to the content of the ſaid proclamation. And therevpon ſhall, with as muche ſpeede as you conuenientlie maie, perticulierlie certifie vs theirow, to th' entent, if any perſon ſhall be found culpable, wee maie take ſuch farther order as ſhalbe thought expedient. And ſoe, earneſtly chardging you that hearof their be no default, as youe tender her Maieſties favour and will, vpon your perill, aunſwer the contrarie, we byd you right hartelie farewell. From Gyddes-Hall, the 27th of September, 1579.

Your Lordſhip's

verie loving freendes,
BROMLEY, Canc.
ROB. LEYCESTER:
CHR. HATTON.
W. BURGHLEY.
H. HUNSDON:
II. SYDNEY.
FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

Letter

*Letter from the Countess Dowager of Nithsdale * to her Sister the Countess of Traquair, giving an Account of the Earl's Escape out of the Tower in 1716.*

[From Vol. I. of *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*]

Dear Sister,

MY Lord's escape is now such an old story, that I have almost forgotten it; but since you desire me to give you a circumstantial account of it, I will endeavour to recall it to my memory, and be as exact in the narration as I possibly can; for I owe you too many obligations to refuse you any thing that lies in my power to do.

I think I owe myself the justice to set out with the motives which influenced me to undertake so hazardous an attempt, which I despaired of thoroughly accomplishing, foreseeing a thousand obstacles, which never could be surmounted but by the most particular interposition of Divine Providence. I confided in the Almighty God, and trusted that he would not abandon me, even when all human succours failed me.

I first came to London upon hearing that my Lord was committed to the Tower. I was at the same time informed, that he had expressed the greatest anxiety to see me, having, as he afterwards told me, nobody to console him till I arrived. I rode to Newcastle, and from thence took the stage to York. When I arrived there the snow was so deep, that the stage could not set out for London. The season

was so severe, and the roads so extremely bad, that the post itself was stopt: however, I took horses and rode to London through the snow, which was generally above the horse's girth, and arrived safe and sound, without any accident.

On my arrival, I went immediately to make what interest I could among those who were in place. No one gave me any hopes; but all, to the contrary, assured me, that, although some of the prisoners were to be pardoned, yet my Lord would certainly not be of the number. When I enquired into the reason of this distinction, I could obtain no other answer, than that they would not flatter me. But I soon perceived the reasons which they declined alleging to me. A Roman Catholic upon the frontiers of Scotland, who headed a very considerable party; a man whose family had always signalized itself by its loyalty to the royal house of Stuart, and who was the only support of the Catholics against the inveteracy of the Whigs, who were very numerous in that part of Scotland, would become an agreeable sacrifice to the opposite party. They still retained a lively remembrance of his grandfather, who defended his own castle of Calaverock to the very last extremity, and surrendered it up only by the express command of his royal master. — Now, having his grandson in their power, they were determined not to let him escape from their hands.

Upon this I formed the resolution to attempt his escape; but opened my intentions to nobody but to my dear Evans. In order to concert

* This sensible, spirited Lady, who saved her husband's life, and preserved the family estate for her son, was the daughter of William Marquis of Powis.

measures,

measures, I strongly solicited to be permitted to see my Lord; which they refused to grant me, unless I would remain confined with him in the Tower. This I would not submit to; and alleged for excuse, that my health would not permit me to undergo the confinement. The real reason of my refusal was, not to put it out of my power to accomplish my designs. However, by bribing the guards, I often contrived to see my Lord, till the day upon which the prisoners were condemned; after that, we were allowed for the last week to see and take our leave of them.

By the help of Evans, I had prepared every thing necessary to disguise my Lord, but had the utmost difficulty to prevail upon him to make use of them. However, at length succeeded, by the help of Almighty God.

On the 22d of February, which fell on a Thursday, our petition was to be presented to the House of Lords; the purport of which was, to interest the Lords to intercede with his Majesty to pardon the prisoners. We were, however, disappointed the day before the petition was to be presented; for the Duke of St. Alban's, who had promised my Lady Derwentwater to present it, when it came to the point, failed in his word. However, as she was the only English Countess concerned, it was incumbent upon her to have it presented. We had but one day left before the execution, and the Duke still promised to present the petition; but for fear he should fail, I engaged the Duke of Montrose, to secure its being done by the one or the other. I then went in company of most of the ladies of quality who were then

in town, to solicit the interests of the Lords as they were going to the House. They all behaved to me with great civility, but particularly my Lord Pembroke, who, though he desired me not to speak to him, yet promised to employ his interest in our favour, and honourably kept his word; for he spoke in the House very strongly in our behalf. The subject of the debate was, Whether the King had the power to pardon those who had been condemned by Parliament? And it was chiefly owing to Lord Pembroke's speech that it passed in the affirmative: however, one of the Lords stood up and said, that the House would only intercede for those of the prisoners who should approve themselves worthy of their intercession, but not for all of them indiscriminately. This salvo quite blasted all my hopes; for I was assured it aimed at the exclusion of those who should refuse to subscribe to the petition, which was a thing I knew my Lord would never submit to; nor, in fact, could I wish to preserve his life on such terms.

As the motion had passed generally, I thought I could draw some advantage in favour of my design. Accordingly, I immediately left the House of Lords, and hastened to the Tower, where, affecting an air of joy and satisfaction, I told all the guards I passed by, that I came to bring joyful tidings to the prisoner. I desired them to lay aside their fears, for the petition had passed the House in their favour. I then gave them some money to drink to the Lords and his Majesty, tho' it was but trifling; for I thought, that if I were too liberal on the occasion, they might suspect my designs, and that giving them something would gain

gain their good humour and services for the next day, which was the eve of the execution.

The next morning I could not go to the Tower, having so many things in my hands to put in readiness; but in the evening, when all was ready, I sent for Mrs. Mills, with whom I lodged, and acquainted her with my design of attempting my Lord's escape, as there was no prospect of his being pardoned; and this was the last night before the execution. I told her that I had every thing in readiness, and that I trusted she would not refuse to accompany me, that my Lord might pass for her. I pressed her to come immediately, as we had no time to lose. At the same time I sent for a Mrs. Morgan, then usually known by the name of Hilton, to whose acquaintance my dear Evans has introduced me, which I look upon as a very singular happiness. I immediately communicated my resolution to her. She was of a very tall and slender make; so I begged her to put under her own riding-hood, one that I had prepared for Mrs. Mills, as she was to lend hers to my Lord, that, in coming out, he might be taken for her. Mrs. Mills was then with child; so that she was not only of the same height, but nearly of the same size as my Lord. When we were in the coach, I never ceased talking, that they might have no leisure to reflect. Their surprise and astonishment, when I first opened my design to them, had made them consent, without ever thinking of the consequences. On our arrival at the Tower, the first I introduced was Mrs. Morgan; for I was only allowed to take in one at a time. She brought in the clothes that

were to serve Mrs. Mills when she left her own behind her. When Mrs. Morgan had taken off what she had brought for my purpose, I conducted her back to the staircase; and, in going, I begged her to send me in my maid to dress me; that I was afraid of being too late to present my last petition that night, if she did not come immediately. I dispatched her safe, and went partly down stairs to meet Mrs. Mills, who had the precaution to hold her handkerchief to her face, as was very natural for a woman to do when she was going to bid her last farewell to a friend, on the eve of his execution. I had, indeed, desired her to do it, that my Lord might go out in the same manner. Her eye-brows were rather inclined to be sandy; and my Lord's were dark, and very thick; however, I had prepared some paint of the colour of hers, to disguise his with. I also bought an artificial head-dress of the same coloured hair as hers; and I painted his face with white, and his cheeks with rouge, to hide his long beard, which he had not had time to shave. All this provision I had before left in the Tower. The poor guards, whom my slight liberality the day before had endeared me to, let me go quietly with my company, and were not so strictly on the watch as they usually had been; and the more so, as they were persuaded from what I had told them the day before, that the prisoners would obtain their pardon. I made Mrs. Mills take off her own hood, and put on that which I had brought for her. I then took her by the hand, and led her out of my Lord's chamber; and, in passing through the next room, in which there were several people, with all the

the concern imaginable, I said, My dear Mrs. Catherine, go in all haste, and send me my waiting-maid; she certainly cannot reflect how late it is: she forgets that I am to present a petition to-night; and if I let slip this opportunity, I am undone; for to-morrow will be too late. Hasten her as much as possible; for I shall be on thorns till she comes. Every body in the room, who were chiefly the guards wives and daughters, seemed to compassionate me exceedingly; and the centinel officiously opened the door. When I had seen her out, I returned back to my Lord, and finished dressing him. I had taken care that Mrs. Mills did not go out crying as she came in, that my Lord might the better pass for the Lady who came in crying and afflicted: and the more so, because he had the same dress which she wore. When I had almost finished dressing my Lord in all my petticoats excepting one, I perceived that it was growing dark, and was afraid that the light of the candles might betray us; so I resolved to set off. I went out leading him by the hand; and he held his handkerchief to his eyes. I spoke to him in the most piteous and afflicting tone of voice, bewailing bitterly the negligence of Evans, who had ruined me by her delay. Then said I, My dear Mrs. Betty, for the love of God, run quickly and bring her with you. You know my lodging; and, if ever you made dispatch in your life, do it at present: I am almost distracted with this disappointment. The guards opened the doors, and I went down stairs with him, still conjuring him to make all possible dispatch. As soon as he had cleared the door, I made him walk before me, for fear the

centinel should take notice of his walk; but I still continued to press him to make all the haste he possibly could. At the bottom of the stairs I met my dear Evans, into whose hands I confided him. I had before engaged Mr. Mills to be in readiness before the Tower to conduct him to some place of safety, in case we succeeded. He looked upon the affair so very improbable to succeed, that his astonishment, when he saw us, threw him into such consternation, that he was almost out of himself; which Evans perceiving, with the greatest presence of mind, without telling him any thing, lest he should mistrust them, conducted him to some of her own friends, on whom she could rely, and so secured him; without which we should have been undone. When she had conducted him, and left him with them, she returned to find Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment. They went home together; and having found a place of security, they conducted him to it.

In the mean while, as I had pretended to have sent *the young Lady* on a message, I was obliged to return up stairs, and go back to my Lord's room, in the same feigned anxiety of being too late; so that every body seemed sincerely to sympathize in my distress. When I was in the room, I talked to him as if he had been really present; and answered my own questions in my Lord's voice as nearly as I could imitate it. I walked up and down, as if we were conversing together, till I thought they had time enough thoroughly to clear themselves of the guards. I then thought proper to make off also. I opened the door, and stood half in it, that those
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in the outward chamber might hear what I said; but held it so close that they could not look in. I bid my Lord a formal farewell for that night; and added, that something more than usual must have happened, to make Evans negligent on this important occasion, who had always been so punctual in the smallest trifles; that I saw no other remedy than to go in person; that, if the Tower were still open when I finished my business, I would return that night; but that he might be assured I would be with him as early in the morning as I could gain admittance into the Tower; and I flattered myself I should bring favourable news. Then, before I shut the door, I pulled through the string of the latch, so that it could only be opened on the inside. I then shut it with some degree of force, that I might be sure of its being well shut. I said to the servant as I passed by, who was ignorant of the whole transaction, that he need not carry in candles to his master till my Lord sent for him, as he desired to finish some prayers first. I went down stairs, and called a coach. As there were several on the stand, I drove home to my lodgings, where poor Mr. Mackenzie had been waiting to carry the petition, in case my attempt had failed. I told him there was no need of any petition, as my Lord was safe out of the Tower, and out of the hands of his enemies, as I hoped; but that I did not know where he was.

I discharged the coach, and sent for a sedan chair, and went to the Duchefs of Buccleugh, who expected me about that time, as I had begged of her to present the petition for me, having taken my pre-

cautions against all events, and asked if she was at home; and they answered, that she expected me, and had another Duchefs with her. I refused to go up stairs, as she had company with her, and I was not in a condition to see any other company. I begged to be shewn into a chamber below stairs, and that they would have the goodness to send her Grace's maid to me, having something to say to her. I had discharged the chair, lest I might be pursued and watched. When the maid came in, I desired her to present my most humble respects to her Grace, who they told me had company with her, and to acquaint her, that this was my only reason for not coming up stairs. I also charged her with my sincerest thanks for her kind offer to accompany me when I went to present my petition. I added, that she might spare herself any further trouble, as it was now judged more advisable to present one general petition in the name of all: however, that I should never be unmindful of my particular obligations to her Grace, which I would return very soon to acknowledge in person.

I then desired one of the servants to call a chair, and I went to the Duchefs of Montrose, who had always borne a part in my distresses. When I arrived she left her company to deny herself, not being able to see me under the affliction which she judged me to be in. By mistake, however, I was admitted; so there was no remedy. She came to me; and, as my heart was in an ecstasy of joy, I expressed it in my countenance as she entered the room. I ran up to her in the transport of my joy. She appeared to be extremely shocked and frightened:

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and has since confessed to me, that she apprehended my trouble had thrown me out of myself, till I communicated my happiness to her. She then advised me to retire to some place of security, for that the King was highly displeased, and even enraged at the petition that I had presented to him, and had complained of it severely. I sent for another chair; for I always discharged them immediately, lest I might be pursued. Her Grace said she would go to court, to see how the news of my Lord's escape were received. When the news was brought to the King, he flew into an excess of passion, and said he was betrayed; for it could not have been done without some confederacy. He instantly dispatched two persons to the Tower, to see that the other prisoners were well secured, lest they should follow the example. Some threw the blame upon one, some upon another: the Duchess was the only one at court who knew it.

When I left the Duchess, I went to a house which Evans had found out for me, and where she proposed to acquaint me where my Lord was. She got thither some few minutes after me, and told me, that when she had seen him secure, she went in search of Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment; that he had returned to her house, where she had found him; and that he had removed my Lord from the first place, where she had desired him to wait, to the house of a poor woman, directly opposite to the guard-house. She had but one small room up one pair of stairs, and a very small bed in it. We threw ourselves upon the bed, that we might not be heard

walking up and down. She left us a bottle of wine and some bread, and Mrs. Mills brought us some more in her pocket the next day. We subsisted on this provision from Thursday till Saturday night, when Mrs. Mills came and conducted my Lord to the Venetian Ambassador's. We did not communicate the affair to his Excellency; but one of his servants concealed him in his own room till Wednesday; on which day the Ambassador's coach and six was to go down to Dover to meet his brother. My Lord put on a livery, and went down in the retinue, without the least suspicion, to Dover, where Mr. Mitchell (which was the name of the Ambassador's servant) hired a small vessel, and immediately set sail for Calais. The passage was so remarkably short, that the captain threw out this reflection, that the wind could not have served better if his passengers had been flying for their lives, little thinking it to be really the case. Mr. Mitchell might have easily returned without being suspected of having been concerned in my Lord's escape; but my Lord seemed inclined to have him continue with him: which he did, and has at present a good place under our young master.

This is as exact and as full an account of this affair, and of the persons concerned in it, as I could possibly give you; to the best of my memory; and you may rely on the truth of it.

For my part, I absconded to the house of a very honest man in Drury-lane, where I remained till I was assured of my Lord's safe arrival on the continent. I then wrote to the Duchess of Buccleugh (every body thought till then that I was

was gone off with my Lord) to tell her, that I understood I was suspected of having contrived my Lord's escape, as was very natural to suppose; that, if I could have been happy enough to have done it, I should be flattered to have the merit of it attributed to me; but that a bare suspicion, without proof, could never be a sufficient ground for my being punished for a supposed offence, though it might be motive enough to me to provide a place of security; so I entreated her to procure leave for me to go with safety about my business. So far from granting my request, they were resolved to secure me if possible. After several debates, Mr. Solicitor General, who was an utter stranger to me, had the humanity to say, that, since I showed so much respect to government as not to appear in public, it would be cruel to make any search after me: upon which it was decided, that if I remained concealed, no further search should be made; but that if I appeared either in England or Scotland, I should be secured. But that was not sufficient for me, unless I could submit to expose my son to beggary. My Lord sent for me up to town in such haste, that I had no time to settle any thing before I left Scotland. I had in my hands all the family-papers: I dared trust them to nobody. My house might have been searched without warning, consequently they were far from being secure there. In this distress, I had the precaution to bury them under ground; and nobody but the gardener and myself knew where they were. I did the same with other things of value. The event proved, that I had acted prudently; for, after my departure,

they searched the house; and God knows what might have transpired from these papers.

All these circumstances rendered my presence absolutely necessary, otherwise they might have been lost; for, though they retained the highest preservation, after one very severe winter (for, when I took them up, they were as dry as if they came from the fire-side) yet they could not possibly have remained so much longer without prejudice. In short, as I had once exposed my life for the safety of the father, I could not do less than hazard it once more for the fortune of the son. I had never travelled on horseback but from York to London, as I told you; but the difficulties did not now arise from the severity of the season, but from the fear of being known and arrested. To avoid this, I bought three saddle-horses, and set off with my dear Evans and a very trusty servant, whom I brought with me out of Scotland. We put up at the smallest inns on the road that could take in a few horses, and where I thought I was not known; for I was thoroughly known in all the considerable inns on the north road. Thus I arrived safe at Traquair, where I thought myself secure; for the lieutenant of the county being a friend of my Lord's, would not permit any search to be made for me, without sending me previous notice to abscond. Here I had the assurance to rest myself for two whole days, pretending that I was going to my own house with the leave of the government; and sent no notice to my own house, lest the magistrates of Dumfries might make too narrow inquiries about me; so they were ignorant of my arrival in the country

country till I was at home, where I still feigned to have permission to remain. To carry on the deceit the better, I sent for all my neighbours, and invited them to come to my house. I took up my papers at night, and sent them off to Traquair. It was a peculiar stroke of Providence that I made the dispatch I did, for they soon suspected me; and, by a very favourable accident, one of them was overheard to say to the magistrates of Dumfries, that the next day they would insist upon seeing my leave from government. This was bruited about; and when I was told of it, I expressed my surprise that they had been so backward in coming to pay their respects; but, said I, better late than never: be sure to tell them that they shall be welcome whenever they choose to come. This was after dinner; but I lost no time to put every thing in readiness, but with all possible secrecy, and the next morning, before day-break, set off again for London with the same attendants; and, as before, I put up at the small inns, and arrived safe once more.

On my arrival, the report was still fresh of my journey into Scotland, in defiance of their prohibition. A lady informed me that the King was extremely incensed at the news; that he had issued orders to have me arrested; adding, that I did whatever I pleased, in despite of all his designs; and that I had given him more anxiety and trouble than any woman in all Europe. For which reasons, I kept myself as closely concealed as possible till the heat of these rumours had abated. In the mean while, I took the opinion of a very famous lawyer, who was a man of the strictest probity.

He advised me to go off as soon as they had ceased searching for me. I followed his advice; and about a fortnight after, I escaped without any accident whatever.

The reason he alleged for his opinion was this, that although, in other circumstances, a wife cannot be prosecuted for saving her husband; yet in cases of high treason, according to the rigour of the law, the head of a wife is responsible for that of a husband; and as the King was so highly incensed, there could be no answering for the consequences; and he therefore intreated me to leave the kingdom.

The King's resentment was greatly augmented by the petition which I had presented, contrary to his express orders; but my Lord was very anxious that a petition might be presented, hoping that it would be at least serviceable to me. I was in my own mind convinced that it would answer no purpose; but, as I wished to please my Lord, I desired him to have it drawn up; and I undertook to make it come to the King's hand, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to avoid it. So the first day I heard that the King was to go to the drawing-room, I dressed myself in black, as if I had been in mourning, and sent for Mrs. Morgan (the same who accompanied me to the Tower) because, as I did not know his Majesty personally, I might have mistaken some other person for him. She staid by me, and told me when he was coming. I had also another lady with me; and we three remained in a room between the King's apartments and the drawing-room; so that he was obliged to go through it; and, as there were three windows in it, we sat in the middle

middle one, that I might have time enough to meet him before he could pass. I threw myself at his feet, and told him in French that I was the unfortunate Countess of Nithsdale, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of my person. But, perceiving that he wanted to go off without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue ribbons who attended his Majesty, took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment.

One of the gentlemen in waiting picked up the petition; and as I knew that it ought to have been given to the Lord of the Bed-Chamber, who was then in waiting, I wrote to him, and intreated him to do me the favour to read the petition which I had had the honour to present to his Majesty. Fortunately for me, it happened to be my Lord Dorset, with whom Mrs. Morgan was very intimate. Accordingly, she went into the drawing-room, and delivered him the letter; which he received very graciously. He could not read it then, as he was at cards with the Prince; but as soon as ever the game was over, he read it, and behaved, as I afterwards learned, with the warmest zeal for my interest; and was seconded by the Duke of Montrose, who had seen me in the anti-chamber, and

wanted to speak to me. But I made him a sign not to come near me, lest his acquaintance might thwart my designs. They read over the petition several times, but without any success; but it became the topic of their conversation the rest of the evening; and the harshness with which I had been treated soon spread abroad, not much to the honour of the King. Many people reflected, that they had themselves presented petitions to the late King, and that he had never rejected any, even from the most indigent objects; but that this behaviour to a person of my quality, was a strong instance of brutality.

These reflections, which circulated about, raised the King to the highest pitch of hatred and indignation against my person, as he has since allowed: For, when all the ladies whose husbands had been concerned in the affair, presented their petitions for dower, mine was presented among the rest; but the King said I was not entitled to the same privilege; and, in fact, I was excluded; and it was remarkable that he would never suffer my name to be mentioned. For these reasons, every body judged it prudent for me to leave the kingdom; for, so long as this hatred of the King subsisted, it was not probable that I could escape from falling into his hands. I accordingly went abroad.

This is the full narrative of what you desired, and of all the transactions which passed relative to this affair. Nobody living, besides yourself, could have obtained it from me; but the obligations I owe you, throw me under the necessity of refusing you nothing that lies in my power to do.

As this is for yourself alone, your
indulgence

indulgence will excuse all the faults which must occur in this long recital. The truth you may depend upon. Attend to that, and overlook all deficiencies.

My Lord desires you to be assured of his sincere friendship. — I am, with the strongest attachment, my dear sister,

yours most affectionately,

(Signed)

WINEFRED NITHSDALE.

Observations on the late Continuance of the Use of Torture in England. In a Letter from George Chalmers, Esq. F. R. and A. S. S. to John Totham, Esq.

From the XII. Volume of the Archæologia.

Office for Trade, Whitehall.

Dear Sir,

I presumed to think, that whatever had a tendency to trace the modes of our government, or to mark the improvement of our freedom, would not be deemed by you altogether unworthy of your learned curiosity. And I was thus induced to communicate to you a copy of a warrant of the privy council, as late as 1620, for using torture on a person who was suspected of treason; which, as a link connecting former practice with subsequent disuse, may be regarded as an instructive document.

The following is an Authentic Copy from the Record :

“ To the Lieutenant of the Tower of London.

“ Whereas Samuel Peacock was
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heretofore committed prisoner to the Marshalsea, and that now it is thought fit, upon vehement suspicion of high treason against his majesty's sacred person, to remove him thence, and to commit him to the Tower,—these shall be therefore to will and require you to repair to the prison of the Marshalsea, and there to receive from the keeper of that house the person of the said Samuel Peacock, and him safely to convey under your custody unto the Tower of London, where you are to keep him a close prisoner until further order. And whereas we have thought meet to nominate and appoint Sir Henry Montagu, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir Thomas Coventry, Knt. his Majesty's Solicitor General, and yourself, to examine the said Peacock, for the better discovery of the truth of this treason,—this shall be likewise to authorise you, or any two of you, whereof yourself to be one, to examine the said Peacock from time to time, and to put him, as there shall be cause, for the better manifestation of the truth, to the torture, either of the manacles or the rack; for which this shall be your warrant. And so, &c. The 19th of February, 1619.”

Allow me to subjoin a few observations. The Lieutenant of the Tower, who was thus entrusted, was Sir Allan Apsley; the Privy Counsellors, who directed that measure, and signed that warrant, were the Lord Chancellor Bacon, the Earl of Worcester, who was then Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Arundell, the Lord Carew, Lord Digby, Mr. Secretary Naunton, and Sir Edward Coke; who, after he had ceased to

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be Chief Justice, as a Privy Counsellor sometimes sanctioned practices, which he lived to condemn as a writer.

But the silence of the record does not allow us to suppose that the king was either present, or knew of this transaction.

When Sir Edward Coke published his second Institute, he gave it as his opinion, that torture was prohibited by the following words of the great Charter: "*Nullus liber homo aliquo modo destruatur nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terre.*" Nevertheless, I fear that if our criminal proceedings, from that great epoch to the accession of the Tudor family, were searched with malicious diligence, many instances of torture would be found, though Magna Charta was, meanwhile, confirmed by several statutes. During the reigns of the Tudors, torture was often used upon slight occasions. Lord Bacon relates of Queen Elizabeth, that when she could not be persuaded that a book was really written by the person whose name it bore, she said with great indignation, that she would have him racked, to produce his author. I replied, "Nay, Madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue his story, and I will undertake by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author." The rack was shewn to Guy Fawkes on his examination, as King James relates. Torture was used on Peacock in 1620, as the warrant before mentioned evinces. When Felton assassinated Buckingham in 1628, and the question was proposed for discovering his accom-

plices, the judges declared, that consistent with law, torture could not be used, as Rushworth has recorded.

Such was the former practice; and such the happy disuse of torture in England! Yet, in Scotland, the rack continued to terrify and debase the people for ages afterwards. Sir George Mackenzie has a whole chapter *Of Torture*; shewing that the privy council, or the supreme judges, could only use the rack; how those were punished who inflicted torture unjustly; and who were the persons that the law exempted: and he insists that all lawyers were of opinion, that even after sentence, criminals might be tortured, for knowing their accomplices. Yet, he shews incidentally, that though the practice of torture continued in Scotland till the Revolution, yet the privy council refused, in 1666, to order the Covenanters to be racked after condemnation; assigning as a reason, "*Nam post condemnationem, iudices sancti sunt officio.*" The learned Lord Stair confirms what Sir George Mackenzie had thus laid down before him.

It is very remarkable, that when the parliament of Scotland framed their claim of right, in April 1689, they only declared, that the using torture without evidence, or in ordinary crimes, is contrary to law. It requires no elaborate commentary to prove, that when there was evidence of extraordinary crimes, torture might still be lawfully used in Scotland subsequent to the Revolution. It was the union, and the salutary spirit which that happy measure brought with it, that freed Scotland from the danger and reproach of using torture in any case.

And

And it was the act of the British parliament which was passed, in 1708, *for improving the union of the two kingdoms*, that put an end to torture, by enacting, among other favourable regulations, that no person accused of any crime in Scotland shall be liable to torture.

Such are the observations which hastily occurred to me on perusing the before-recited warrant. If you should think that document and those observations would be acceptable to the Society of Antiquaries, you will be so good as to present them, in the manner most respectful to the members, and most agreeable to yourself. Allow me only to add, that I ever am, with sincere kindness,

Your most faithful
and obedient servant,
GEO. CHALMERS.

On the Offices of Thane and Abthane.

[From Vol. 1. of the *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*]

To the Right Hon. the Earl of Buchan.

My Lord, *Friars Carse.*

THE great deference I always pay to your Lordship's opinion concerning any thing relative to the constitution and antiquities of Scotland, has induced me to request your Lordship's opinion upon some remarks I have lately made on the title of Thane, in Scotland; and the authority that was annexed to that most ancient and honourable office, by our kings and the estates in the earlier ages of the Scottish monarchy.

A Thane, which signifies a servant, held (under the king) a jurisdiction over a district called a Thanedom, and afterwards a sheriffdom, or county. His office was

to give judgment in all civil and criminal cases within his thanedom.

Upon perusing the claims of hereditary jurisdictions in Scotland, when they were annexed to the crown, in 1748, I find, that in the year 1405, a precept was granted by Robert Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, for infesting Donald, Thane of Calder, in his thanedom, as heir at law to Andrew, Thane of Calder, his father, to whom he had previously been served heir, and returned in the heritable offices of sheriff (or Thane) of Nairn, and Constable of the castle of Nairn. He was accordingly seised of his lands and thanedom; and the seisin is produced as a voucher in the year 1748, to prove the fact. By this it appears, that the Thanes of Calder exercised a jurisdiction over the thanedom, and afterwards sheriffdom, of Nairn.

The title of Earl (an English dignity, derived from the Saxon word *Ehre*, signifying honour, and the monosyllable *all*) was introduced in Scotland, first, by Malcolm Canmore, and gained ground to the prejudice of the more ancient title of Thane. The title of Earl was often granted without any jurisdiction annexed to it: but the dignity of Thane, never. And this, perhaps, was the chief reason for its total disuse in the year 1476, when William, Thane of Calder, had his thanedom erected into a free barony and regality. He was the last Thane in Scotland; for the crown, to add to its influence, then abolished this dignity.

As to the very ancient title of Abthane, I am more at a loss to point out the nature and extent of
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its jurisdiction. I find Crinan, Abthane of Dull and the western isles. He married Beatrix the eldest daughter of Malcolm II. and was father to Duncan I. King of Scotland. He was considered as the most powerful man in the kingdom.

It is generally thought that he exercised the office of chief justiciar over the kingdom, perhaps in a similar manner as it was exercised by the family of Argyle, so late as the year 1628, when the Lord Lorn, heritable justiciar of all Scotland, did resign that high office to King Charles I.

In addition to the office of chief justiciar, Crinan, it is thought, was the king's steward over the crownlands in the western isles, as well as a large district on the main land of Scotland, called Dull.

What the extent was of the crown's patrimony, called Dull, I do not know; but, in the claim of Sir Robert Menzies for the lordship of Apin O'Dull, in 1748, the Lord Advocate, in his reply, says, that the lordship of Apin O'Dull was anciently a part of the patrimony of the crown. And it is natural to suppose that it was part of Crinan's Abthanedom.

The Lordship of Apin O'Dull, as claimed by Sir Robert Menzies, comprehends the lands situated in the parishes of Weem and Dull, and Logierait.

Crinan was the last Abthane in Scotland; for his son, Duncan I. appointed Bancho, Thane of Lochaber, as his Dapifer or Senechalus; and Malcolm Canmore appointed Walter to the office of Dapifer *domini Regis*, which became hereditary in his family, until they succeeded to the throne, in the person of Robert II.

I shall be extremely happy to receive your Lordship's sentiments on this subject, and am,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's
most obedient servant,
ROBERT RIDDEL.

An Account of a Combat between the Macphersons and the Davidsons.

From the same.

Colinton.

IN the year 1291, Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, and of part of the highlands, sent his sister's son, Angus Macintosh, chief of the Macintoshes, to inform Dugal Dall Macgillie Chattan, chief of the clan Chattan, that the Lord of the Isles intended to do him the honour of a visit.

It was then expected, that when this haughty Lord made a visit, the host was to make an offer of his own wife or daughter, according to the situation of his family, as a companion for the night to his visitor. Macgillie Chattan knew that this barbarous mark of respect would be rigorously insisted on; and having an only daughter, and desirous of shunning the disgraceful consequences of the visit, he contrived matters so, as to clap up a marriage betwixt this daughter and Angus Macintosh, who had come as messenger from his uncle, Lord of the Isles, to announce the intended visit. By this match the estate and chieftainship of the clan Chattan was transferred to Macintosh, who let the greatest part of his new acquired estate to the Camerons. But the Camerons had no sooner obtained possession, than they refused to pay the stipulated rent; and Macintosh, endeavouring to compel them, many severe conflicts

conflicts happened betwixt the two clans, of which the most remarkable was at Innernahavon, in Badenoch. About the year 1296, Macintosh having received advice that the Camerons were assembling their numerous clan and dependents, to drive off his cattle, soon collected a superior force, consisting of several smaller clans, under the general name of clan Chattan. But, when the adverse hosts were in view of one another, an unreasonable difference arose betwixt the Macpherfons and Davidfons. Though both agreed that Macintosh should command the whole, Macpherfon of Cluny, and Davidfon of Innernahavon, contested for the next post of honour, each affirming that he was the eldest branch of the clan Chattan. This dispute being referred to Macintosh, he gave his decision in favour of Davidfon; which Cluny resented so much, that he drew off his men, who stood by, idle spectators, while the Camerons overpowered the Macintoshes and Davidfons, a part of them being only saved by the coming on of night. Macintosh, taking advantage of the darkness, sent his own bard towards the camp of the Macpherfons; but by a circuitous route, as if he had come from the camp of the Camerons. There the bard, speaking as if in the person of a Cameron, often repeated the following sarcastic lines:

Tha luchd na faillleadh air an tom,
'San bolg-shuileachd donn na dhraip.
Cha ba bhur cairdeas ruinn a bhann,
Ach ba bhur lamhan a bhi tais.

The meaning of this is, the false party are on the hillock, and the man with big brown eyes (by this expression was marked out Macin-

toth) in distress: it was not out of friendship to us, but merely your own cowardice. This reproach nettled Macpherfon so much, that he called up his men, and, attacking the Camerons that same night, when he was least expected, made a great slaughter, pursued them far, and killed their chief, Charles Macalonair, at a hollow place in the hills; which, in memory of that, has been ever since known by the name of Coire Thearlaich, *i. e.* Charles's Caldron.

Though the above conflict terminated the dispute with the Camerons, there arose another betwixt the Macpherfons and Davidfons, that filled that part of the Highlands with numberless disorders for an hundred years; so that king Robert III. found it necessary to send the Earls of Crawford and Dunbar, two of the principal noblemen in Scotland, with an armed force, either to reconcile or subdue them. These two leaders, finding that to subdue them would be difficult, and to reconcile them impossible, brought them at last to submit to the only terms suited to their own distempered dispositions. These terms were, that their future superiority should be determined by the event of a combat of thirty of each side. They were to fight in presence of the king, with only their broad swords, on the North Inch of Perth.

When the appointed day arrived, the Macpherfons wanted one of their number. It was proposed to balance the difference by withdrawing one of the Davidfons; but these were so earnest for a share of the honour of the day, that none of them would consent to be the man left out. In this perplexity,

one

one Henry Wynd, a sword-cutter, commonly called An Gobhcrom, *i. e.* the Stooping Smith, offered to supply the place of the absent man for a French crown of gold, about seven shillings and sixpence sterling. This point being settled, the combat began with all the fury of enraged enemies; and Henry Wynd contributed much in making victory declare for the Macphersons; of which side, however, besides himself, there survived only ten, and these all grievously wounded. Of the Davidsons, twenty-nine were killed, and only one of them being unhurt, jumped into the Tay, swam across the river, and so escaped. Henry Wynd went home with the Macphersons, and was received as one of their clan. His descendants are called Sliochd a Ghobhcruim, *i. e.* the race of the Stooping Smith. Smith of Balhary's motto, *Caraid ann am Feum*, "a friend in time of need," seems to allude to this piece of history.

It seems proper here to take notice of two mistakes usual to those who relate the above incident. *First*, Henry Wynd is usually said to have been a saddler; but the appellation of the Stooping Smith, still continued to his posterity, sufficiently proves what was his occupation. *Secondly*, What is here said to have been done by the Davidsons, is commonly attributed to the Mackays. This last mistake proceeds from want of knowledge in the Gaelic language; the pronunciation of Mac Dhail, Davidson, very much resembling that of Mac Cai: but the clan Cai lived at a distance from the clan Chattan, and had no connection in what is above related.

Egyptian Antiquities in general.

From Niebuhr's Travels.

OF all countries in the known world, Egypt presents to curious observation the greatest number of monuments of remote antiquity. Various causes concur to give this country the advantage in this respect over every other part of the globe.

A potent, rich, and enlightened people, are naturally led to leave some marks of their existence, and some proofs of their prosperous condition that may descend to the latest posterity. We know, by the unanimous testimony of the ancients, that the Egyptians have been, from time immemorial, a polished and flourishing nation, before the comparatively recent period which we regard as the æra of ancient history. Three thousand years have elapsed since the memory of the authors of many of the celebrated works in Egypt was lost from among the traditions of priests. So ancient a people must undoubtedly have had a great share in the first population and the civilization of the south of Europe. All historians agree concerning the splendid exploits of the ancient Egyptians; and of such a people there cannot but remain some vestiges in the country which they inhabited.

It is true, that we have many decisive proofs of the existence of other nations in the remote ages of antiquity, as powerful as the Egyptians, and even more enlightened. Yet, of those nations, no vestige remains; their buildings, and other public works, are totally effaced. The country which they cultivated and embellished, is, at present,
a barren

a barren desert, destitute, of every remains that might mark its ancient state, and inhabited, or rather ravaged, by wandering barbarians.

Some physical cause must, therefore, have contributed to the preservation of the antiquities of Egypt. Such a cause is discernible in the nature of the climate and of the soil. The air is dry; rain seldom falls, and frost is unknown. Wet and cold, therefore, whose destructive agency wastes away, even the most solid works of human construction, have here no influence.

The soil of Egypt, too, might furnish the inhabitants with the most durable materials for building. Through Lower Egypt, and in the rising ground on its confines, calcareous stones are found, of a particular species, and full of small cavities. But of these, no building, except the pyramids, has been constructed. In Upper Egypt, again, where the surface is unequal and elevated, are granites of all colours, the hardest known. The ranges of mountains are composed of granite; and it was, therefore, easy for the Egyptians to employ in their buildings large masses of stone, of a nature the most proper to resist the influence of all unfriendly agency, whether physical or moral. The modern inhabitants of Egypt cannot break a column of granite, to employ it in building a cottage, as those of other countries break pillars of marble, for similar purposes.

Besides, the ancient Egyptians appear to have spared no expence or pains, in order to confer durability on the works which they reared. Their pieces of sculpture are all saliant, and all of a size and solidity, unusual in the buildings of the other nations of antiquity. The inscriptions, although on so hard a species of stone, are so deeply en-

graven, that the authors must certainly have intended them never to be effaced.

Upper Egypt being more elevated than the Lower, must have been first inhabited. It seems to have been the principal seat of the ancient Pharaohs, who were so powerful and magnificent; for in it are the most numerous and most superb monuments of antiquity to be found. Many travellers have described these interesting ruins. Pococke and Norden are the most eminent:—they have carried their researches farthest, and have given the most exact and particular descriptions.

I had not great opportunity of examining the curious antiquities of Egypt. All that I could bring away, were a few of the figures that were worshipped as idols, of bronze and burnt clay; and these do no credit either to the taste or the skill of the Egyptian artists. In general, it appears that this nation never excelled in the arts of design. Their paintings are remarkable for nothing but glaring colours; and their sculpture is equally faulty in the design and in the figures.

Of the Pyramids,

From the same.

OF the antiquities of Egypt, the most astonishing, are, doubtless, the Pyramids. The eye, if not pleased, is at least singularly struck by the appearance of those enormous masses.

The three principal pyramids are seen from Cairo; and every stranger who arrives in that capital, is tempted to approach and examine them. We have a number of descriptions of these pyramids already, and I shall not increase the number. I shall only mention some

E c 4 observations,

observations, in which I am obliged to differ from those who have gone before me.

The pyramids stand upon the first hill between Cairo and the western bank of the Nile. In going thither from Geesh, we pass a considerable arm of that river, over two beautiful bridges, consisting each of ten arches. Between the two bridges is a long dyke, of substantial mason-work. Several travellers represent the bridges as works of the antients. But the Arabic inscriptions upon them, prove them to have been built by the Mahometans.

The traveller is astonished, and feels his imagination in some measure expanded, when he arrives at the foot of those prodigious masses. It is from this circumstance, I suppose, that the pyramids are thought much higher, on a first view, than they actually are. My first care was to measure them. This I performed with all the exactness possible, amongst a crowd of jealous and troublesome Arabs, by whom I was surrounded; and found the largest and foremost pyramid to be four hundred and forty feet. I was surprised to find the result of my measurement so different from what many other travellers had given out to be the height of this pyramid; and was for some time uneasy about communicating it to the public. Upon my return to Europe, I found in the Description of the Plains of Heliopolis and Memphis, by Mr. Fourmont, the following passage: "Lord Charlemont, who arrived in Egypt while I was there, told me, that he had measured the height of the foremost pyramid, and assured me that it was only four hundred and forty-four feet." The agreement of this measurement

with my own, rendered me less doubtful of the correctness of my operations.

Those enormous masses are built of soft calcareous stone, of the same nature as the rock on which they stand. It is presumable, then, that all the polished stone has been taken from the same place, and wrought at small expence. The fondness for the marvellous, therefore, so common to travellers, has caused them to magnify the expence and labour which those mountains of hewn stone must have cost. With the help of natural philosophy and natural history, wonders of all kinds are reduced to their true value.

To enhance the high ideas which they hold out of the magnificence of those monuments, various writers represent the pyramids as having been once coated upon the outside with marble. But of this, I could not, by any pains, discover the slightest vestige. Beside the third pyramid, indeed, some pieces of granite are to be seen; but these are neither large nor numerous enough to afford reason for supposing, that even one pyramid could be covered with them. Those blocks might perhaps serve as ornaments, and might possibly bear the inscriptions, of which none are, at present, discernible on the pyramids.

I entered the foremost pyramid, and examined the large chamber, with the coffer in it, of which all travellers speak. But I did not see the second chamber, which was discovered immediately after our departure, by Mr Davidson, who had accompanied Mr Montague into Egypt. That chamber is thirty feet above the first, and as large, but not so lofty in the roof.

The famous Sphinx is sinking
still

still deeper in the sand; and a great part of the body is already buried. It seems to be formed out of the rock upon which the pyramid stands; a circumstance which confirms my conjecture concerning the place from which the stones for building the pyramids were carried. I found the chin of the Sphinx to measure ten feet six inches in height; and the whole length of the countenance nearly eighteen feet.

The memory of the authors of these stupendous and fantastic monuments has been lost some thousand years since: the pyramids are visibly decaying, and must perish in their turn; although, if we may judge of the future by the past, several thousand years must still elapse before their entire decay.

Of the Hieroglyphics.

From the same.

THE most judicious and enlightened authors of antiquity, a part of whom had travelled into Egypt, speak of this country in the most favourable manner. They celebrate the wisdom of its government, and the knowledge of its inhabitants. Such a country, which must afford so much information concerning the earliest revolutions of human society, may well engage our particular attention. It is natural for us to wish to know its history and institutions.

That we are at present ignorant of all these things, is not the fault of the Egyptians: no people on earth were ever more anxious than they to transmit to posterity the memory of their revolutions, and of their knowledge too, perhaps. No country in the world contains more inscriptions engraved upon stones

of the most durable nature, than Egypt. But this pains to inform us, has been rendered fruitless by the imperfection of the mode of writing this people employed. Instead of characters expressive of the different sounds in their language, or signs marking each a syllable, with a determinate idea affixed to it, such as the Chinese use; the ancient Egyptians made use of emblems, to mark ideas somehow referable to them, although by a very forced and distant analogy. This is what we, after the Greeks, call Hieroglyphic writing.

As the relation between allegorical figures and the ideas which they are employed to represent, cannot be at all times equally evident; and as they depend often upon the way of thinking peculiar to those by whom the signs were invented, it is plain, that writing of this sort cannot be legible without a key to explain the original signification of the characters. Some of the antients have, indeed, explained a few of those symbols; but we meet with an infinite number of which nothing can be known. The hieroglyphics, therefore, cannot be decyphered, because we want the proper key.

When the *Tablet of Isis* became first known in Europe, some learned men attempted to explain it by guessing from one figure the meaning of another; but their data were insufficient.

Yet, I would willingly hope that the key to those mysterious writings of the ancient Egyptians may yet be recovered. Various learned men have displayed astonishing sagacity and penetration in decyphering inscriptions in unknown languages, where there has been a considerable quantity of characters for them

to exercise their conjectures upon. Travellers should, therefore, collect as many as possible of the hieroglyphic characters, and publish them carefully, that we may thus be furnished with more points of comparison for those symbols, through a greater variety of combinations.

The study of the ancient language of Egypt would be equally necessary for this purpose. I suspect that the true nature of the hieroglyphics has hitherto been mistaken, while all the symbolical figures and characters have been supposed to be of the same sort. After copying a considerable number of hieroglyphics from obelisks, sarcophagi, urns, and mummies, I began to think I could perceive plainly that the large figures were emblems, of which the smaller might afford an explanation. I thought I could also distinguish, in these smaller hieroglyphics, some marks of alphabetic characters, or at least of a mixed species of writing, bearing some resemblance to the alphabetical. Wherefore, by the study of the language of the Pharaohs, we may come, with more ease, to decypher these small characters.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions are found chiefly in Upper Egypt, where all the monuments, and even the walls of those superb temples, which are still standing, are covered over with inscriptions of this sort. It is no less common upon the tombs of the mummies at Sakara. The embalmed bodies have covers full of hieroglyphics; and the sepulchral urns are marked with them. Such as have been painted upon wood and cloth are in as good a state of preservation as those which are engraven upon stone. It is very probable, that, in the caverns

of Sakara, if these were examined, there are other more precious antiquities.

To collect these scattered remains, would be a matter of great importance. But travellers seem to have neglected this care; or at least to have misemployed their pains upon it. They satisfy themselves with examining what can be seen for money, by paying an infidel guide; but they use no means to gain the friendship of the Arabs, who rule in Upper Egypt. Without the good-will of this jealous race, it must be impossible to make such researches with ease or security. The Arabs, if cured of their natural distrust, would assist, instead of obstructing the curious researches of strangers. But a person, who would gain their friendship, must stay longer in this country than is common for that tribe of travellers who go into Egypt, merely that they may say they have been there.

Other travellers are too indolent to take the trouble of copying these strange and fantastic characters. This task became irksome to me, too, at first; but, in a short time, the hieroglyphics became so familiar to me, that I could copy them with the same ease as alphabetic characters, and found the task an amusement instead of a toil.

But one cannot engage, particularly in such pursuits, without exposing one's self to a variety of inconveniences among an ignorant race, who regard Christians with distrust; and are always ready to insult or abuse them. But we often bring such troublesome accidents upon ourselves, by neglecting to acquire a sufficient knowledge of the manners and language of the country.

I my-

I myself often met with such inconveniences in copying hieroglyphics at Cairo, where the people are more mischievous in their dispositions than in the country. Going to make a draft, at one time, of a piece of curiosity that struck me, I carried with me a Mullah for protection. The street in which it stood was very much frequented; and a crowd of people drew round us; but, without offering any insult, only, admired my European dexterity in writing with a pencil without ink. A faradgi, however, one of a body of soldiery, somewhat of the character of hussars, in the service of the Beys, came up, and, to shew his consequence, attacked me with abusive language. The Mullah advised me to go away, before the fellow should proceed to strike me. I returned at another time; and, to secure myself against a similar interruption, gave a trifle to a faradgi, who was standing near. But another faradgi came up, and asked me who had given me permission to write there? He whom I had paid, answered, "my master." The other replied, that "his master forbade me." A third time I returned, and had nearly finished my copy, without disturbance, when the Imam of a mosque observed how I was employed, and made a noise that obliged me to retire. Thus should I have been disappointed of my purpose, if I had suffered myself to be discouraged, and not opposed coolness and patience to their teasing and mischievous arts.

At another time, when I was drawing sketches of some fragments that stood before the governor's house, I was suffered to proceed, without interruption, for several hours. But at last the governor

sent a faradgi to carry me before him. When I appeared, he asked my reason for copying the Pharaonic inscriptions. When I had explained it to him, he took my paper, and shewed it to the nobles about him, who laughed at the vain curiosity of the Europeans. The faradgi carried away my paper; and when I asked it from the governor, he told me that I might have it from the faradgi when I chose. This I understood to be a hint to give the fellow a present; and accordingly presented him with a crown; upon which I had my paper restored, and obtained leave to copy the rest of the inscription.

That which is the greatest curiosity, and contains the greatest number of hieroglyphics, is, a coffer of black granite, seven feet long, standing near the old castle, Kalla el Kabîch. It was this coffer that I had to come and go so often to, before I could get a drawing of it made. Pococke and Maillet mention it by the name of the Fountain of Treasures, or the Fountain of Lovers. A part of those inscriptions is covered over with plaster; for this fine piece of antiquity now serves as a cistern for water. This seems to have been the coffer of some person of distinction.

A similar coffer was dug up twenty years ago, and was conveyed to Cairo, to be placed in a mosque; but it was broken in bringing it ashore at Bulak. The fragments were placed around a tree before the governor's house; and while they were in that situation, I made a draught of them.

I was told that similar coffers stood at the entrance of several other mosques, containing, in like manner, hieroglyphic inscriptions:

but,

but, not being permitted to approach near enough to those mosques, I could learn nothing positive about them.

I copied the inscriptions from a broken obelisk, and from some urns of white alabaster, of which Norden has given representations. The French consul permitted me to make a drawing of a very interesting piece of antiquity at his house. It was the wooden lid of a coffin that had contained a mummy, and was covered all over with hieroglyphics, and with other characters that had some appearance of being alphabetical. But as Cairo was not the

place in which such inscriptions were to be found in the greatest abundance, I could not copy so many of them as I should have wished to do.

To facilitate the explanation of the hieroglyphics, I have made out a table of such as occur most frequently in all inscriptions. It may be farther remarked, that certain figures or characters occur oftener upon the obelisks; and others, again, upon the fragments of tombs. This fact may be of some use in helping to an understanding of the meaning which they were intended to convey.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Thoughts on Physic and Physicians.

From the European Magazine.

Dum tentat pulsum venæ, dum stercora
versat,
Tallitur & fallit: sed non discriminis æqua
Conditio. Ille miser moritur (causamque
canendi
calvis præbet, caldisque cucullis
Hic alius, contra, sceleris mercede re-
cepta,
Causator superos, & satis imputat ipsis
(Si quis obit) lætusque implet multo ære
crumenam.
Zodiac. Vit. à Palingenio.

ANY young physician who with-
es to come into practice very
speedily, should always set out with
a new theory. If he could attempt
to prove that the blood does not
circulate, he would be most cer-
tainly a made man. He should
make, too, some wonderful disco-
very in some little article of diet;
for instance, he should attack the
wholesomeness of salt, of bread, or
of the inside of a sirloin of beef in
preference to the outside. He
should attempt something singular
in his manner; he may be either
very brutal or very polished, as he
pleases. Ratcliffe told Mead one
day, on the latter's starting for

practice, "There are two ways,
my boy, for a physician to treat his
patients; either to bully or to ca-
jole them: I have taken the first,
and done very well, as you see;
you may take the latter, and per-
haps do as well."

Skill in pursuits not very conso-
nant to medical ones, now and then,
has a great effect in procuring prac-
tice; it has been found to have
been of great use to affect fox-
hunting, boxing, &c. Singularity*
is what affects the general run of
mankind with wonder; and from
wonder to admiration the transition
is obvious. A physician too should
never affect ignorance of the cause
of any complaint; he should even
place it in the pancreas, or the pin-
eal gland, if he has no other place
ready for it. He must always be
ready with an answer to every
question that a lady puts to him;
the odds are, that she will be sat-
isfied with it; he must not care whe-
ther there be or be not a possible
solution of it. I remember hear-
ing a lady ask her apothecary, from
what substance castor oil (the oleum
palmæ Christi) was made; he, un-
embarrassed, said, it was made from
the beaver.—I did not expose his

* Dr. Taylor being consulted on the complaint of an infant who had a schir-
rous liver, forbade the use of potatoes, which he pronounced was a species of the
deadly nightshade. The sickly infant is become a stout man, and, in spite of the
Doctor, has been as great an eater of potatoes as any Irish giant.

ignorance,

ignorance, but desired his partner to advise him to be more cautious another time. A lady was one day very anxious to know how long she should be ill.—“Madam,” replied the physician, “that depends on the duration of the disease.”—“Much obliged to you, Doctor, for your information,” was the lady’s wise answer.

A physician should never neglect to take his fee; it is astonishing how the *aurum solidum* quickens his faculties, and sets them to work with double effect. A celebrated physician at Bath, lately deceased, upon not finding himself better for his own prescriptions, said laughingly to a friend one day, “Come, I think I will give myself a fee; I am sure I shall do better then.” The Doctor put his hand with great solemnity into his pocket, and passed over a guinea to the other hand; this had the desired effect. The same physician, on receiving the last fee he took in this world, a few days before he died, said, holding it up with streaming eyes to a friend that was near him, “*Ultimus Romanorum*, my good friend.”—The late Dr. Ward used to call physicians “the Scavengers of the Human Race;” and so indeed they are, when they condescend to visit a dram-drinking woman, or a crapulous man, with the apparent attention with which they would visit a person in a pleurisy or a putrid fever. A late physician of Bath (who was a fine gentleman, as well as a good scholar and eminent physician) when sent for to a patient who indulged himself in strong drink, used to enquire of what particular liquor he was fond, and to make him drink it well diluted with water, after he had given him

a pretty strong vomit. This, of course, rather indisposed the patient against his beloved potation for some time. Dr. Ratchiffe, who indulged himself not unfrequently with a bottle or two of claret, was once called unto a lady who had the same propensity, but who was drunk. The Doctor, who was in the same situation himself, but who little dreamt of the lady’s condition, approached the bed-side, and finding himself unable to feel her pulse, stammered out (speaking of himself) “Devilish drunk, indeed!” The lady’s maid, who was present, thinking the Doctor had said this of her lady, whispered him, “Indeed, Sir, you have hit upon my mistress’s disorder; she is apt now and then to take a little too much wine.” The Doctor now had his cue, prescribed as well as he could to her particular complaint some emetic tartar and warm water, and bustled out of the room as well as he could.

A very singular story is told of this celebrated practitioner. He used to go to some coffee-house in the city, where he gave his advice gratis, or for half a fee. A celebrated miser who lived near London, to save his money, presented himself before him in a shabby coat, and with a very fine nose-gay, which he gave to the Doctor (who was fond of flowers) telling him that he was a poor man, and had nothing better to give him for his advice. The sagacious physician who knew him through all his disguise, asked him if he did not live near Chelsea, and if he had ever seen Mr. — (the disguised gentleman’s real name). On his telling him that he knew him very well, “Well then,” added he, “when you see him, give my compliments

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS. 447

to him, and tell him that Old Nick will have him ere three weeks are past."—The person went home, and, as the story goes, died within the time, to complete his friend's prediction.

To some court-lady, who was much oppressed with a nervous complaint, then called Vapours, who asked him what she was to do to get rid of them, he said, "Your Grace must either eat and drink less, take exercise, take physic, or be sick."

It has always been found of great use to physicians to be of some sect in religion: he is in general pretty sure of those that belong to it, and to some other patients, out of curiosity. He should be a Catholic, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, a Sandemanian, a Swedenborgian, or a Jew (in this country, indeed, he may pick and chuse). The *thee* and *thou* of the late Dr. John Fothergill, of London, was supposed to be worth two thousand pounds a year to him at least. A physician (if he happens to be sent for by a nobleman or a lady of quality) should never cease telling his poor plebeian patients of his being called in by a person of that rank. He should tell his wondering patients of the compliments that were paid him on his skill by this very discerning person, and should mix up some anecdotes of the great family for his patients with as much nicety as he would compose a box of pills. It has oftentimes been of use to a physician to give good dinners and suppers, and card-parties and balls at his house; the allure of good cheer and amusement is very often as good a bait for a patient as a May-fly is for a trout. If, however, he wants immediate practice, and does not very much care whe-

ther it is continued or not, a pamphlet attacking some ancient axiom in medicine or in diet, or the mere dressing up old doctrines in a new manner and in a new stile, will do extremely well.

A very celebrated *brochure* upon health, written some years ago, brought into its author's pocket, in three months only, one thousand guineas—the Doctor, however, made a full stop there;—and an excellent physician at Bath (then the father of the waters) said, that in consequence of the excessive temperance into which many foolish persons had too suddenly thrown themselves from the contrary extreme, the salutary springs (over which he presided) were, in the year in which this pamphlet came out, more frequented than he had ever known them. So wonderfully sagacious is crude and inexperienced theory, and so fatal at last to the Doctor as well as his patient.

With Eton and Westminster, and classical persons, the idea of a physician's being a good scholar, has great weight: as if the putting together with difficulty in a particular language, what is perhaps not worth telling in any, displayed much strength of thinking or acuteness of mind. This is, however, thought of so much consequence by some physicians in England, long after they have quitted their classical pursuits, that they pay some indigent scholar to put their thoughts into elegant Latin for them.

So much for the arts, not the art of Physic!—that art, so complicated, so difficult, so useful and honourable, when practised with skill and integrity, that the rant of Pliny respecting it is hardly hyperbolic, "*Disprimum inventores suos agnoverit medicina*"

dicina cœloque dicavit;" — and, according to Rhafus (to whom, as a professor, some allowance might be made when he speaks of his art) "*Medicina tota est Dei, Et est res venerabilissima.*"

I may, perhaps, in another letter, have a touch at the patients.

CARBONARIUS.

Friendly Hints relative to the Modern Practice of Physicians.

By an Old Patient.

From the same.

— *Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui.* VIRGIL.

Notre cupidité fait toute leur science.

VOLTAIRE.

MEN are never such dupes as when they are ill, or fancy themselves so. Physicians need not possess talents, or have much knowledge of their profession; it is sufficient if they have skill and address to captivate the understanding of a few fashionable but weak women, or if they write in quantity to satisfy the avarice of apothecaries.

Ladies of the *bon ton* must have tonish physicians; and tonish physicians are useful to give advice in more things than one.

Women, especially old ones, are quacks. These must be humoured; by no means contradicted, at least abruptly. Partly by gratifying their vanity, partly by surprising them, by divulging some nostrums as wonderful arcana, those physicians who have the most knowledge of the world, and the best talents for pleasing, will ingratiate themselves into the good opinion of females, when men of profound learning, but awkward manners, will be neglected. On these occasions the

nurses are entitled to their share of adulation. The fact is, that a case that requires great penetration, does not occur once in a hundred instances; and Nature being left to herself, a physician often acquires credit where no credit is due.

The recommendation of a brother physician is the most suspicious thing imaginable, either for a consultation, or to prescribe in the absence of the family-doctor. In the first instance, it is meant only as a cloke or a pretence to enlarge fees. In the second, a man recommends one who in his turn will recommend him; in like manner as the master of the Black Bear in one town will recommend the publican of the White Bear in another. If the apothecary speaks well of a doctor, you may be sure that Galen will not be sparing to commend the drugs, and the great care of the apothecary in preparing them.

A London patient is sent to Tunbridge, Bath, or Bristol; but not till the whole Pharmacopœia has been exhausted. His physician, at taking leave, gives him the address of a doctor who is in league with another; and supposing him to have great skill in the metropolis, he has more than common at these places—men who return the compliment, when they have an opportunity. On such occasions, the question may be too direct: "To whom, Doctor, do you trust yourself?" or, "To whose care do you commit your wife and children, when you wish to preserve them?"

If money does not pass by way of gratuity (and God knows whether such largesses have not been made to men extremely avaricious) the London Esculapius may be gratified in various ways; and if he is so elevated

vated as to be superior to the recommendation of the poor country-doctor, baskets of game, and the choicest fish at Christmas-time, are not unacceptable presents to the president or censor of the college. For the faculty are no enemies to high living; and repletion, so dangerous to their patients, is rendered harmless by their preventatives.

Nationality stands a young licentiate in great stead. A Scotchman says of Sawney, "that he is the bravest chiel that e'er studied physic at St. Andrew's or Aberdeen;" an Irishman prefers Paddy bred at Dublin or St. Omer's; whilst the simpleton of an Englishman is gulled by both; and, to shew his impartiality, swallows every quack medicine that is advertised; at one time tries Animal Magnetism, at another, with the same alacrity, descends into the earth-bath, and ascends the celestial-bed. A seaman thinks the navy the best school for physic; the soldier an army-hospital. A Scotch diploma, conferred for a few pounds on a navy or army-surgeon, is more than equivalent to the most laborious and learned education at Oxford or Cambridge, and to all the knowledge that can be obtained in chemistry, in botany, in anatomy, in the *Materia Medica*, both ancient and modern.

The greatest *duperie* is, that the less time and attention a noted physician can give to your case, the more he is to be paid. The physician in the greatest practice in London, who tires three pair of horses in a day, and who (besides diurnal visits to great folks who pay him annual pensions to make it his interest to prolong their miserable existence) sees sixty occasional pa-

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tients in a day, and receives from many double fees, to tempt him to come again, and neglect those who pay him less—I say, such a luminary can allow only five minutes in his rapid course, whilst another, not arrived at a chariot, can bestow a great part of the day or night to watch your distemper, and give you some small chance for your life, supposing drugs can save you.

Do what you can, the glorious uncertainty of physic is a proverb, and will continue to baffle to the end of time the most expert practitioners. The boldest, therefore, are the most fortunate; at least the dead (as in the case of murder) can tell no tales.

In many respects, a physician must make his court not by silence, but by prying and telling all he knows. A small part of his fee is estimated a full consideration for his advice, especially in chronic disorders; the greatest part is for the news he picks up and dispenses, whether public or private. The spirits of a hypochondriac lady are wonderfully revived by a dose of scandal well applied. As for the apothecary, whose drugs bear no proportion to the amount of his bill, he likewise is paid for his tittle-tattle.

A stale trick ought to be mentioned;—that of a young physician being called out of company by a servant or porter, as if he was sent for in a great hurry by a patient in the agony of death; when nobody has required his assistance, nor is likely to do so.

It remains that I offer an opinion concerning the prognostics of a physician's skill. I say then, if you employ a man that shews common sense and penetration in other mat-

ters,

ters, you have a chance of his pos-
sessing a reasonable share of the
learning to be acquired of the va-
rious seats of disorders, and the hid-
den powers of medicine.

"Acute diseases (said Dr. Bathurst to Dr. Johnson) cure themselves; chronic diseases are never cured."

"Why, Doctor (said Dr. Johnson one day to Dr. Laurence) you physicians seem merely to be called in to see your patients die, you do so little."

"Why, Doctor (replied that learned and honest physician) a physician who has done little for his patient, passes in general a better night than when he has done much, however it may be with the sick person."

"*Arts conjecturalis experimentis nitens*," says Celsus of the medical art; and art indeed it is too often, and not a science. "*Fiat experimentum in corpore vili*," said one French physician to another, when poor Passerot, the celebrated French scholar, was brought into the hospital of La Charité; "*Corpus non vile est, Domini Doctissimi*" (replied the patient, to the astonishment of the two sons of *Æsculapius*) *pro quo Christus ipso non de dignatus est mori*."

Dr. Moore used to say, that "at least two-thirds of a physician's fees were for prescribing to imaginary complaints."—Among several instances of this nature, he mentions one of a clothier, who, after long drinking the Bath waters, took it into his head to try the Bristol hot-wells. Previous, however, to his setting off, he requested his physician to favour him with a letter, stating his case to any brother Gallen. This done, the patient got into a chaise and started.

After proceeding about half way, he felt an itch to pry into the contents of the letter, when the following words presented themselves: "Dear Sir, The bearer is a fat Wiltshire clothier; make the most of him." It is unnecessary to add, that his cure was from that moment effected, as he ordered the chaise to return, and immediately proceeded home.

It has been said, that of all men of letters who attach themselves to any profession, none so willingly quit their professional studies to enter on other subjects as physicians. Why physicians write so little on their own art, is a question not easily to be resolved, unless we suppose that, as they are better acquainted with it than other persons, they are the best able to judge of its futility.

CARBONARIUS.

Detraction: a Vision.

From Cotton's Pieces, in Prose and Verse.

SUPERIOR excellence is the general mark for calumny; and envy is usually led to asperse what it cannot imitate. A little mind is scandalized at the pre-eminence of its neighbour, and endeavours to depreciate the virtues which it cannot attain to. Thus the distempered eye is impatient of prevailing brightness; and, by attempting to observe the lucid object, inadvertently betrays its own weakness. Pride is the fruitful parent of detraction; and it is the unjust estimate which men set upon themselves, that generates in their minds this ridiculous contempt of greater worth. Persons of this unhappy complexion regard

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regard all praises conferred upon another as derogatory from their own value. The arrows of the backbiter are generally shot in the night; and the most unspotted innocence is the game of this infernal destroyer. The heads of his darts are imbued in poison; and it too frequently happens, that a small wound proves mortal to the injured. But to drop for the present these figurative expressions, I would only observe, that it is pity a well-regulated society cannot more effectually curb this impious licentiousness of those sons of darkness. If a wretch, necessitated by the cries of a starving family to seek illegal supplies of bread, shall make an open attack on me, the law of the realm consigns such a pitiable malefactor to infamy and death. And shall this miserable object of compassion prove the victim of my resentment, while the backbiter may with impunity revel in the excesses of his iniquity, and boast defiance to all laws? As this is a topic, however, which hath been descanted upon by a variety of pens, I shall endeavour to enliven it with the air of novelty, by throwing my further sentiments into the form of a vision.

I found myself, during the slumbers of the night, in a very extensive region, which was subject to the jurisdiction of a fury, named Destruction. The fields were wild, and carried not the least appearance of cultivation. The tops of the hills were covered with snow; and the whole country seemed to mourn the inclement severity of one eternal winter. Instead of the verdure of a pleasing herbage, there sprang up to sight hemlock, aconite, and other baneful plants. The woods were

the retreats of serpents; while on the boughs were perched the birds of night, brooding in most doleful silence.

In the middle of the plain was a bleak mountain, where I discovered a group of figures, which I presently made up to. The summit presented the fury of the place. There was a peculiar deformity attending her person. Her eyes were galled and inflamed; her visage was swollen and terrible, and from her mouth proceeded a two-edged sword. A blasted oak was the throne which she sat on; her food was the flesh of vipers, her drink gall and vinegar.

At a little distance from her, I observed Ignorance talking loud in his own applause; Pride strutting upon his tiptoes; Conceit practising at a mirror; and Envy, like a vulture, preying upon herself.

The multitudes who paid their addresses to this fury, were a composition of all nations and professions, of different characters, and various capacities. There was the mechanic, the tradesman, the scholar; but the most zealous votaries consisted principally of old maids, antiquated bachelors, discarded courtiers, and the like. Each strove to ingratiate himself with the fury, by sacrificing the most valuable of his friends; nor could proximity of blood move compassion, or plead exemption from being victims to her insatiable passion. Some addressed this infernal Moloch with the very fruits of their bodies, while others were triumphantly chanting forth the extent of her power, and expatiating on the numbers of her conquests. At this incident arose in my breast all the tender sentiments of hu-

manity that I had ever cultivated; and I began to blame my criminal curiosity, which had prompted me to ascend the mountain. But in a few minutes the whole scene was very agreeably reversed. For, towards the southern boundaries, I observed the clouds parting, the sky purpling, and the sun breaking forth in all its glory; when immediately there appeared marching towards us Good-nature, in all her pomp and splendor, arrayed like a sylvan nymph, and blooming with unstudied graces. She was of a fair and ruddy complexion, which received additional beauty from the frequent smiles that she threw into her countenance. On her right hand shone Good-sense, with much majesty and diffidence in her mien. She was an essential attendant on the young lady, who had never yet appeared to such advantage as when she was under her more immediate direction. On her left was Generosity, carrying a heart in her hand. The next that presented, was Modesty, with her eyes fixed on the ground, and her cheeks spread with roses. Then followed a train of beauties, who, by the unaffected charms of their persons, made me desirous of a nearer inspection. Upon a close approach, I discovered that they were a tribe of British ladies, who were always fond of appearing in the retinue of the goddess, from whose indulgent smiles they received an accessional lustre to their charms. I then turned my eyes towards the monsters I have above described; the principal of which turned pale, and fell down in a swoon from her throne. Pride shrunk into a shade; Envy

fell prostrate, and bit the ground; while Ignorance vanished like a morning-cloud before the rising sun. As the goddess drew near, the whole collection of fiends disappeared. The basilisk skulked into the glade, and an oak on which the fury was seated, budded forth afresh. Wherever the goddess walked, the flowers sprang up spontaneous at her feet. The trees, surprised with new-born life, displayed the enamelled blossom. The tender roe was seen bounding over the mountains, and the little lamb sporting on the hills. Instead of the briar and the thorn, there shot forth the myrtle, and every odoriferous shrub. The voice of the turtle was heard in the groves; and the dales resounded with the melodious harmony of the nightingale. In a word, the whole region confessed the happy influences of the Deity, and charmed in all the genial softness of the spring.

*Observations on the Passage from India, commonly called *Over Land.*

From Hewell's Journal.

THE public service, as well as the interest of many individuals, is materially concerned in the knowledge of what may be the best and most expeditious route between India and this country. I shall not waste the time of my readers by advancing arguments in support of a position so universally admitted as this is: I shall content myself with reminding them of a fact, too melancholy to have been entirely forgotten, and which alone is a suf-

* As this expression, though extremely incorrect, is warranted by general use, both in conversation and in writing, I presume that the reader will not require an apology for its having been adopted in this work.

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cient proof of the importance of a speedy conveyance to our settlements in the east.

At the conclusion of the late war, in January 1783, advices were sent to India of the cessation of hostilities, both round the Cape of Good Hope and over the great desert of Arabia; but through the delays to which conveyances by those routes are unavoidably subject, the dispatches were not received at Madras till the beginning of July. On the 13th and 25th days of the preceding month, six months after the date of the preliminary articles, above two thousand gallant men lost their lives in engagements between the French and British forces at Cuddalore, beside those who fell in the action between the two fleets about the same time. This unnecessary effusion of blood would have been prevented, if government, or the India Company had possessed such information on the subject of the route to India, as would have enabled them to have transmitted earlier advice to their officers of the important event of the peace.

I shall now proceed to the business of this paper, which is to point out, as concisely as possible, the superiority of the route by Constantinople over those by Aleppo and Cairo, which are considerably more expensive of time and money, without affording any greater security to the person of the traveller than that which I am about to recommend.

The most usual course of those who now come from India over

land, is by the great desert of Arabia, over which they pass with the caravans from Bussora to Aleppo and Latichea; at which latter place they embark for some port of Italy or France. To those who travel with much baggage, or who are unable to encounter fatigue, this route will certainly be found convenient, as a number of camels and horses may always be procured, proportionable to the quantity of baggage the traveller carries with him; but to those who are charged with public dispatches, or whose affairs require expedition and economy, this, perhaps, is the least suited of any. The times when caravans set out to cross the great desert are uncertain, and rarely occur above once or twice in a year; and, at the slow rate at which loaded camels travel, they seldom perform their journey under fifty days. If to this you add the tedious navigation of the Levant seas, in which northerly winds prevail three-fourths of the year, it will be pretty evident that this passage from India will engage the traveller for at least nine months.

Another mode of crossing the desert* is to hire a guard of forty or fifty men, with whom you set out without waiting for a caravan. This method appears to me the most ineligible of any; the great expence to which this mode of travelling must be subject, is too obvious to need any particular detail; neither is it necessary to dwell on the well-known risk of being attacked by the Arab plunderers, who in parties of two or three hundred infest the desert.

* The passage over the great desert is almost impracticable from the end of April till the end of August, on account of the parching heat of the climate; which few English constitutions are able to endure.

A third mode of crossing the desert is with four or five Arab guides. This, I must confess, appears to me preferable to the others, on account of the cheapness and quickness of the journey, which may be performed in this manner in twenty-two or twenty-three days; but it is incompatible with the carrying any large quantity of baggage.

The passage up the Red Sea, and over the little desert to Cairo, and from thence down the Mediterranean, has been lately recommended as more expeditious than the former. This, I believe, would be really the case, if the winds were favourable; but the fact is, that northerly winds prevail in those seas, at least ten months of the year, except in that part of the Red Sea which is within the Tropic; besides, the navigation of the Red Sea* is replete with danger and difficulty, which may eventually occasion a greater loss of time than the more slow, but more certain passage over the great desert. However, packets might be forwarded to India by this route with as much celerity, perhaps, as by any other; but if sent from India this way, must be liable to great and unavoidable delay.

The route I should recommend, in preference to the two already mentioned, would be up the Persian Gulph to Bussora, and from thence, by the Euphrates, in a boat as far as Hilla; then to Bagdad, and from this last place, with a Tatar or Courier, by Diarbekir to Constantinople. Instead of embarking here, I would proceed by land through

Vienna to Ostend, so as to be independent of all the contingencies to which the navigation of the Mediterranean is liable. The whole of the passage from India might thus be performed in a much shorter time than usual; and packets dispatched this route to India might reach Bombay in sixty-two days, provided the traveller can bear fatigue, will content himself with such baggage only as is essentially requisite, and submit, for a short time, to the Turkish customs and manner of living. This, I must confess, would not be agreeable to an unpractised person, and, I should imagine, would not be attempted without very powerful inducements. The advantages of this route are numerous; the traveller, at a small expence, is provided with provisions, and suffers no delay in waiting till a caravan can be formed, or escorts collected. If he travels unincumbered with any other baggage beside his mere necessities, he avoids being detained on the road by custom-house officers; and offers no temptation to robbers, who in this country are seldom guilty of violence for a small booty. The face of the country from Bussora to Constantinople is greatly diversified, and presents the curious traveller with a variety of productions, customs, climates, and romantic prospects, which, by engaging the mind, beguile the length of the journey; it also abounds in the necessities of life, and in that essential article, water, the want of which has been sometimes so painfully experienced by the caravans of the desert.

* I am assured by persons of great naval experience, that vessels are sometimes four or five months working up to Suez.

From Constantinople it is preferable to continue the route by land through Vienna to Ostend, which is practicable in a short time, without any great inconvenience; and obviates the delay of waiting for a vessel, which is afterward to be exposed to the casualties of a voyage of no inconsiderable length.

From England you may reach Vienna in ten days, and Constantinople, I presume, in fifteen days more; from thence you may go to Bagdad by Diarbekir in twelve days, and from Bagdad to Bassora*, in a light boat along the Tigris, in four days. If a vessel is ready there to receive you, Bombay may be reached in twenty-one days.

This, I am persuaded, is perfectly practicable, if our ministers and residents at the different places make use of their influence in preventing unnecessary delays, and the person charged with the packet is rewarded according to the diligence he has shewn in the performance of the journey.

Obelisk of Sesostris at Rome.

From Wilcox's Roman Conversations.

IN their way to that part of the Campus Martius, the eldest of the young gentlemen conversed much with his noble friend, on the successive rise and fall of many seats of science, Thebes, Memphis, Alexandria, Babylon, Athens, and Rome: not without bestowing on his own country the fond, patriotic

wish, *Ecco perpetua!* Words worthy to be the dying speech of every good man.

He was repeating them with an emphatic warmth, when the coach stopped. Crito then led the company into a small back area, where they saw that famous obelisk, to which, as to an eternal monument, the great Sesostris, in some measure, consigned the history of his glory; inscribing upon it the extent of his empire, and the number of his tributary nations. They saw it overturned,—broken in several fragments,—half covered with filth and rubbish,—*omni inquinatum contumelia* †,—and proportionately in as low a state of ruin and humiliation as the glory of its founder was ever exalted; that proud and insolent man, who so arrogantly styled himself “king of kings,” and “lord of lords!”

Two of its sides are entirely maimed and obliterated by fire; injuries repeatedly received in the times of Cambyfes, Totilas, and Robert of Normandy. On the other two sides, and on its top, are several inscriptions and figures, which may justly be thought the most ancient sculptures now extant in the whole world ‡. They are of such excellent workmanship, as plainly to demonstrate that the Greek and Roman art of sculpture was founded on the primeval arts of Egypt. These figures and inscriptions have been, for many centuries past, utterly unintelligible.

* I imagine that the journey from Aleppo to Bassora over the desert, would be much sooner performed, if the traveller was to make directly for the Euphrates, and take boat to go down the river to Bassora.

† Phædr. I. ii. 21.

‡ The extreme antiquity of this obelisk will appear to the reader in a stronger light, when he recollects that it was hewn into its present shape before any of the pyramids were built. From Pliny's account this obelisk was the work of Sesostris; and according to all the Greek historians, Sesostris was prior in antiquity to Cheops, Cephres, or any of the builders of the pyramids.

The same fate attends all the other monuments in Upper Egypt; for their materials and fabric seem capable of an eternal duration; yet, owing to this defect, they have not been able to preserve with certainty even the names of most of their founders.—These were the reflections of the young nobleman.

Perhaps, added he, the time may come, when the Latin inscription which Augustus has engraved on the basis, which seems as fresh as if the sculptor had finished it but last week, will be found as unintelligible as these hieroglyphic characters.

While the young nobleman was expressing these sentiments, Crito stood for some time in silence, fixing his eyes on the vast ruins of the shaft of the obelisk.

"Is not this," said he, "a strong emblem of the vanity of the 'greatest human grandeur?' Such is become the monument and memorial of the proudest of kings. How awful is this spectacle! and how instructive, not only to the philosophic moralist, but even to the most mortified saint!

Oh, sons of earth! attempt ye still to rise
By mountains piled on mountains to the
skies?

Heav'n still, with laughter the vain toil
surveys,
And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

But what,—continued he, after another short but solemn pause,—what has become of the empire of Egypt itself?

Ruined, like this obelisk; and fallen, never to rise again.

An example for ever to mankind, that no excellence of situation (for Egypt was almost as well situated as any island) no degree of populousness or power, of wealth or science, is able to secure a nation from ruin and actual servitude, when-

ever the people, as was the case in the decline of Egypt, shall for the love of luxury quit the love of virtue; whenever its governors shall think wisdom to be consistent with self-interest and pride: thus despising God, and injuring mankind; instead of labouring with joy to be the benefactors of their fellow-creatures, and the dutiful servants of their great and common Creator.

Saying this, Crito looked with his usual kindness on his pupil, and repeated to him the following most poetic lines of the Hebrew prophet; leaving him to judge which of the great modern cities of the world might most suitably bear the application.

Art thou better than the populous city of
Ananion?

She that was seated among the waters?

The river of Egypt was her defence:

The sea was her dominion and riches.

Lybia and Africa were her helpers:

Æthiopia and Egypt were her infinite
strength;

Yet even she went into captivity;

Even she was destroyed utterly.

O my dear pupil, though I am no prophet, let me contemplate, in imagination, the probable history of future ages.

Two thousand years hence, some foreigners will perhaps be going up the Thames, in search of antiquities; in the same manner as Norden lately went up the Nile.

Sailing by the ruins of Greenwich they will look to Flammstead's hill; they will recollect the name of Newton, and of other ancient English astronomers: "How is this 'island degenerated!' they will perhaps add, "It has not at present 'one school of mathematics, or of 'natural philosophy, in any of its 'provinces!'"

Rowing then along the wide-spread

spread desolation of London*, they will pass through some arches of its broken bridges, standing in the middle of the stream. On the grassy shore, perhaps they will view, with admiration, the still remaining portico of St. Paul's, and perhaps one of the towers of Westminster Abbey. They will land there; and be shown the pool of water where Westminster Hall and the Parliament-Houses stood. They will inquire in vain for St. James's Palace. On searching for it in a wrong place, they will accidentally discover the portico of St. Martin's, then again in the Fields: they will find its columns half buried in the earth.

If they continue their voyage up the Thames, they will pass close by the once elegant situation of the brick-palace at Hampton-Court, without knowing it. Advanced some leagues farther, they will see from their boat the stately remains of Windsor castle: but perhaps they will not venture to land, for fear of falling into the hands of the wild inhabitants of the neighbouring woods. The same fear will damp their desire of venturing so far as to the much-celebrated, but little known, ruins of Oxford.

And do you really think, replied the eldest of the young gentlemen, that the English can ever grow as wild as the Arabs, or the Nubians?

It is by no means impossible, replied Crito: length of time and a variety of events may gradually produce such a change. The English nation, two thousand years hence, may very possibly be in the

same state of savage barbarism in which it is said to have been two thousand years ago:

Rurfus & in veterem fato revoluta figuram*.

On the prevailing Opinion of a Sexual Character in Women, with Strictures on Doctor Gregory's Legacy to his Daughters. From a Vindication of the Rights of Woman. By Mary Wollstonecraft.

TO speak ditrespectfully of love, is I know, high treason against sentiment and true feelings; but I wish to speak the simple language of truth, and rather to address the head than the heart. To endeavour to reason love out of the world, would be to out-Quixote Cervantes, and equally offend against common sense; but an endeavour to restrain this tumultuous passion, and to prove that it should not be allowed to dethrone superior powers, or to usurp the sceptre which the understanding should ever coolly wield, appears less wild.

Youth is the season for love in both sexes; but in those days of thoughtless enjoyment, provision should be made for the more important years of life, when reflection takes place of sensation. But Rousseau, and most of the male writers who have followed his steps, have warmly inculcated that the whole tendency of female education ought to be directed to one point,—to render them pleasing.

Let me reason with the supporters of this opinion who have any knowledge of human nature: do they imagine that marriage can eradicate

* Londinium,—*Copia negotiatorum, et comestuum, maximeque lectre.* See Tacit. Annal. lib. xiv c. 33:

* Virgil. Æn. vi. 449

the habitude of life? The woman who has only been taught to please, will soon find that her charms are oblique sun-beams, and that they cannot have much effect on her husband's heart when they are seen every day, when the summer is past and gone. Will she then have sufficient native energy to look into herself for comfort, and cultivate her dormant faculties? or, is it not more rational to expect that she will try to please other men; and, in the emotions raised by the expectation of new conquests, endeavour to forget the mortification her love or pride has received? When the husband ceases to be a lover—and the time will inevitably come, her desire of pleasing will then grow languid, or become a spring of bitterness: and love, perhaps, the most evanescent of all passions, gives place to jealousy or vanity.

I now speak of women who are restrained by principle or prejudice; such women, though they would shrink from an intrigue with real abhorrence, yet, nevertheless, wish to be convinced by the homage of gallantry that they are cruelly neglected by their husbands; or, days and weeks are spent in dreaming of the happiness enjoyed by congenial souls, till the health is undermined, and the spirits broken by discontent. How then can the great art of pleasing be such a necessary study? it is only useful to a mistress; the chaste wife and serious mother should only consider her power to please as the polish of her virtues; and the affection of her husband as one of the comforts that render her task less difficult, and her life happier.—But, whether she be loved or neglected, her first wish should be to make herself respectable, and not

to rely for all her happiness on a being subject to like infirmities with herself.

The amiable Dr. Gregory fell into a similar error. I respect his heart; but entirely disapprove of his celebrated Legacy to his Daughters.

He advises them to cultivate a fondness for dress, because a fondness for dress, he asserts, is natural to them. I am unable to comprehend what either he or Rousseau mean, when they frequently use this indefinite term. If they told us that in a pre-existent state the soul was fond of dress, and brought this inclination with it into a new body, I should listen to them with half a smile, as I often do when I hear a rant about innate elegance.—But if he only meant to say that the exercise of the faculties will produce this fondness,—I deny it: it is not natural; but arises, like false ambition in men, from a love of power.

Dr. Gregory goes much further: he actually recommends dissimulation, and advises an innocent girl to give the lie to her feelings, and not dance with spirit, when gaiety of heart would make her feet eloquent without making her gestures immodest. In the name of truth and common sense, why should not one woman acknowledge that she can take more exercise than another? or, in other words, that she has a sound constitution; and why, to damp innocent vivacity, is she darkly to be told that men will draw conclusions which she little thinks of?—Let the libertine draw what inference he pleases; but, I hope, that no sensible mother will restrain the natural frankness of youth by instilling such indecent cautions. Out of the abundance of the heart
the

the mouth speaketh; and a wiser than Solomon hath said, that the heart should be made clean, and not trivial ceremonies observed, which it is not very difficult to fulfil with scrupulous exactness when vice reigns in the heart.

Women ought to endeavour to purify their hearts; but can they do so when their uncultivated understandings make them entirely dependent on their senses for employment and amusement, when no noble pursuit sets them above the little vanities of the day, or enables them to curb the wild emotions that agitate a reed over which every passing breeze has power? To gain the affections of a virtuous man is affection necessary! Nature has given woman a weaker frame than man; but, to ensure her husband's affections, must a wife, who by the exercise of her mind and body whilst she was discharging the duties of a daughter, wife, and mother, has allowed her constitution to retain its natural strength, and her nerves a healthy tone,—is she, I say, to condescend to use art and feign a sickly delicacy, in order to secure her husband's affection? Weakness may excite tenderness, and gratify the arrogant pride of man; but the lordly caresses of a protector will not gratify a noble mind that pants for and deserves to be respected. Fondness is a poor substitute for friendship!

In a seraglio, I grant, that all these arts are necessary; the epicure must have his palate tickled, or he will sink into apathy; but have women so little ambition as to be satisfied with such a condition? Can they supinely dream life away in the lap of pleasure, or the languor of weariness, rather than assert

their claim to pursue reasonable pleasures, and render themselves conspicuous by practising the virtues which dignify mankind? Surely she has not an immortal soul who can loiter life away merely employed to adorn her person, that she may amuse the languid hours, and soften the cares of a fellow-creature who is willing to be enlivened by her smiles and tricks, when the serious business of life is over.

Besides, the woman who strengthens her body and exercises her mind, will, by managing her family and practising various virtues, become the friend, and not the humble dependant of her husband; and if she deserves his regard by possessing such substantial qualities, she will not find it necessary to conceal her affection, nor to pretend to an unnatural coldness of constitution to excite her husband's passions. In fact, if we revert to history, we shall find that the women who have distinguished themselves, have neither been the most beautiful nor the most gentle of their sex.

Nature, or, to speak with strict propriety, God has made all things right; but man has sought him out many inventions to mar the work. I now allude to that part of Dr. Gregory's treatise, where he advises a wife never to let her husband know the extent of her sensibility or affection. Voluptuous precaution! and as ineffectual as absurd.—Love, from its very nature, must be transitory. To seek for a secret that would render it constant, would be as wild a search as for the philosopher's stone, or the grand panacea: and the discovery would be equally useless, or rather pernicious to mankind. The most holy band of society is friendship. It has been well said,

said, by a shrewd satirist, "that rare as true love is, true friendship is still rarer."

This is an obvious truth, and the cause not lying deep, will not elude a slight glance of inquiry.

Love, the common passion, in which chance and sensation take place of choice and reason, is, in some degree, felt by the mass of mankind; for it is not necessary to speak, at present, of the emotions that rise above or sink below love. This passion, naturally increased by suspense and difficulties, draws the mind out of its accustomed state, and exalts the affections; but the security of marriage, allowing the fever of love to subside, a healthy temperature is thought insipid only by those who have not sufficient intellect to substitute the calm tenderness of friendship, the confidence of respect, instead of blind admiration, and the sensual emotions of fondness.

This is, must be, the course of nature:—friendship or indifference inevitably succeeds love. And this constitution seems perfectly to harmonize with the system of government which prevails in the moral world. Passions are spurs to action, and open the mind; but they sink into mere appetites, become a personal and momentary gratification when the object is gained, and the satisfied mind rests in enjoyment. That man who had some virtue whilst he was struggling for a crown, often becomes a voluptuous tyrant when it graces his brow; and when the lover is not lost in the husband, the dotard, a prey both to childish caprices and fond jealousies, neglects the serious duties of life; and the caresses which should excite confidence in his children are lavished

ed on the overgrown child, his wife.

In order to fulfil the duties of life, and to be able to pursue with vigour the various employments which form the moral character, a master and mistress of a family ought not to continue to love each other with passion. I mean to say, that they ought not to indulge those emotions which disturb the order of society, and engross the thoughts that should be otherwise employed. The mind that has never been engrossed by one object, wants vigour:—if it can long be so, it is weak.

A mistaken education, a narrow uncultivated mind, and many sexual prejudices, tend to make women more constant than men; but, for the present, I shall not touch on this branch of the subject. I will go still further, and advance without dreaming of a paradox, that an unhappy marriage is often very advantageous to a family, and that the neglected wife is, in general, the best mother:—and this would almost always be the consequence if the female mind was more enlarged: for, it seems to be the common dispensation of Providence, that what we gain in present enjoyment should be deducted from the treasure of life, experience; and that when we are gathering the flowers of the day and revelling in pleasure, the solid fruit of toil and wisdom should not be caught at the same time. The way lies before us, we must turn to the right or left; and he who will pass life away in bounding from one pleasure to another, must not complain if he neither acquires wisdom or respectability of character.

Supposing, for a moment, that the soul is not immortal, and that man was only created for the present

sent scene,—I think we should have reason to complain that love, infantine fondness, ever grew insipid and palled upon the sense. Let us eat, drink, and love, for to-morrow we die, would be, in fact, the language of reason, the morality of life; and who but a fool would part with a reality for a fleeting shadow? But, if awed by observing the improvable powers of the mind, we disdain to confine our wishes or thoughts to such a comparatively mean field of action, that only appears grand and important as it is connected with a boundless prospect and sublime hopes, what necessity is there for falsehood in conduct? and why must the sacred majesty of truth be violated to detain a deceitful good that saps the very foundation of virtue? Why must the female mind be tainted by coquetish arts to gratify the sensualist, and prevent love from subsiding into friendship, or compassionate tenderness, when there are not qualities on which friendship can be built? Let the honest heart shew itself, and Reason teach Passion to submit to necessity; or, let the dignified pursuit of virtue and knowledge raise the mind above those emotions which rather embitter than sweeten the cup of life, when they are not restrained within due bounds.

I do not mean to allude to the romantic passion, which is the concomitant of genius.—Who can clip its wing? But that grand passion not proportioned to the puny enjoyments of life, is only true to the sentiment, and feeds on itself. The passions which have been celebrated for their durability, have always been unfortunate: they have acquired strength by absence and constitutional melancholy.—The fancy has hovered round a form of beauty

dimly seen—but familiarity might have turned admiration into disgust, or, at least, into indifference, and allowed the imagination leisure to start fresh game. With perfect propriety, according to this view of things, does Rousseau make the mistress of his soul, Eloisa, love St. Preux, when life was fading before her; but this is no proof of the immortality of the passion.

Of the same complexion is Dr. Gregory's advice respecting delicacy of sentiment, which he advises a woman not to acquire, if she has determined to marry. This determination, however, perfectly consistent with his former advice, he calls *indelicate*, and earnestly persuades his daughters to conceal it, though it may govern their conduct: as if it were indelicate to have the common appetites of human nature.

Noble morality! and consistent with the cautious prudence of a little soul that cannot extend its views beyond the present minute division of existence. If all the faculties of woman's mind are only to be cultivated as they respect her dependence on man; if, when she obtains a husband she has arrived at her goal, and, meanly proud, is satisfied with such a paltry crown, let her grovel contentedly, scarcely raised by her employments above the animal kingdom; but, if she is struggling for the prize of her high calling, let her cultivate her understanding without stopping to consider what character the husband may have whom she is destined to marry. Let her only determine, without being too anxious about present happiness, to acquire the qualities that ennoble a rational being; and a rough inelegant husband may shock her taste without destroying her

her peace of mind. She will not model her soul to suit the frailties of her companion, but bear with them: his character may be a trial, but not an impediment to virtue.

If Dr. Gregory confined his remark to romantic expectations of constant love and congenial feelings, he should have recollected that experience will banish what advice can never make us cease to wish for, when the imagination is kept alive at the expence of reason.

I own, it frequently happens that women who have fostered a romantic unnatural delicacy of feeling, waste their lives in imagining how happy they should have been with a husband who could love them with a fervid increasing affection every day, and all day: but they might as well pine married as single—and would not be a jot more unhappy with a bad husband than longing for a good one. That a proper education, or, to speak with more precision, a well stored mind, would enable a woman to support a single life with dignity, I grant; but that she should avoid cultivating her taste, lest her husband should occasionally shock it, is quitting a substance for a shadow. To say the truth, I do not know of what use is an improved taste, if the individual is not rendered more independent of the casualties of life; if new sources of enjoyment, only dependent on the solitary operations of the mind, are not opened. People of taste, married or single, without distinction, will ever be disgusted by various things that touch not less observing minds. On this conclusion the argument must not be allowed to hinge; but, in the whole

sum of enjoyment, is taste to be denominated a blessing?

The question is, whether it procures most pain or pleasure? The answer will decide the propriety of Dr. Gregory's advice, and shew how absurd and tyrannic it is thus to lay down a system of slavery; or to attempt to educate moral beings by any other rules than those deduced from pure reason, which apply to the whole species.

Gentleness of manners, forbearance, and long-suffering, are such amiable God-like qualities, that in sublime poetic strains the Deity has been invested with them; and, perhaps, no representation of his goodness so strongly fastens on the human affections as those that represent him abundant in mercy and willing to pardon. Gentleness, considered in this point of view, bears on its front all the characteristics of grandeur, combined with the winning graces of condescension; but what a different subject it assumes when it is the submissive demeanour of dependence, the support of weakness that loves, because it wants protection; and is forbearing, because it must silently endure injuries; smiling under the lash at which it dare not snarl! Abject as this picture appears, it is the portrait of an accomplished woman, according to the received opinion of female excellence, separated by specious reasoners from human excellence. Or, they * kindly restore the sib, and make one moral being of a man and woman; not forgetting to give her all the 'submissive charms.'

How women are to exist in that state where there is neither marrying

* Vide Rousseau, and Swedenborg;

nor giving in marriage, we are not told. For though moralists have agreed that the tenor of life seems to prove that man is prepared by various circumstances for a future state, they constantly concur in advising *woman* only to provide for the present. Gentleness, docility, and a spaniel-like affection are, on this ground, consistently recommended as the cardinal virtues of the sex; and, disregarding the arbitrary economy of nature, one writer has declared that it is masculine for a woman to be melancholy. She was created to be the toy of man, his rattle; and it must jingle in his ears whenever, dismissing reason, he chooses to be amused.

To recommend gentleness, indeed, on a broad basis, is strictly philosophical. A frail being should labour to be gentle. But when forbearance confounds right and wrong, it ceases to be virtue; and, however convenient it may be found in a companion,—that companion will ever be considered as an inferior, and only inspire a vapid tenderness, which easily degenerates into contempt. Still, if advice could really make a being gentle, whose natural disposition admitted not of such a fine polish, something towards the advancement of order would be attained; but if, as might quickly be demonstrated, only affectation be produced by this indiscriminate counsel, which throws a stumbling-block in the way of gradual improvement, and true melioration of temper, the sex is not much benefited by sacrificing solid virtues to the attainment of superficial graces, though for a few years they may procure the individual's regal sway.

As a philosopher, I read with in-

dignation the plausible epithets which men use to soften their insults; and as a moralist, I ask what is meant by such heterogeneous associations, as fair defects, amiable weaknesses? &c. If there is but one criterion of morals, but one archetype for man, women appear to be suspended by destiny, according to the vulgar tale of Mahomet's coffin; they have neither the unerring instinct of brutes, nor allowed to fix the eye of reason on a perfect model. They were made to be loved, and must not aim at respect, lest they should be hunted out of society as masculine.

But to view the subject in another point of view. Do passive indolent women make the best wives? Confining our discussion to the present moment of existence, let us see how such weak creatures perform their part. Do the women who, by the attainment of a few superficial accomplishments, have strengthened the prevailing prejudice, merely contribute to the happiness of their husbands? Do they display their charms merely to amuse them? And have women, who have early imbibed notions of passive obedience, sufficient character to manage a family or educate children? So far from it, that, after surveying the history of woman, I cannot help agreeing with the severest satirist considering the sex as the weakest as well as the most oppressed half of the species. What does history disclose but marks of inferiority? and how few women have emancipated themselves from the galling yoke of sovereign man!—So few, that the exceptions remind me of an ingenious conjecture respecting Newton:—That he was probably a being of a superior order, accidentally

tally caged in a human body.—In the same style I have been led to imagine that the few extraordinary women who have rushed in eccentric directions out of the orbit prescribed to their sex, were male spirits, confined by mistake in a female frame. But if it be not philosophical to think of sex when the soul is mentioned, the inferiority must depend on the organs; or the heavenly fire, which is to ferment the clay, is not given in equal portions.

But avoiding, as I have hitherto done, any direct comparison of the two sexes collectively, or frankly acknowledging the inferiority of woman, according to the present appearance of things, I shall only insist that men have increased that inferiority till women are almost sunk below the standard of rational creatures. Let their faculties have room to unfold, and their virtues to gain strength, and then determine whether the whole sex must stand in the intellectual scale. Yet let it be remembered, that for a small number of distinguished women I do not ask a place.

It is difficult for us, purblind mortals, to say to what height human discoveries and improvements may arrive when the gloom of despotism subsides, which makes us stumble at every step; but, when morality shall be settled on a more solid basis, then, without being gifted with a prophetic spirit, I will venture to predict, that woman will be either the friend or slave of man. We shall not, as at present, doubt whether she is a moral agent, or the link which unites man with brutes.

But, should it then appear that, like the brutes, they were principally created for the use of man, he

will let them patiently bite the bridle, and not mock them with empty praise; or, should their rationality be proved, he will not impede their improvement merely to gratify his sensual appetites. He will not, with all the graces of rhetoric, advise them to submit implicitly their understanding to the guidance of man. He will not, when he treats of the education of women, assert that they ought never to have the free use of reason, nor would he recommend cunning and dissimulation to beings who are acquiring, in like manner as himself, the virtues of humanity.

Surely there can be but one rule of right, if morality has an eternal foundation; and whoever sacrifices virtue, strictly so called, to present convenience, or whose duty it is to act in such a manner, lives only for the passing day, and cannot be an accountable creature.

The poet then should have dropped his sneer when he says,

“If weak women go astray,

“Their stars are more in fault than they.”

For that they are bound by the adamantine chain of destiny is most certain, if it be proved that they are never to exercise their own reason, never to be independent, never to rise above opinion, or to feel the dignity of a rational will that only bows to God, and often forgets that the universe contains any being but itself and the model of perfection to which its ardent gaze is turned, to adore attributes that, softened into virtues, may be imitated in kind, although the degree overwhelms the enraptured mind.

If, I say, for I would not impress by declamation when Reason offers her sober light, if they are really capable of acting like rational creatures,

tures, let them not be treated like slaves, or like the brutes, who are dependant on the reason of man when they associate with him; but cultivate their minds, give them the salutary, sublime curb of principle, and let them attain conscious dignity by feeling themselves only dependent on God. Teach them, in common with man, to submit to necessity, instead of giving, to render them more pleasing, a sex to morals.

Further, should experience prove that they cannot attain the same degree of strength of mind, perseverance, and fortitude, let their virtues be the same in kind, though they may vainly struggle for the same degree; and the superiority of man will be equally clear, if not clearer; and the truth, as it is a simple principle, which admits of no modification, would be common to both. Nay, the order of society as it is at present regulated, would not be inverted; for woman would then only have the rank that reason assigned her, and arts could not be practised to bring the balance even, much less to turn it.

These may be termed Utopian dreams.—Thanks to that Being who impressed them on my soul, and gave me sufficient strength of mind to dare to exert my own reason, till, becoming dependent only on him for the support of my virtue, I view, with indignation, the mistaken notions that enslave my sex.

I love man as my fellow; but his sceptre, real or usurped, extends not to me, unless the reason of an individual demands my homage; and even then the submission is to reason, and not to man. In fact, the conduct of an accountable being must be regulated by the operations of its own reason; or on

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what foundation rests the throne of God?

It appears to me necessary to dwell on these obvious truths, because females have been insulted, as it were; and, while they have been stripped of the virtues that should clothe humanity, they have been decked with artificial graces that enable them to exercise a short-lived tyranny. Love, in their bosoms, taking place of every nobler passion, their sole ambition is to be fair, to raise emotion instead of inspiring respect; and this ignoble desire, like the servility in absolute monarchies, destroys all strength of character. Liberty is the mother of virtue; and if women are, by their very constitution, slaves, and not allowed to breathe the sharp invigorating air of freedom, they must ever languish like exotics, and be reckoned beautiful flaws in nature. Let it also be remembered, that they are the only flaw.

As to the argument respecting the subjection in which the sex has ever been held, it retorts on man. The many have always been enthralled by the few; and monsters, who scarcely have shewn any discernment of human excellence, have tyrannized over thousands of their fellow-creatures. Why have men of superior endowments submitted to such degradation? For, is it not universally acknowledged that kings, viewed collectively, have ever been inferior, in abilities and virtue, to the same number of men taken from the common mass of mankind? yet, have they not, and are they not still treated with a degree of reverence that is an insult to reason? China is not the only country where a living man

G g. has

has been a god. Men have submitted to superior strength, to enjoy with impunity the pleasure of the moment:—women have only done the same; and therefore till it is proved that the courtier, who servilely resigns the birthright of a man, is not a moral agent, it cannot be demonstrated that woman is essentially inferior to man, because she has always been hitherto subjugated.

Brutal force has hitherto governed the world; and that the science of politics is in its infancy, is evident from philosophers scrupling to give the knowledge most useful to man that determinate distinction.

I shall not pursue this argument any further than to establish an obvious inference, that as sound politics diffuse liberty, mankind, including woman, will become more wise and virtuous.

Madame de Warens.

From Young's Travels during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789.

CHAMBERY had objects to me very interesting. I was eager to view Charmettes, the road, the house of Madame de Warens, the vineyard, the garden, every thing, in a word, that had been described by the inimitable pencil of Rousseau. There was something so deliciously amiable in her character, in spite of her frailties—her constant gaiety and good-humour—her tenderness and humanity—her farming speculations—but, above all other circumstances, the love of Rousseau, have written her name amongst the few whose memories are connected with us by ties more easily felt than described. The house is situated about a mile from Chambery, fronting the rocky road

which leads to that city, and the wood of chesnuts in the valley. It is small, and much of the same size as we should suppose in England would be found on a farm of one hundred acres, without the least luxury or pretension; and the garden for shrubs and flowers is confined as well as unassuming. The scenery is pleasing, being so near a city; and yet, as he observes, quite sequestered. It could not but interest me; and I viewed it with a degree of emotion; even in the leafless melancholy of December it pleased. I wandered about some hills, which were assuredly the walks he has so agreeably described. I returned to Chambery with my heart full of Madame de Warens. We had with us a young physician, a Mons. Bernard, of Modanne en Maurienne, an agreeable man, connected with people at Chambery. With some trouble I procured the following certificate:

Extract from the Mortuary Register of the Parish Church of St. Peter de Lemens.

“The 30th of July 1762, was buried, in the burying-ground of Lemens, Dame Louisa Frances Eleanor de la Tour, widow of the Seigneur Baron de Warens, native of Vevay, in the canton of Berne, in Switzerland, who died yesterday at ten in the morning, like a good christian, and fortified with her last sacraments, aged about sixty-three years: She abjured the Protestant religion about thirty-six years past; since which time she lived in our religion. She finished her days in the suburb of Nesin, where she had lived for about eight years, in the house of M. Crepine.

(Signed) GAIME,
Rector of Lemens.

POETRY.

P O E T R Y.

ODE for His Majesty's Birth - Day, 1792. By H. J. Pye, Esq.

H EARD ye the blast, whose fullen roar
 Burst dreadful from the angry skies?
 Saw ye against the craggy shore
 The waves in wild contention rise?—
 On the high cliff's embattl'd brow
 The castle's ruin'd tow'rs lie low,
 And, as the corn-van's winnowing sail
 Drives the loose chaff before the gale,
 The winds in giddy eddies sweep
 The scatter'd navy o'er the deep.—
 Yet harmless as the halcyon breeze
 That gently lifts the summer seas,
 The tempest breaks on Albion's coast,
 Its strength controul'd, its fury lost;
 Down on the surge she looks with dauntless face,
 And sees it idly lash her white cliffs rocky base.
 Not more secure her rocky shores
 Defy the rude wind's stormy host;
 Not with more idle vengeance roars
 The billow 'gainst Britannia's coast,
 Than her firm breast, by virtue arm'd,
 By glory's purest radiance warm'd,
 Defies loud Discord's rising sound,
 And mocks the tumult raging round;
 For freedom o'er her favour'd head
 Her adamant shield has spread,
 And looking far, with brow serene,
 Beyond Europa's troubl'd scene,
 On distant climes her cares display
 Her guardian power's celestial ray:
 The sacred beam till sultry Afric see
 Burst Slavery's galling yoke, and boast her sons are free.
 Freedom on this congenial shore
 Her holy temple rear'd of yore.
 Tho' Faction to its solid base
 Has oft apply'd his iron mace;
 Tho' Tyranny's gigantic powers
 Oft try'd to shake its massy towers,
 Cemented firm with patriot blood,
 Thro' many an age, unhurt, the mighty frame has stood;

And still her sons, a mingled line,
 Warm in her hallow'd cause combine.—
 Offspring of those whose fearless ranks
 Bore from old Thames' high trophy'd banks
 Her vaunted charter, which unites
 A monarch's with a people's rights;
 Of those whose spears tremendous gleam
 By Caledonian Banna's stream,
 While stern Carnarvon's archers fly
 Before the van of Liberty;
 Offspring of those whose patriot host
 On fair Ierne's sister coast
 Saw Tyranny's expiring pride
 Whelm'd deep in Boyne's ensanguin'd tide;
 In dread array they stand round Britain's throne,
 And guard, at Freedom's call, a Monarch all her own.
 To welcome George's natal hour,
 No vain display of empty pow'r,
 In flattery steep'd no soothing lay
 Shall strains of adulation pay;
 But Commerce rolling deep and wide
 To Albion's shores her swelling tide,
 But Themis' olive-cinctur'd head,
 And white-rob'd Peace by Victory led,
 Shall fill his breast with virtuous pride,
 Shall give him pow'r to truth ally'd;
 Joys which alone a patriot King can prove—
 A nation's strength his pow'r, his pride a people's love.

PAPYRA. *From Darwin's Botanic Garden.*

PAPYRA*, thron'd upon the banks of Nile,
 Spread her smooth leaf, and wav'd her silver style.
 —The story'd pyramid, the laurel'd bust,
 The trophy'd arch had crumbled into dust;
 The sacred symbol and the epic song
 (Unknown the character, forgot the tongue)
 With each unconquer'd chief, or fainter maid,
 Sunk undistinguish'd in oblivion's shade.
 Sad o'er the scatter'd ruins Genius sigh'd,
 And infant arts but learn'd to lip and dy'd,
 Till to astonish'd realms Papyra taught
 To paint in mystic colours sound and thought.

With

* *Cyprus. Papyrus.* Three males, and one female. The leaf of this plant was first used for paper; whence the word Paper; and leaf, or folium, for a fold of a book. Afterwards the bark of a species of mulberry was used; whence *liber* signifies a book, and the bark of a tree. Before the invention of letters, mankind may

With Wisdom's voice to print the page sublime,
 And mark in adamant the steps of time.
 —Three favour'd youths her soft attention share,
 The fond disciples of the studious fair;
 Hear her sweet voice, the golden process prove;
 Gaze, as they learn; and, as they listen, love.
 The first from Alpha to Omega joins
 The letter'd tribes along the level lines;
 Weighs with nice ear the vowel, liquid, surd,
 And breaks in syllables the volant word.
 Then forms the next upon the martial'd plain
 In deep'ning ranks his dextrous cypher-train;
 And counts, as wheel the decimating bands,
 The dews of Egypt, or Arabia's sands.
 And then the third on four concordant lines
 Prints the lone crotchet, and the quaver joins;
 Marks the gay trill, the solemn pause inscribes,
 And parts with bars the undulating tribes.
 Pleas'd, round her cane-wove throne, th' applauding crowd
 Clapp'd their rude hands, their swarthy foreheads bow'd;
 With loud acclaim "a present God!" they cry'd:
 "A present God!" rebelling shores reply'd.—
 Then peal'd at intervals with mingled swell
 The echoing harp, shrill clarion, horn, and shell;
 While bards ecstatic, bending o'er the lyre,
 Struck deeper chords, and wing'd the song with fire.
 Then mark'd astronomers, with keener eyes,
 The moon's refulgent journey through the skies;
 Watch'd the swift comets, urge their blazing cars,
 And weigh'd the Sun with his revolving stars.

may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy, as the arts of one age or country generally died with their inventors. Whence arose the policy, which still continues in Hindostan, of obliging the son to practise the profession of his father. After the discovery of letters, the facts of astronomy and chemistry became recorded in written language, though the ancient hieroglyphic characters for the planets and metals continue in use at this day. The antiquity of the invention of music, of astronomical observations, and the manufacture of gold and iron, are recorded in Scripture.

About twenty letters, ten cyphers, and seven crotchets, represent by their numerous combinations all our ideas and sensations! the musical characters are probably arrived at their perfection, unless emphasis, and tone, and swell, could be expressed, as well as note and time. Charles the Twelfth, of Sweden, had a design to have introduced a numeration by squares, instead of by decimation; which might have served the purposes of philosophy better than the present mode, which is said to be of Arabic invention. The alphabet is yet in a very imperfect state; perhaps seventeen letters could express all the simple sounds in the European languages. In China they have not yet learned to divide their words into syllables, and are hence necessitated to employ many thousand characters: it is said above eighty thousand. It is to be wished, in this ingenious age, that the European nations would accord to reform our alphabet,

High rais'd the chymists their hermetic wands
 (And changing forms, obey'd their waving hands)
 Her treasur'd gold from earth's deep chambers tore,
 Or fus'd and harden'd her chalybeate ore.
 All with bent knee from fair Papyrus claim,
 Wove by her hands, the wreath of deathless fame.
 —Exulting Genius crown'd his darling child,
 The young arts clasp'd her knees, and Virtue smil'd.
 So now Delany forms her mimic bow'rs,
 Her paper foliage, and her silken flow'rs;
 Her virgin train the tender scissars ply,
 Vein the green leaf, the purple petal dye:
 Round wiry stems the flaxen tendril bends,
 Moss creeps below, and waxen fruit impends,
 Cold Winter views, amid his realms of snow,
 Delany's vegetable statues blow;
 Smooths his stern brow, delays his hoary wing,
 And eyes with wonder all the blooms of spring.

AIR-BALLOONS. *From the same.*

A GAIN the Goddess strikes the golden lyre,
 And tunes to wilder notes the warbling wire;
 With soft suspended step attention moves,
 And silence hovers o'er the list'ning groves;
 Orb within orb the charmed audience throng,
 And the green vault reverberates the song.
 "Breathe soft, ye gales!" the fair Carlina cries,
 "Bear on broad wings your votress to the skies.
 "How sweetly mutable yon orient hues,
 "As Morn's fair hand her op'ning roses strews;
 "How bright, when Iris blending many a ray,
 "Binds in embroider'd wreath the brow of day;
 "Soft, when the pendant moon with lustres pale
 "O'er heav'n's blue arch unfurls her milky veil;
 "While from the north long threads of silver light
 "Dart on swift shuttles o'er the tissued night!
 "Breathe soft, ye zephyrs! hear my fervent sighs,
 "Bear on broad wings your votress to the skies!" —
 —Plume over plume, in long divergent lines,
 On whale-bone ribs the fair mechanic joins;
 Inlays with eider-down the silken strings,
 And weaves in wide expanse Dædalian wings;
 Round her bold sons the waving pennons bands,
 And walks with angel-step upon the winds.
 So on the shoreless air th'intrepid Gaul
 Launch'd the vast concave of his buoyant ball.—

Journeying

Journeying high, the silken castle glides
 Bright as a meteor through the azure tides;
 O'er towns and tow'rs, and temples, wins its way,
 Or mounts sublime, and gilds the vault of day.
 Silent with upturn'd eyes, unbreathing crowds
 Pursue the floating wonder to the clouds;
 And, flush'd with transport, or benumb'd with fear,
 Watch, as it rises, the diminish'd sphere.
 —Now less and less—and now a speck is seen;—
 And now the fleeting rack obtrudes between!
 With bended knees, rais'd arms, and suppliant brow,
 To ev'ry shrine with mingl'd cries they vow.—
 "Save him, ye saints! who o'er the good preside;
 "Bear him, ye winds! ye stars benignant, guide!"
 —The calm philosopher in ether fails,
 Views broader stars, and breathes in purer gales;
 Sees, like a map, in many a waving line
 Round earth's blue plains her lucid waters shine;
 Sees at his feet the forked lightnings glow,
 And hears innocuous thunders roar below.
 —Rise, great Mongolian! urge thy vent'rous flight
 High o'er the moon's pale ice-reflected light;
 High o'er the pearly star, whose beamy horn
 Hangs in the east, gay harbinger of morn;
 Leave the red eye of Mars on rapid wing,
 Jove's silver guards, and Saturn's crystal ring;
 Leave the fair beams, which, issuing from afar,
 Play with new lustres round the Georgian star;
 Shun with strong oars the sun's attractive throne,
 The sparkling zodiac, and the milky zone;
 Where headlong comets, with increasing force,
 Thro' other systems, bend their blazing course,—
 For thee Cassiope her chair withdraws,
 For thee the Bear retracts his shaggy paws;
 High o'er the north thy golden orb shall roll,
 And blaze eternal round the wond'ring pole.
 So Argo, rising from the southern main,
 Lights with new stars the blue ethereal plain;
 With fav'ring beams the mariner protects,
 And the bold course, which first it steer'd, directs.

ELIZA. *From the same.*

SO stood Eliza on the wood-crown'd height,
 O'er Minden's plain, spectators of the fight;
 Sought with bold eye, amid the bloody strife,
 Her dearer self, the partner of her life;

G g 4

From

From hill to hill the rustling host pursu'd,
 And view'd his banner, or believ'd she view'd..
 Pleas'd with the distant roar, with quicker tread,
 Fast by his hand, one lisping boy she led;
 And one fair girl, amid the loud alarm,
 Slept on her kerchief, cradled by her arm;
 While round her brows bright beams of honour dart,
 And love's warm eddies circle round her heart.
 —Near and more near th'intrepid beauty prest,
 Saw through the driving smoke his dancing crest;
 Saw on his helm, her virgin-hands inwove.
 Bright stars of gold, and mystic knots of love;
 Heard th'exulting shout, "they run! they run!"
 "Great God!" she cry'd, "He's safe! the battle's won!"
 —A ball now hisses through the airy tides,
 (Some fury wing'd it, and some demon guides!)
 Parts the fine locks her graceful head that deck,
 Wounds her fair ear, and sinks into her neck;
 The red stream, issuing from her azure veins,
 Dyes her white veil, her iv'ry bosom stains.—
 —"Ah me!" she cry'd, and, sinking on the ground,
 Kiss'd her dear babes, regardless of the wound;
 "Oh, cease not yet to beat, thou vital urn!
 "Wait, gushing life, oh, wait my love's return!"
 "Hoarse barks the wolf, the vulture screams from far!"
 "The angel Pity: turns the walks of war!"
 "Oh, spare, ye war-hounds, spare their tender age!"
 "On me, on me," she cry'd, "exhaust your rage!"
 Then with weak arms her weeping babes caress,
 And, sighing, hid them in her blood-stain'd vest.
 From tent to tent th'impatient warrior flies,
 Fear in his heart, and frenzy in his eyes;
 Eliza's name along the camp he calls,
 Eliza echoes through the canvas walls;
 Quick through the murm'ring gloom his footsteps tread,
 O'er groaning heaps, the dying and the dead;
 Vault o'er the plain, and in the tangled wood,
 Lo! dead Eliza weltring in her blood!
 —Soon hears his list'ning son the welcome sounds,
 With open arms and sparkling eyes he bounds;
 "Speak low," he cries, and gives his little hand,
 "Eliza sleeps upon the dew-cold sand;
 "Poor weeping babe, with bloody fingers prest,
 "And try'd with pouting lips her milkless breast;
 "Alas! we both with cold and hunger quake—
 "Why do you weep?—Mamma will soon awake."
 —"She'll wake no more!" the hopeless mourner cry'd:
 Upturn'd his eyes, and clasp'd his hands, and sigh'd.

Stretch'd

Stretch'd on the ground a while entranc'd he lay,
 And press'd warm kisses on the lifeless clay;
 And then upsprung with wild convulsive start,
 And all the father kindled in his heart;
 "Oh, Heavens!" he cry'd, "my first rash vow forgive;
 "These bind to earth, for these I pray to live!"—
 Round his chill babes he wrapp'd his crimson vest,
 And clasp'd them sobbing to his aching breast.

ODE TO THE POPPY.

From Desford, a Novel, by Miss C. Smith.

NOT for the promise of the labour'd field,
 Not for the good the yellow harvests yield,
 I bend at Ceres' shrine;
 For, dull to humid eyes appear
 The golden glories of the year;
 Alas!—a melancholy worship's mine!
 I hail the goddess for her scarlet flow'r!
 Thou brilliant weed,
 That dost so far exceed
 The richest gifts gay Flora can bestow;
 Heedless I pass'd thee, in life's morning hour,
 (Thou comforter of woe)
 Till sorrow taught me to confess thy pow'r.
 In early days, when Fancy cheats,
 A various wreath I wove,
 Of laughing spring's luxuriant sweets;
 To deck ungrateful love:
 The rose or thorn my numbers crown'd,
 As Venus smil'd, or Venus frown'd;
 But Love, and Joy, and all their train, are flown;
 E'en languid Hope no more is mine,
 And I will sing of thee alone;
 Unless, perchance, the attributes of grief,
 The cypress-bud and willow-leaf
 Their pale funereal foliage blend with thine.
 Hail, lovely blossom!—thou canst ease
 The wretched victims of disease;
 Canst close those weary eyes in gentle sleep,
 Which never open but to weep!
 For, oh! thy potent charm
 Can agonizing pain disarm;
 Expel imperious mem'ry from her seat,
 And bid her throbbing heart forget to beat.

Soul.

Soul-soothing plant!—that can such blessings give;
 By thee the mourner bears to live!
 By thee the hopeless die!
 Oh! ever “friendly to despair,”
 Might sorrow’s palid vot’ry dare,
 Without a crime, that remedy implore,
 Which bids the spirit from its bondage fly,
 I’d court thy palliative aid no more;
 No more I’d sue that thou shouldst spread
 Thy spell around my aching head,
 But would conjure thee to impart
 Thy balsam for a broken heart;
 And by thy soft Lethæan pow’r,
 (Inestimable flow’r)
 Burst these terrestrial bonds, and other regions try.

PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE TO COLUMBUS,
 OR A WORLD DISCOVERED: *An Historical Play.*

PROLOGUE, written by W. T. Fitzgerald, Esq. Spoken by Mr. Holman.

WHEN fam’d Columbus nobly dar’d to brave
 The untry’d perils of the western wave,
 Ten thousand dangers in his passage lay—
 Dark was his night, and dreary was his day!
 The rude companions of his bold design,
 Fatigu’d with toil, against their chief combine:
 When sudden—bursting on th’ astonish’d view!
 A world discover’d prov’d his judgment true.—
 “Yet black ingratitude, the great man’s fate,
 “Pursu’d Columbus with envenom’d hate;
 “But minds like his, a base degen’rate race
 “Might meanly persecute—but not disgrace:
 “The noble soul its energy maintains,
 “In spite of dungeons, tyranny, and chains.”
 The sons of Europe found a guileless race;
 No fraud was veil’d beneath the smiling face;
 Their manners mild, benevolent, and kind,
 Pourtray’d the cloudless sunshine of the mind:
 Bless’d in their prince’s patriarchal reign,
 Whose power reliev’d, but ne’er inflicted pain,
 Their placid lives no fancy’d evils knew;
 Their joys were many, and their wants were few.
 One custom with their virtues ill agreed,
 Which made Humanity with anguish bleed;
 Compell’d at Superstition’s shrine to bow,
 The hapless victims of a cruel vow!

Their

Their sweetest maids were often doom'd to prove
 No joy in friendship, nor no bliss in love !
 Yet love and nature cannot be suppress'd ;
 The sigh will heave, and palpitate the breast ;
 For spite of vows, which Heav'n's wife laws disown,
 Love sits triumphant on the heart—his throne !
 And breaks those fetters bigots would impose,
 To aggravate the sense of human woes.

The rigid laws of time and place, our bard
 In this night's drama ventures to discard ;
 If here he errs—he errs with him whose name
 Stands without rival on the rolls of Fame ;
 Him whom the passions own with one accord,
 Their great dictator, and despotic lord !
 Who, plac'd aloft on inspiration's throne,
 Made Fancy's magic kingdom all his own ;
 Burst from the trammels which his muse confin'd,
 And pour'd the wealth of his exhaustless mind !
 Though Shakespeare's flight no mortal shall pursue—
 Columbus' story, patroniz'd by you,
 Will yield an off'ring, grateful to his dust—
 A British laurel on a hero's bust.

EPilogue, written by Miles P. Andrews, Esq. Spoken by Mrs. Pope.

OLD stories done—old times long since forgotten,
 Like musty records, little read, and rotten,
 Return we now to periods sounder grown,
 To happier days, and readings of our own.
 Where'er we open the book, the style is clear,
 The interest charming, the conclusions dear ;
 Our means are flourishing, our joys not scant,
 Possess'd of ev'ry good the heart can want ;
 Old tales of conquests thrown on distant shelves,
 We've little left to conquer—but ourselves.

An arduous task—and yet, to do us right,
 We lose no time in entering on the fight.
 Miss, scarcely in her teens, attacks mamma,
 Already having routed *sage* papa :
 “ I'm not a chit—I *will* turn up my locks :
 “ I *will* wear powder, and I *won't* wear frocks ;—
 “ I hate to dance with *boys*, now I'm so tall ;
 “ I'm fit for *any man*, at *any ball* :
 “ You want to keep me back, because 'tis known,
 “ When girls *grow up*, their mothers they *grow down*.”

Pert

Pert Master Bobby too, releas'd from school,
 Hecksors at home, and early learns to rule.
 The splendid stud, relinquish'd by his sire,
 In grand display awaits the youthful squire:
 And while to Cambridge he should studious steer,
 Newmarket's course arrests his gay career:
 There he, *long odds, short bets, pass dice*, all put in,
 Sticks to the *Greeks*, and disregards the *Latin*:
 Flown up to town, our fierce-cock'd *capitious* Bobby
 Drives to the play, and quarrels in the lobby:
 "Sir, you're a scoundrel!"—"Damme, Sir, you lie—
 "Sir, here's my card, for damme, I am—I."
 Thus is the boy intent to ape the man,
 A puff of discord, and a flash in pan:
 In marry'd life, resolving each to drive,
 A sweet contention keeps the flame alive:
 "I know my province."—"So do I, my Lady."
 "You'll prove my torment."—"You've prov'd mine already."
 "To guard my rights, my Lord, I must endeavour—
 "You're always out."—"And you are out for ever."
 "Then both I trust are happy, *spese caro*—
(with ironical tenderness)
 "You throw at hazard, and I punt at Pharo."
 Each have their object—so resentment smother—
 Hold out the olive branch, or wear another.
 Suffice this railery—enough to prove
 Our noblest conquest is our own self-love:
 The author who to-night has greatly dar'd
 To brave the issue of your high award,
 Though old the legend whence his scenes he drew,
 Humbly presumes the inference may be new:
 Should then the efforts of his untaught muse,
 By just, tho' small desert, his flights excuse,
 Let him enjoy, for all his anxious toils,
 That bright reward—the triumph of your smiles.

ISOLERO FOILED AND NEARLY KILLED BY BAYARDO.

Description of the Batle between Rinaldo and Bayardo, who is at last conquered and tamed by Rinaldo. From Hoole's Rinaldo.

AND lo! the courser comes! with spurning heel
 He strikes, and bounds in many an airy wheel:
 Each nervous limb he shakes, erects his ears,
 From his wide nostril fiery smoke appears;
 He heeds nor trees nor rocks that cross his way,
 But breaks through all with unresist'd sway:

With

With neighings shrill his foe to fight defies,
While to his hoof the sounding earth replies.
His colour bay, and thence his name he drew,
Bayardo call'd. A star of silver hue
Emblaz'd his front, and small his well-turn'd head,
Thick on the right his ruff'd mane was spread;
White were his hinder legs; his ample chest
With brawny muscles strength of lungs express;
His shoulders large and firm; his sinewy feet
As thunder pow'rful, and as lightning fleet.
Such once was Cyllarus, ere Pollux' force,
Conjoin'd with art, subdu'd him to the course;
And such, ere Mars had rein'd their necks to war,
The steeds that proudly drew his sanguine car.

Dire though he seem'd, as sent to upper light,
A hellish fiend from realms of central night,
He swell'd with ardour bold Rinaldo's breast;
While Isolero transient fear confest.

On Isolero first Bayardo bends;
The knight with rested spear the shock attends:
The furious beast breaks short the crashing spear,
No strength or weapon stops his mad career!
Back shrinks th' Iberian knight with wary speed,
And yields a passage for the rushing steed,
That harmless pass'd, but with a sudden wheel
Turns as the knight unsheaths his gleamy steel;
His sword he drew—for Isolero came
With other purpose than the steed to tame:
This task, from thote that, well instructed, knew,
He held beyond what human force could do:
He came (since ev'ry other hope was vain)
To leave the courser by his weapon slain.
Far different thought Rinaldo's mind revolv'd,
Far mightier deed with peril strange resolv'd.

Against th' Iberian knight Bayardo turns,
Now here, now there, with feet alternate spurs.
The baron aims the weapon where from far
Amidst his forehead shines the silver star;
In vain he strikes what ne'er was doom'd to feel
A wound impress'd with edge of sharpest steel.
Again, with strength renew'd, the sword he heav'd;
Again Bayardo's front the stroke receiv'd:
The pow'rful beast the mighty stroke confest,
That bow'd his head beneath his brawny chest;
Dreadful he foam'd, against the knight he flew,
And with a sudden shock to earth o'erthrew.
The Pagan falls, and with him falling lie
His empty hopes of glorious victory!

Rinaldo

Rinaldo saw pale Isolero spread
 All motionless, his sense and vigour fled,
 While health seem'd banish'd from the prostrate dead.
 And now the noble youth, with eager speed,
 Intrepid rush'd t'assail the fearful steed;
 Now near he drew, and now, his gauntlet bent,
 With matchless strength, at all his arm's extent,
 He aim'd a furious blow—the stag'ring beast
 Had ne'er till then such mighty force confest.
 His wounded mouth pour'd forth the streaming blood,
 And stain'd the herbage with a crimson flood.
 Less swiftly bounds an arrow from the string;
 Less swift a falcon shoots upon the wing,
 Than on the youth the raging courser flies;
 With bloody teeth to seize his arm he tries:
 Back drew the wary knight, again he sped
 His mailed gauntlet at Bayardo's head:
 Bayardo turn'd, and dealt with thund'ring feet
 A stroke to cast a mountain from its seat.
 Close to his flank the gallant youth adheres,
 Since there nor hoof nor furious teeth he fears.
 By art, not strength of arm or weapon's blow,
 He seeks advantage o'er his cruel foe.
 Yet once (it so befel) his footing fail'd,
 When, lo! with spurning heel the steed assail'd
 Th'unguarded knight—his side the stroke receiv'd,
 That near of sense and life his limbs bereav'd:
 He kept, yet scarcely kept his trembling feet;
 And had he chanc'd the nearer force to meet,
 The hoof (with such tremendous sweep it came)
 Had shatter'd all his arms, and crush'd his bleeding frame.
 But now Rinaldo shun'd a second stroke,
 That snapt and hurl'd to earth a solid oak;
 An oak, whose root as far beneath was spread
 As o'er the plain he rais'd his ancient head.
 Then ere his feet Bayardo backward drew,
 On these his nervous hands Rinaldo threw,
 And firmly held—while here and there the steed
 Impetuous snorts, and struggles to be freed.
 He bends his neck, displays his threat'ning teeth,
 While smoky clouds his flaming nostrils breathe;
 With neighings shrill he makes the woods resound.
 At length great Amon's son th' advantage found,
 And, by his art o'erthrown, Bayardo press'd the ground.
 As when the sea, that late in tempest high,
 With dreadful ruin menac'd earth and sky,
 Smooths its rough waves, and bids their anger cease;
 The waves obedient sink and sleep in peace,—

So when this courser, late the gen'ral dread,
Had touch'd the earth, his native fierceness fled,
All mild he seem'd, yet still a pride retain'd,
A pride that all ignoble lords disdain'd.

And now his stately neck the warrior prest,
Smooth'd his rough mane, and clapp'd his swelling chest;
Loudly he neigh'd, as if rejoic'd to stand
Beneath the pressure of his master's hand.
The son of Amon, who exulting view'd
Such savage fury by his arm subdu'd,
The reins and saddle from his steed displac'd,
And with the golden spoils Bayardo grac'd.

Th' Iberian knight, who, from Bayardo's force,
Lay stretch'd on earth a seeming lifeless corse,
Recov'ring rose, what time the blooming knight
With dauntless breast maintain'd so strange a fight.
Th' adventure thus achiev'd, in mute surprise
He stood, and seem'd to question with his eyes:
He little deem'd such strength of nerve to find
In tender limbs; such youth with manhood join'd.

STANZAS, written in a Leaf at the Beginning of Mr. Rogers's Poem,
"The Pleasures of Memory."

PLEASURES of Mem'ry!—oh supremely blest,
And justly proud beyond a poet's praise;
If the pure confines of thy tranquil breast
Contain, indeed, the subject of thy lays!
By me how envy'd!—for to me,
The herald still of misery,
Mem'ry makes her influence known
By sighs and tears, and grief alone:
I greet her as the fiend to whom belong
The vulture's rav'ning beak, the raven's fun'ral song.
Alone, at midnight's haunted hour,
When Nature woo's repose in vain,
Remembrance wastes her penal pow'r,
The tyrant of the burning brain;
She tells of time misspent, of comfort lost,
Of fair occasions gone for ever by;
Of hopes too fondly nurs'd, too rudely cross'd,
Of many a cause to wish, yet fear, to die;
For what, except th'instinctive fear
Lest she survive, detains me here,
When "all the life of life" is fled?—
What, but the deep inherent dread,
Lest she beyond the grave resume her reign,
And realize the hell that priests and beldames feign.

ACCOUNT

Account of Books for 1792.

A Journal of Transactions and Events, during a Residence of nearly sixteen Years, on the Coast of Labrador; containing many interesting Particulars, both of the Country and its Inhabitants, not hitherto known. Illustrated with proper Charts, by George Cartwright, Esq. In three Volumes 4to. 1792.

MR. Cartwright here gives the world an account of the daily transactions of his life during a long residence in the cold and dreary regions of Labrador, and, among a race so low in the scale of human beings, so wretched, so ignorant, and so degraded as the Esquimaux. These volumes contain much interesting information, and no small share of entertainment; but are, as we think, far too minute and tedious. For these defects, however, the author claims and deserves indulgence, from the circumstance that his journal was written for no other purpose than to serve as a memorandum for his own use and personal reference; and that it was only owing to the solicitations of his friends, who had occasionally read parts of the manuscript, that he was prevailed upon to print the work.

Mr. Cartwright prefaces his work with a short account of himself; which he concludes with saying, "The only merit to which I have any pretensions, is that of a faithful journalist, who prefers the simplicity of plain language and

downright truth, to all the specious ornaments of modern style and description. I humbly trust that this apology will satisfy my friends, and serve to extenuate those errors which must be too obvious to be overlooked by critical examinations."

The first volume contains the transactions of Mr. Cartwright's first voyage, and a residence of three years at Labrador; which he undertook in consequence of a partnership he had entered into with Messrs. Perkins, Coghlan, and Lucas, of Bristol, for the purpose of carrying on various branches of business upon that coast, and particularly of endeavouring to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Esquimaux Indians; and by the terms of which Mr. Cartwright was to reside in Labrador, to direct and manage all their concerns on shore. At the expiration of the term of the partnership, during which he had no reason to be pleased with the conduct of his partners toward him, he returned to England, and brought with him a whole family of Esquimaux Indians, consisting of six persons.

The impression made on these savages by the sight of things so extraordinary and novel as they beheld in this country, we shall leave our author to describe.

"I went down the river this morning, met the vessel in the Pool, and brought

brought the women on shore. They were greatly astonished at the number of shipping which they saw in the river; for they did not suppose that there were so many in the whole world: but I was exceedingly disappointed to observe them pass through London Bridge without taking much notice of it. I soon discovered that they took it for a natural rock which extended across the river. They laughed at me when I told them it was the work of men; nor could I make them believe it, till we came to Blackfriars Bridge, which I caused them to examine with more attention; shewing them the joints, and pointing out the marks of the chisels upon the stones. They no sooner comprehended by what means such a structure could be erected, than they expressed their wonder with astonishing significancy of countenance.

"On landing at Westminster Bridge, we were immediately surrounded by a great concourse of people; attracted not only by the uncommon appearance of the Indians who were in their seal-skin dresses, but also by a beautiful eagle, and an Esquimaux dog, which had much the resemblance of a wolf, and a remarkable wildness of look. I put them all into coaches, with as much expedition as possible, and drove off to the lodgings which I had prepared in Leicester-street.

"In a few days time, I had so many applications for admittance to see the new visitors, that my time was wholly taken up in gratifying the curiosity of my friends and their acquaintances; and the numbers who came, made my lodgings very inconvenient to the landlord as well

as to myself. I therefore resolved to look out for a house. I soon hired a small one, ready furnished, for ten guineas a month, in Little Castle-street, Oxford Market, and removed thither.

"Being willing, as far as lay in my power, to comply with the incessant applications of my friends for a sight of the Indians; and finding it impossible either to have any rest, or time to transact business, I appropriated two days a week to that purpose, viz. Tuesdays and Fridays. On those days, not only my house was filled, even to an inconvenience, but the street was so much crowded with carriages and people, that my residence was a great nuisance to the neighbourhood.

"As their skin-dresses had a dirty appearance and an offensive smell, I provided a quantity of broad-cloth, flannel, and beads, together with whatever else was necessary; and the women now having leisure to work, and being excellent tailors, soon clothed them all anew; preserving their own fashion in the cut of their garments.

"I once took the men to the opera when their Majesties were there; and we chanced to sit near Mr. Coleman, the manager of Covent Garden theatre, who politely invited all the Indians and myself to a play at his house. He fixed on *Cymbeline*; and they were greatly delighted with the representation. But their pride was most highly gratified at being received with a thundering applause by the audience, on entering the box. The men soon observed to their wives, that they were placed in the King's box, and received in the same manner as their Majesties were at the opera;

which added considerably to the pleasure which they felt from the *tout ensemble*. Never did I observe so young a child pay such unremitting attention to the whole representation, as little Ickeuna: no sooner did the swords begin to clasp, in the fighting scene between Posthumus and Iachimo, but she set up a most feeling scream.

"About a fortnight after our arrival in town, having provided great-coats, boots, and hats for the men, in order that they might pass through the streets unobserved, I took Attuiock with me, and walked beyond the Tower. We there took boat, rowed up the river, and landed at Westminster Bridge; from whence we walked to Hyde Park Corner, and then home again. I was in great expectation that he would begin to relate the wonders which he had seen, the instant he entered the room; but I found myself greatly disappointed. He immediately sat down by the fire-side, placed both his hands on his knees, leaned his head forward, fixed his eyes on the ground in a stupid stare, and continued in that posture for a considerable time. At length, tossing up his head, and fixing his eyes on the ceiling, he broke out in the following soliloquy: "Oh! I am tired; here are too many houses; too much smoke; too many people; Labrador is very good; seals are plentiful there; I wish I was back again." By which I could plainly perceive that the multiplicity and variety of objects had confounded his ideas; which were too much confined to comprehend any thing but the inconveniences that he had met with. And indeed, the longer they continued in England, the more was I convinced of

the truth of that opinion; for their admiration increased in proportion as their ideas expanded; till at length they began more clearly to comprehend the use, beauty, and mechanism of what they saw; though the greater part of these were as totally lost upon them as they would have been upon one of the brute creation.

"Although they had often passed St. Paul's without betraying any great astonishment, or at least not so much as all Europeans do at the first sight of one of those stupendous islands of ice which are daily to be seen near the east coast of their own country, yet when I took them to the top of it, and convinced them it was built by the hands of men (a circumstance which had not entered their heads before, for they had supposed it a natural production) they were quite lost in amazement. The people below, they compared to mice; and insisted, that it must at least be as high as Cape Charles, which is a mountain of considerable altitude. Upon my asking them how they would describe it to their countrymen on their return, they replied, with a look of the utmost expression, they should neither mention it, nor many other things which they had seen, lest they should be called liars, from the seeming impossibility of such astonishing facts.

"Walking along Piccadilly one day with the two men, I took them into a shop to shew them a collection of animals. We had no sooner entered than I observed their attention rivetted on a small monkey; and I could perceive horror most strongly depicted in their countenances. At length the old man turned to me, and faltered out,

"Is that an Esquimaux?" I must confess, that both the colour and contour of the countenance had considerable resemblance to the people of their nation; but how they could conceive it possible for an Esquimaux to be reduced to that diminutive size, I am wholly at a loss to account for; unless they had fixed their attention on the countenance only, and had not adverted to any other particulars. On pointing out several other monkeys of different kinds, they were greatly diverted at the mistake which they had made; but were not well pleased to observe, that monkeys resembled their race much more than ours.

"The parrots, and other talkative birds, next attracted their notice. And it was a great treat to me, both then and at all other times, to observe their different emotions, much more forcibly expressed in their countenances, than is possible to be done by those whose feelings are equally genuine. Civilized nations imperceptibly contract an artificial expression of countenance, to help out their languid feelings; for knowledge, by a communication with the world and books, enlightens our ideas so much, that they are not so liable to be taken by surprise as the uninformed mind of the savage, who never had the least hint given him, that certain things are in existence: consequently they break upon him as unexpectedly and forcibly as the sun would do upon the man who was born deaf and blind, in case he should suddenly be brought to sight on a clear day.

"Being on a dining-visit with that excellent surgeon and anatomist, the ingenious John Hunter; in the afternoon Attuiock walked out of the room by himself, but pre-

sently returned with such evident marks of terror, that we were all greatly alarmed, fearing some accident had happened to him; or, that he had met with an insult from one of the servants. He seized hold of my hand, and eagerly pressed me to go along with him. I asked the cause of his emotions, but could get nothing more from him than "Come along, come along with me;" and he hastily led me into a room in the yard, in which stood a glass-case containing many human bones. "Look there," says he, with more horror and consternation in his countenance than I ever beheld in that of any man before, "are these the bones of Esquimaux whom Mr. Hunter has killed and eaten? Are we to be killed? Will he eat us, and put our bones there?" As the whole company followed us, the other Indians had also taken the alarm before the old priest had ended his interrogatories; nor did any of them seem more at ease by the rest of us breaking out into a sudden and hearty laugh, till I explained to them that those were the bones of our own people, who had been executed for certain crimes committed by them, and were preserved there, that Mr. Hunter might better know how to set those of the living, in case any of them should chance to be broken; which often happened in so populous a country. They were then perfectly satisfied, and approved of the practice; but Attuiock's nerves had received too great a shock to enable him to resume his usual tranquillity, till he found himself safe in my house again.

"Passing through Hyde Park, in our way to Holland House, and observing his Majesty looking at the regiment of Old Buffs, which

were then going to Plymouth, we got out of the coach and went up to the front; where I explained to them the use of that body of men, and of the evolutions which they were then performing. After his Majesty had viewed the regiment collectively, the recruits were drawn out a few paces distant from the left flank, that he might examine them separately. So great a crowd had gathered round us, as incommoded our view of the troops, and attracted the notice of the King, who then sent General Harvey to order me and the Indians into the vacant place between the regiment and the recruits. Here his Majesty rode slowly past them, and condescended to salute them by taking off his hat, accompanied with a gracious smile: honours which they were highly pleased with, and often mentioned afterwards with great exultation. Nor were they in the least displeased that his Majesty did not speak to them; since I had previously told them not to expect it; and they observed that he spoke to none but the commanding officer, and one or two of those who were in attendance.

"They were afterwards greatly diverted at the expence of the Hon. Stephen Fox. That gentleman came to Holland House on purpose to see the Indians there; but when he arrived, they were at the end of a long gallery: Stephen being rather out of wind with walking up stairs, sat down at the door to wait their return, where he unfortunately fell fast asleep. Although we continued a long time in the house with Lord and Lady Holland, he did not awake from his slumber till we had got into the coach to go away; when he mounted his poney

and galloped off. His manner of retreat made them express great compassion for the poor beast, whose unfortunate lot it was to carry so great a weight at such a rate; nor could I help censuring him myself for cruelty, till I was informed that he would have fallen asleep on horseback, had he gone slower. Then, indeed, I pitied both horse and rider.

"I continued in London till the month of February; at which time I took the Indians with me to my father's house at Marnham in Nottinghamshire, where we stayed six weeks. While we were there I amused them with all kinds of field-diversions: we also made several visits in the neighbourhood; particularly one to Kelham, where Lord George Sutton politely invited our whole family, and entertained my friends with a fox-chace. Fortunately we had an excellent run of twelve miles; and it was very singular, that, although the Indians had been on horseback only three times before, they were both in at the death; which happened in an open field, with three couple and a half of hounds, out of twenty-five couples: a proof how hard they must have driven him.

"I soon found the country agree much better with their inclinations, as well as their health, than London. Here they could enjoy fresh air and exercise, without being distressed by crowds of people gathering round them whenever they stirred out; which was always the case in town. The women, according to the universal disposition of the fair sex, enjoyed visiting and dancing; and I must say, that Caubvick attained to great perfection in that graceful accomplishment, during

ing her short stay. The men were best pleased with sporting; the exquisite nose of the hound, who could follow an animal by the scent, over an open country or through a thick wood, almost as swiftly as he could have done had the creature been in view, the sagacity and steadiness of the pointer, and the speed of the greyhound, were matters of great astonishment to them. But, above all, they were most struck with the strength, beauty, and utility of that piece of perfection in the brute creation, that noble animal, the horse.

"The face of the country did not pass unobserved by them; and their expression was "The land is all made;" for they supposed that we had cut down the woods, and levelled the hills. In the former supposition they were certainly right; and I do not wonder at the latter, since they would naturally suppose that all the world was like the small part of it which they had formerly seen; and which is almost an entire collection of hills covered with thick woods. As they had never before seen any cultivated land (except a few small gardens, which they observed were dug with a spade) they formed an idea of our immense numbers, by being able to till so much land and consume the produce of it in a year, exclusive of the animal food with which they saw our tables and markets abounded. How the inhabitants of London were supplied with food, I could never make them fully comprehend, any more than I could the number of people by which the metropolis was inhabited. Their arithmetic goes no higher than the number twenty-one; therefore, the best I could

do, was to tell them, that a certain number of large whales would serve them for one meal only. Nothing surprised them more than to meet with a man who assured them he could not shoot, had never killed an animal, nor seen the sea in his life.

"After my return to town, by his Majesty's permission, I took them to court; where their dresses and behaviour made them greatly taken notice of. They were also at the houses of several of the nobility and people of fashion; and I omitted nothing which came within the compass of my pocket, to make their stay in England agreeable, or to impress them with ideas of our riches and strength. The latter I thought highly necessary, as they had often, when in Labrador, spoken of our numbers with great contempt; and told me they were so numerous, that they could cut off all the English with great ease, if they thought proper to collect themselves together: an opinion which could not fail to produce in me very unpleasant reflections. But they had not been long in London before they confessed to me, that the Esquimaux were but as one, compared to that of the English."

Having obtained the necessary pecuniary assistance from his father, Mr. Cartwright fitted out a ship to trade in America, on his own account, and was preparing to sail, when he discovered one of the Indians to be infected with the small pox; which, notwithstanding all possible medical skill and attention, spread to the rest; and only one of the six (Caubvick) survived to tell the melancholy tale to her countrymen; who received it with the wildest

wildest apprehensions of grief and consternation. Mr. C. returned to England shortly after, and having formed a new connection with a Captain Robert Scott and his brother, he made two more voyages to Labrador, which would have proved somewhat more productive than the former attainments, had he not had the misfortune to be pillaged by an American privateer, lost several ships, and met with other accidents. We shall extract from his journal, during this period, the following account of a singular bear-hunt; which may not prove uninteresting to our readers.

"On entering Eagle River, we observed a wolverine going along the south shore of it; which is the first I ever saw alive, unless in a trap. When we got to the first rapid, which is as high as a boat can go, we saw a brace of white bears in the river above, and a black one walking along the north shore. I landed on the south side with my double barrel and rifle; and ordered Captain Kettle to land Jack on the opposite shore; then to follow me with one of his men, and leave the other to take care of the boat, and keep her afloat. I had not gone far, before I observed a very large black bear walking upwards, on the other side of the river; which soon took the water and swam across, but landed at some distance above me, and went into the woods.

"About half a mile higher, I came to a very strong shoot of water, occasioned by the river being pent in between two high points: from thence I saw several white bears fishing in the stream above. I waited for them, and in a short time, a bitch with a small cub swam down close to the other shore, and land-

ed a little below. The bitch immediately went into the woods, but the cub sat down upon a rock, when I sent a ball through it, at the distance of a hundred and twenty yards at the least, and knocked it over; but getting up again, it crawled into the woods, where I heard it crying mournfully, and concluded that it could not long survive.

"The report of my gun brought some others down; and it was no sooner reloaded, than another she-bear, with a cub of eighteen months old came swimming close under me. I shot the bitch through the head, and killed her dead. The cub perceiving this, and getting sight of me, as I was standing close to the edge of the bank, which was near eight feet above the level of the water, made at me with great ferocity; but just as the creature was about to revenge the death of his dam, I saluted him with a load of large shot in his right eye, which not only knocked that out, but also made him close the other; during which time he turned round several times, pawed his face, and roared most hideously. He no sooner was able to keep his left eye open, than he made at me again, quite mad with rage and pain; but when he came to the foot of the bank, I gave him a second salute with the other barrel, and blinded him most completely: his whole head was then entirely covered with blood. The second shot made him act in the same manner as the first, until he struck the ground with his feet, when he landed a little below me, and blundered into the woods, knocking his head against every rock and tree that he met with.

"I now perceived that two others had just landed, about sixty yards
above

above me, and were fiercely looking round them. As both my guns were discharged, the ramrod of my rifle broken by loading in too great haste the last time, and as I had left my shot and ball-bag belonging to the other in the boat, I freely confess that I felt myself in a very unpleasant situation. But as no time was to be lost, I darted into the woods and instantly loaded my double-barrel with powder only; that I might singe their whiskers at least, if I were attacked; for the rifle-balls were too large. Having loaded my rifle also with as much expedition as a broken rod would permit, I returned to my former post. The bears having advanced a few yards, were at the edge of the woods, and the old one was looking sternly at me. The danger of firing at her I knew was great, as she was seconded by a cub of eighteen months; but I could not resist the temptation. She presented a fair broadside to me; I fortunately sent my ball through her heart, and dropped her; but getting up again, she ran some yards into the woods; where I soon found her dead, without her cub.

"The captain, his man, and Jack coming up, I was informed that Jack could not get a shot at the black bear, but had shot one of those white ones which first passed me; that the beast had landed on this side of the river, and had gone upon a small barren hill, some little distance within the woods, and there died; that they were going after her, but thought it best to come immediately to my assistance, when they heard me fire so often.

"Leaving them to skin this bear, I advanced higher up the river, until I came opposite to a beautiful

cataract, and to the end of a small woody island which lies near the south shore. There I sat down upon some bare rocks, to contemplate the scene before me, and to observe the manœuvres of the bears; numbers of which were then in sight.

"The cataract is formed by the river being confined between two elevated points, with a flat rock extended across the bed of it; the perpendicular fall of which is eight feet; from whence there was a gradual descent for about forty yards, with several rude cubical rocks standing upon it. These made a most complete and magnificent cascade; far superior to the best artificial one I ever saw. Immediately beneath was a deep pool; and the river widened in a circular form, into a spacious basin of three hundred yards diameter, which, taking a short turn below, resembled a circular pond. The water being low, there was a space of some yards between it and the woods: some parts were composed of fragments of rocks; others, of gravel, sand, or flat rocks, with bushes of alder growing in their interstices. The whole was surrounded by small detached hills, covered with spruces and firs, interspersed with larches, birches, and aspen, forming a pleasing landscape; a drawing of which I greatly regretted that I was not able to take. In the lower part of the pool were several island-rocks, from one or two yards ever, with salmon innumerable, continually leaping into the air; which had attracted a great concourse of bears. Some of them were giving after the fish; and I often observed them to get upon a rock, from whence they would take a high leap, fall head foremost into the water, dive to the
H h 4 bottom,

bottom, and come up again at seventy or eighty yards distance. Others again were walking along the shore; some were going to the woods, and others coming out. I had not sat there long, ere my attention was diverted, from the variety of objects which at first presented themselves, to an enormous old dog-bear, which came out of some alder-bushes on my right, and was walking slowly towards me, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and his nose not far from it; at the same time he presented a fair forehead to me. I turned myself round to front him, drew up my feet to elevate my knees, on which I rested my elbows, and in that position suffered him to come within five yards of me before I drew the trigger; when I placed my ball in the centre of his skull, and killed him dead: but as the shore was a flat reclining rock, he rolled round until he fell into the river; from the edge of which, he dropped at least four yards.

"On casting my eyes around, I perceived another beast of equal size, raised half out of the water. He no sooner discovered me than he made towards me as fast as he could swim. As I was not then prepared to receive him, I ran into the woods to make ready my unerring rifle. Whilst I was employed in that operation, he dived and brought up a salmon; which he repeatedly tossed up a yard or two in the air, and, letting it fall into the water, would dive and bring it up again. In this manner he diverted himself for some time, falling slowly down with the stream until he was shut out from my sight, by some bushes, which grew a little lower down. Being now ready, I advanced to the attack, and presently per-

ceived him standing in the water with his fore-paws upon a rock, devouring the salmon. I crept through the bushes until I came opposite to him, and finding myself then within fifty yards, I interrupted his repast, by sending a ball through his head; it entered a little above his left eye, went out at the root of his right ear, and knocked him over; he then appeared to be in the agonies of death for some time; but at last recovered sufficiently to land on my side of the river, and to stagger into the woods; where I found he bled so copious a stream, that it was impossible he could go far. Captain Kettle and his assistants had now finished their work, and joined me a second time; and as I wished them to skin the other bear, I sent them to him for that purpose.

"Never in my life did I regret the want of ammunition so much as on this day, as I was by the failure interrupted in the finest sport that man ever had. I usually carried fourteen balls in the box which is in the butt of my rifle, exclusive of the load; besides a couple of bags, tied to my bandoleer, for the use of my double barrel; one containing six balls, and the other shot. But this morning, I had inadvertently neglected to replenish the box, which had only seven balls in it, and had left my bandoleer with the bags in the boat, as I mentioned before; otherwise I am certain that I could with great ease have killed four or five brace more. They were in such plenty, that I counted thirty-two white bears, and three black ones:—but there were certainly many more, as they generally retire into the woods to sleep, after making an hearty meal; and they could not be long in doing that here, for the
river

river was quite full of fine salmon.

"Having now only two balls left, beside that in my rifle, and fearing I might be tempted to fire them, and afterwards have my retreat disputed, or be attacked by one or more enraged bear immediately after I had fired a shot, when I should have had nothing to defend myself with but the powder only, which was in my other gun, I thought it was most prudent to return to the boat and get a fresh supply of ammunition. When I got down, I not only found myself very much fatigued, but the day was far spent; and we had as much other work to do as the remainder of it was competent to. The Shalloway likewise was left in so exposed a situation, that she might easily be driven from her anchors, if it came on to blow strong; I therefore altered my intention, and waited the return of the other three people. It was not long before they came down; for they were not able to skin the bear; although his body was afloat in water, which was about four feet deep, and nothing but his head rested upon a flat rock; yet they could not lift even that up. It was with the utmost exertion of their united strength that they could heave him off the rock with the assistance of leavers; nor could they cant him on his back, after he was wholly afloat, in order to skin him in the water; much less were they able to drag him on shore. We judged him to be as much as twelve hundred weight; nor could he well be less than that, as he stood six feet high, and his carcase was as big as that of the largest ox I ever saw. Finding themselves foiled in every other attempt, at length they tied some dry wind-falls to him, and

launched him into the stream, in hopes that we might pick him up with the boat; but the trees came down without the bear, which made us conclude that he had grounded somewhere above. Thus ended in disappointment the noblest day's sport I ever saw; for we got only one skin, although we had killed six bears, and not one morsel of flesh; which at this time would have been particularly acceptable, as we had eaten nothing for fourteen hours.

"The black bear which I saw cross the river, appeared to swim very heavily; and I do not believe that they can dive and catch fish in deep water, but content themselves with walking along the shores, where the water is not out of their depth, to pick up the offals which are left by the white ones and otters; or such as die of their wounds and drive on shore; but they will catch fish in shallow streams, and rake up clams and other shell-fish. When they first come out of their caves in the spring, for want of better food, I have observed that they eat dead grass; they also feed on ants and other insects which they get out of rotten windfalls; these they tear to pieces for that purpose; but when *empetrum nigrum* is ripe, they feed almost wholly on the berries; which not only make them fat, but also gives their flesh a very good flavour. As they have no chance with a white bear, they always avoid the unequal combat; and I do believe they will attack no animal that is able to make a stout resistance. Even the porcupine, I am inclined to think, they do not molest; for I never saw or heard of one which had any of the quills of that creature in him."

His usual ill-luck attended our
author

author in two other voyages that he undertook, making in all six unsuccessful attempts at founding an establishment among the Eskimaux; and at length, his creditors refusing to hear of any reasonable terms of accommodation, a docket was struck against him, and he was made a bankrupt, after having sunk many thousand pounds, and materially injured his health and constitution by this ill-fated scheme.—Mr. Cartwright concludes his Journal with a short sketch of the natural history of the inhospitable regions he resided in, and with a poetical epistle to a friend, which might as well have been omitted; for, inclined as we have been to pardon the many inaccuracies of his prose, on the score of its being a plain and faithful narrative of occurrences that really happened to him, we see no reason to pay the same regard to the wretched verses with which he concludes his work.

These volumes are handsomely printed, and are accompanied by a portrait of Captain Cartwright in his Eskimaux dress, visiting his fox-traps,—a correct map of the island of Newfoundland, and an excellent chart of part of the coast of Labrador.

Of the Origin and Progress of Language,
By Lord Montbodo. Vol. 6. 1792.

LORD Montooddo, the learned author of this work, having in his two first volumes, given an account of the origin of language, and explained the nature of it, with respect both to its matter and form; and compared together different languages, shewing in what they severally excelled, or were defective, would have left his work very imperfect, if he had said nothing of

style and composition; by which language produces its effect, and answers the purposes intended by it. He has, therefore, in his third volume, treated of style in general, and explained some general characters of it; such as the austere, the florid, the sublime, the witty, and the humorous. In his fourth volume he was more particular, and divided style according to the subjects of which it treats, into six different kinds; the epistolary, the dialogue, the historical style, the didactic, the rhetorical, and, lastly, the poetical. In that volume and the fifth, he treated of the first four kinds of style; and the fifth, namely the rhetorical; in which the beauty of style is most conspicuous, and produces the greatest effect is the subject of the present publication. In treating of this art, he follows the same method that he had perused in treating of the grammatical part of language, and of the other kinds of style of which he has spoken, professing not to write a treatise upon rhetoric, but only to give the philosophical principles upon which it is founded. It is in this way that Aristotle has treated of these arts, and in this respect his three books of rhetoric, and his single book of poetry, mutilated as it is, and little better than a fragment, are of very great value. Following, therefore, his footsteps, and making the best use we can of the light he has thrown upon the subject, Lord Montbodo proceeds to explain the nature, and shew the proper use of rhetoric. He does not however entirely confine himself to the plan of this work, but adds a variety of inferences and remarks, the result of his own reading and reflection.

The leading heads of this volume are the matter and object of rhetoric;

ric; the style of rhetoric; action or pronunciation; characters of those who have excelled in the rhetorical art; the oratory of Demosthenes, containing observations on his matter and style.

Treating of melody and rhythm, a singular notion is advanced, that singing is more natural to man than speech; and that, therefore, men sung before they spoke. In confirmation of this opinion it is observed that language came from the south and the east; the inhabitants of which countries are more musical than those of the north and west.

"History informs every man who studies it in the grand and comprehensive view of the history of the species, that language and the race of men come from the south and east. Now, the people there are much more musical than in the north and west, where they appear to have almost quite lost those musical talents which they brought with them from the south and east; and the farther north they have gone, the more they have lost of those talents; so that, as Lemmius, the Danish missionary among the Laplanders, informs us, these people, though undoubtedly they came from a country far to the east, could hardly be taught the common church-tunes. But there is a southern and eastern nation, with which we are pretty well acquainted, I mean the Chinese, who retain the musical genius of their country so much, that they have a far greater variety of musical accents upon their syllables than the Greeks had; for the same monosyllable among them, by being differently accented, signifies nine or ten different things; so that their

language, consisting of no more than three hundred and thirty words, serves all the purposes of a highly civilized life. Mr. Bevin, the gentleman whom I have mentioned in my fifth volume, was so obliging as to let me hear him speak some Chinese; and, as far as I could observe, their tones did not rise so high as the acute accent of the Greeks; but the notes are very much divided, and the intervals very small, so that the music of their language resembles in that respect, the singing of birds. Whether they did not vary their monosyllables, by pronouncing them longer or shorter, I forgot to ask him; but I think it certain, that as rhythm is an essential part of music, they could not have had so much music in their language without rhythm; and I am persuaded that they distinguish in that way the sense of several of their monosyllables, as we know the Greeks distinguished some of their words by the length or shortness of the syllables.

"Of the Chinese language I have spoken in page 108 of this volume; and I will only add here, that it is the greatest phenomenon of the language kind that is to be found on this earth: for it is a language without any of the three arts of derivation, composition, and flexion; without one or other, or all of which, I should have thought it impossible to have formed a language which could serve the purposes of a life of civility and arts, such as that of the Chinese. It is, as I have observed in the passage above quoted, in that infantine state of articulation, when men had only learned to articulate single syllables, but not to put them together

ther in words; for there must be a progress in all arts, from what is simplest and easiest, to what is compound and more difficult.

"The first words, therefore, were as simple as possible, being only monosyllables: and there, I think, it is natural to suppose that they would stop a while; and by giving tones and rhythms to those syllables, express their wants and desires, and so keep up an intercourse with one another. In this state, I imagine, the language remained for some time, even in Egypt, where I suppose it to have been first invented: and while it was in that state, it found its way to China, with other Egyptian arts, and particularly hieroglyphical writing, which M. De Guignes has shewn came from Egypt to China. See vol. 34th of the Memoirs of the French Academy. The Chinese, who, I believe, are, as Dr. Warburton has said, a dull uninventive people, have preserved both the language and the writings of the Egyptians as they got them. But in Egypt, I do not believe that either of these arts continued long in so infantine a state. That alphabetical characters were invented there, I think there can be no doubt, and also the three great arts of language, derivation, composition, and flexion. When they had got so far in the art of language, words of many syllables became absolutely necessary: the tones and rhythms of the monosyllables were nevertheless still preserved; and in this manner was formed such a language as the Sanscrit; which is now discovered to have been the ancient language of Egypt, and of which the Greek is a dialect. Thus was completed the most wonderful of all human arts; by which about

five millions of words were so connected together, as to be comprehended in the memory, and readily used, and at the same time pronounced with a beautiful variety of melody and rhythm.

"But to return to the musical accents of the Chinese language. The question is, whether they first learned to articulate their monosyllables, and then learned these musical notes by which they distinguish them one from another? or, whether they first practised music, and then learned articulation? And it appears to me very much more probable, that having first sung, whether by instinct, or having learned it from the birds; and after that, having learned from some nation with which they had an intercourse, to articulate a few sounds, they still continued to sing, and, as it was very natural, joined their musical tones to their articulate sounds, and so formed a musical language, and at the same time supplied the defects of their very scanty articulation."

The principles and rules of rhetoric are well illustrated in the examples of eloquence, which our author brings from the Grecian and Roman writers, and particularly in an excellent critique on Demosthenes, in which the subject and the style of his orations are distinctly considered, and fully illustrated. The volume concludes with an account of an oration pronounced at Oxford, by Lord Mansfield, on the subject of Demosthenes's oration *De Corrad.*

Calvary; or the Death of Christ. A Poem, in Eight Books. By Richard Cumberland. 4to. 1792.

WE are sorry to observe an author whom we have long been

been accustomed to admire as a votary of the unhallowed nine, turning his back on the not unkind object of his former adoration (Thalia) to bring his offering to the epic muse, who does not appear so propitious to his invocations.

Beyond the difficulty of following so nearly in his subject the immortal Milton, without causing invidious comparisons to be made, there is a sameness and tediousness in this poem which will, probably, always prevent its becoming a popular work.

The passages in which our author shews most of the *vis poetica*, are those where he introduces the in-

fernal spirits; but even here we are hurt by the too palpable imitations of Milton. We shall not attempt an analysis of a poem, the subject of which has been given with such beautiful simplicity by the Evangelist, as to defy the metreticous embroidery of verse; but we shall select a passage or two, from which our readers may form some idea of the nature and execution of the work. Satan, after having delivered his injunctions to Mammon, the seducer of Judas Iscariot, is lifted up from the earth by a stormy gust, and carried out of sight; the description is in a high degree sublime.

So spake the parting fiend in his last hour
 Prophetic, father though he were of lies:
 To him the inferior dæmon answer none
 Attempted, but in ghastly silence stood
 Gazing with horror on his chieftain's face,
 That chang'd all hues by fits, as when the north,
 With nitrous vapours charg'd, convulsive shoots
 Its fiery darts athwart the trembling pole,
 Making heav'n's vault a canopy of blood;
 So o'er the visage of th' exorcis'd fiend
 Alternate gleams like meteors came and went;
 And ever and anon he beat his breast,
 That quick and short with lab'ring pulses heav'd.
 One piteous look he upward turn'd, one sigh
 From his sad heart he fain had sent to heav'n,
 But ere the hopeless messenger could leave
 His quiv'ring lips, by sudden impulse seiz'd,
 He finds himself uplifted from the earth;
 His azure wings, to sooty black now chang'd,
 In wide expanse from either shoulder stretch
 For flight involuntary: up he springs,
 Whirl'd in a fiery vortex round and round;
 As when the Lybian wilderness caught up
 In sandy pillar by the eddy winds
 Moves horrible, the grave of man and beast;
 Him thus ascending the fork'd lightning smites
 With sidelong volley, whilst loud thunders rock
 Heav'n's echoing vault, when all at once, behold!

Caught

Caught in the stream of an impetuous gust,
High in mid-air, swift on the level wing
Northward he shoots, and, like a comet, leaves
Long fiery track behind, speeding his course
Strait to the realms of Chaos and old Night,
Hell-bound, and to Tartarean darkness doom'd.

The dreadful doctrine of eternal punishment is described in all its horrors.

At farthest end
Of that obscure, a pillary cloud arose
Of sulph'rous smoke, that from hell's crater steam'd;
Whence here and there by intermittent gleams
Blue flashing fires burst forth, that sparkling blaz'd
Up to the iron roof, whose echoing vault
Resounded ever with the dolorous groans
Of the sad crew beneath. Thence might be heard
The wailing suicide's remorseful plaint;
The murd'rer's yelling scream, and the loud cry
Of tyrants in that fiery furnace hurl'd.
Vain cry! th' unmitigated furies urge
Their ruthless task, and to the cauldron's edge
With ceaseless toil huge blocks of sulphur roll,
Pil'd mountains high, to feed the greedy flames:
All these, th' accursed brood of Sin, were once
The guilty pleasures, the false joys, that lur'd
Their sensual vot'rists to th' infernal pit:
Them their fell mother, watchful o'er the work,
With eye that sleep ne'er clos'd, and snaky scourge
Still waving o'er their heads, for ever plies
To keep the fiery deluge at its height,
And stops her ears against the clam'rous din
Of those tormented, who for mercy call,
Age after age implor'd, and still deny'd.

These wretched beings are visited by Christ; and they draw from him a sigh of natural pity: but soon his human sympathy gives place

To judgment better weigh'd, and riper thoughts
Congenial with the Godhead reassum'd.

Such rigorous justice, triumphing over misery, cannot be easily reconciled with rational ideas of the Supreme Being, nor with the mild and gentle character of Christ:—but whatever may be, thought of the doctrine itself, it must, we think, be admitted, that such subjects are ill adapted to poetry. We cannot better express our ideas on this head, than in the words of Dr. Johnson, in his life of Milton:

“Of the ideas suggested by these awful scenes, from some we recede with

with reverence, except when stated hours require their association; and from others we shrink with horror, or admit them only as salutary inflictions, as counterpoises to our interests and passions. Such images rather obstruct the career of fancy than incite it.

"Pleasure and terror are indeed the genuine sources of poetry: but poetical pleasure must be such as human imagination can at least conceive, and poetical terror such as human strength and fortitude may combat. The good and evil of eternity are too ponderous for the wings of wit; the mind sinks under them in passive helplessness, content with calm belief and humble adoration."

We could select here and there passages equally poetical and impressive; but after all, we question whether they will confer immortality on a work, the far greater part of which consists of diffuse narrations, or of discourses put into the mouths of the several parties concerned in our Saviour's capture, trial, and crucifixion.

Mr. Cumberland is throughout, a warm advocate for the Trinity, and the creed of the established church; but we fear the circulation of his book will be too limited for it ever to obtain the praise conferred on the *Paradise Lost*; that is, of its having contributed more to support the orthodox creed than all the bodies of divinity that ever were written.

Travels during the Years 1787, 1788, and 1789; undertaken more particularly with a View of ascertaining the Cultivation, Wealth, Resources, and National Prosperity of the King-

dom of France. By Arthur Young, Esq. F.R.S. &c. 2 Vol. 4to. 1792.

A BOOK so valuable as this must prove to every class of readers, we could not leave unnoticed; though our contracted limits, professing only to be an *account*, not a *review* of books, will not allow of our making those copious extracts of agreeable information with which Mr. Young's book abounds, but in the selection of which we should be at a loss where to stop. Should our mention of it, however, merely prove an inducement to some of our readers to peruse volumes which, from accidental circumstances, may not already have fallen into their hands, we shall think we have done a public benefit, by promoting, as much as lies in our power, a turn for the cultivation of and attention to a science which is the source of our real wealth, and which is the basis of the prosperity of these kingdoms. From the comparative view here presented by our author of French and English agriculture, though confessedly giving the latter the preference in every respect, we are taught to find that we do not excel the rest of Europe so much as other travellers, who have not made agriculture the peculiar object of their enquiries, would make us believe we do. We do not make this observation by way of depreciating our own progress in this department; but only that the efforts of our rivals may stimulate us to fresh exertions, and animate us in the pursuit of so useful and so noble a science. Indeed it must be admitted that, till lately, the same attention has not been paid to agriculture that has been devoted

devoted to less important objects, and occasioned our rapid progress and improvement in them. The study, however, of agriculture, owing to the exertions of our author, assisted by the Board of Agriculture in England, and of Sir John Sinclair in Scotland, bids fair to become a favourite pursuit; and we have no doubt of soon making equal strides to perfection in it.

The *Annals of Agriculture*, a monthly publication carried on under the immediate management and care of our author, has certainly contributed much to the dissemination of this species of knowledge, by forming a point of union to which the intelligent farmer can resort, either to receive or communicate information. The agricultural world is also indebted to our author for a *Farming Tour in Ireland*, which, though the only book upon that subject, and containing many interesting particulars, is, we believe, but little known.

The first volume of the work now before us, contains the journal or diary of our author's tour in France, Italy, and Spain; in this journal are contained many interesting observations on the face and products of the countries thro' which he passed, and upon the man-

ners, customs, and amusements of the inhabitants.

In the second volume, Mr. Young throws the principal subjects belonging to the leading and predominant object of his view, namely agriculture, into distinct chapters, in which he treats of the extent, soil, and face of the country, climate, produce, rent, and price of land, courses of crops, irrigation, meadows, lucerne, sanfoin, pines, inclosures, tenantry, size of farms, sheep, capital employed in husbandry, the price of provisions, labour, and produce of France; population, police of corn, commerce, manufactures, taxation, and concluding observations on the revolution, and the probable effects it would have on the general interests of the kingdom. On this variety of interesting topics, much valuable information is given, founded on authentic documents and accurate returns.

On the whole, we cannot take leave of our lively traveller, without expressing our obligations to him for a vast deal of light on agricultural and political subjects, interspersed with much amusing detail of the character and state of society in the countries he visited.

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